



3 1761 05251683 8

A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

K 23

A

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Civil and Ecclesiastical

*FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
DEATH OF DAVID I., 1153*

BY

DUNCAN KEITH

Volume Second

ECCLESIASTICAL



111457
22 / 5- / 11

WILLIAM PATERSON, EDINBURGH

1886



DA
775
K5
V. 2

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

	PAGE
Introductory—Prehistoric Period—Joseph of Arimathea—Eleutherus—Persecution under Diocletian—St Alban—Prosperity and Heresies—Pelagius—Valentia—St Ninian—A. D. 156-400,	1-12

CHAPTER II.

HAGIOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Hagiological Literature, its Value—St Ninian—Authorities—Ailred's Life—Dedications to St Ninian—His Early Life—His Visit to Rome—His Visit to St Martin at Tours—He returns to Britain—Establishes an Institution at Witherna (Whithorn)—Builds a Church, Candida Casa—King Tudvallus—Miracles of St Ninian—He undertaketh the Conversion of the Picts—Survival of Candida Casa—Subsequent History, A. D. 370-437,	13-40
--	-------

CHAPTER III.

EARLY SCOTTISH SAINTS.

Early Scottish Saints—Palladius—Germain—Ternan—Serf—His Miracles—Kentigern—Lives of—State of Cumbria—Value of Joceline's Life—St Mungo—Extent of his Labours and Foundations—Birth and Parentage of Kentigern—Residence with St Serf at Culross—His first Miracle—Leaves Culross and arrives at Glasgu—Establishes a Church and is consecrated Bishop—His manner of Life—Success of his Labours—His Disciples—Their discipline	
--	--

	PAGE
and mode of Life—Miracles—Secular Disputes—Kenti- gern leaves Glasgu for Wales—Is recalled to his Diocese by King Rederech—His reception, and success of his La- bours—The Miracle of the Ring and the Salmon—Visit of St Columba—Kentigern's last days, death, and burial— Church of Wales—S.S. Dubricius, Iltud, David, Cadoc, A.D. 437-603,	41-94

CHAPTER IV.

ST PATRICK.

Christianity in Ireland—Palladius, St Patrick—His Confession —Epistle to Coroticus—Lives—Miss Cusack's Trias Thau- maturgia—Substance of the Confession, and the Epistle to Coroticus—Dr Lanigan's Theory—Its Untenability—Mis- sion of Patrick—Lands in County Wicklow—Leaves for County Down—Converts Dichu—Visits his former Master Milchu—Confronts King Laoghaire and the Druids—Visits Connaught—Great success there—Laoghaire's Daughters —Returns to Ulster—Missionary Labours in Meath, Lein- ster, Munster and other parts—Returns to Ulster—Founda- tion of Armagh—Supposed Visit to Rome—His Legisla- tion, Civil and Ecclesiastical—Review of his Work—His Death—Monastic Character of the Irish Church after this —St Brigida—First Order of Catholic Saints in Ireland— Second Order, Catholic Presbyters—Third Order, Solitary Ascetics, A.D. 410-700,	95-139
---	--------

CHAPTER IV.*

SAINT COLUMBA.

Saint Columba—His Life by Adamnan—Other Lives—Birth of St Columba—His early Life—Embraces a Religious Life —Founds the Church of Derry—Monastery of Durrow— Kells—Other Foundations—State of Ireland, Civil and Religious—Battle of Coldreim—Columba leaves Ireland for Alba—Poems—Farewell to Aran—Arrives at Hy—	
---	--

	PAGE
His Mission to the Picts—His Miracles and Success— Columbian-foundations—Returns to Hy—Visits to Ireland —His Death—His Remains—His Reliques—His Prophetic Revelations—Miraculous Powers—Visions of Angels, A.D. 521-597,	140-182

CHAPTER V.

THE INSTITUTION AT HY (IONA).

The Institution at Hy (Iona)—The Site—Buildings on the Island, their History and Remains—Constitution—The Abbot—Discipline and Ritual—The Original Building and Appurtenances—Jurisdiction claimed by Hy—Saint Ex- plorers and Voyagers—Cormac—Maelrubha—Donnan— Character of Columba—Character of the Institution at Hy —The Columbian Church purely Monastic, A.D. 563- 597,	183-221
---	---------

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAMILY OF HY.

The Columbian Church in Scotland—The Family (familia) of Hy—Abbot Baithe—Laisren—Easter Controversy— Fergna-Brit Seghine—Oswald a Refugee at Hy—He re- covers Bernicia by Supernatural Aid from Columba—Ap- plies to Hy for an Instructor—Bishop Aidan—His Labours successful—Oswald's Defeat and Death—Penda and Hea- thenism—Suibhne—Cuimine Ailbhe—Bernicia—Bishop Finan—Colman—His Debate on Easter with Wilfrid— Celtic Clergy return to Hy—Their Character—Hilda— Caedmon—Cuthbert, A.D. 597-687,	222-244
--	---------

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY OF HY.

The Family of Hy. Cumine Ailbhe—Failbe—Wilfrid—Adam- nan—His birth and early life—His literary attainments —His connection with Bernicia—He conforms to the	
---	--

	PAGE
Catholic mode of Easter and the Tonsure—His visits to Ireland—His death and fame as a Saint—Foundations—Conamhail—Dunchadh—Naitan, King of the Picts—He embraces the Roman style and expels the Columbian Clergy—The family of Hy conform—Paucity of interest in the records—Monastery burnt by the Danes—Massacre of the Brethren—Supremacy of Hy lost in Ireland—In Scotland transferred to Dunkeld—Later History of Hy, A.D. 657-1303,	245-264

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CELTIC CHURCH IN ALBAN.

Christianity in Scotland previous to A.D. 717—Anglican or Roman Church in Alban—St Peter and St Andrew patron Saints—Kenneth MacAlpin reinstates the Celtic Church—Establishes a Bishopric at Dunkeld—Constantin—Transfers Bishopric to Abernethy—King Grig—His benefactions to the Church—Constantin II. transfers Primacy to St Andrews, and with Kellach the Bishop constitutes a State Church—Kenneth founds the Church of Brechin—Macbeth—His liberality to the Church—His visit to Rome—Culdees, A.D. 400-1200,	265-286
---	---------

CHAPTER IX.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

Accession of Malcolm Canmore—Influence of his Marriage with Margaret—Court and Church of England and Scotland contrasted—Influence of Queen Margaret—Her Biography by Turgot—Her Innovations—Her Benefactions to the Church—Edgar—Refound Coldingham—Alexander appoints Turgot Bishop of St Andrews—Also Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld—Creates the See of Moray—Ethelred Abbot of Dunkeld—Turgot's disputes with the See of York—Alexander introduces Black Canons at Scone and Dunkeld—Founds a Priory on an Island in Loch Tay, and at Inchcolm, A.D. 1058-1124,	287-304
---	---------

CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN SYSTEM.

	PAGE
Accession of David I.—Introduces the Roman System while Prince of Cumbria—Foundations—Monastery at Selkirk—Bishopric of Glasgow—See of Galloway—St Andrews—Legend of St Regulus—Bishops of the See—Reformation by David—Keledei—Dunkeld—Brechin—Dunblane—Muthill—Aberdeen—Deer—Turiff—Ross—Caithness—Lochleven—Monymusk—Abernethy—Lismore—Hy—Monifieth—Monasteries—Dunfermline—Coldingham—Scone—Inchcolm—Urquhart—Isle of May—Holyrood—Kelso—Melrose—Newbattle—Lesmahagow—Kilwinning—Cambuskenneth—Nunnery of Berwick—Military Orders, A.D. 1124-1153,	305-332
INDEX,	333-343

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Introductory—Prehistoric Period—Joseph of Arimathea—Eleutherus—Persecution under Diocletian—St Alban—Prosperity and Heresies—Pelagius—Valentia—St Ninian—A.D. 156-400.

IN the first part of this work the author has endeavoured to trace the civil history of the people who constituted the population of Scotland from the dawn of authentic history until the close of the reign of David I. The inquiry has been to him unsatisfactory enough; what is not myth and legend is little more than a catalogue of names, and an itinerary of places, with the probable date of battles, homicides, and devastations, attending migration and conquest.

Incidentally, reference has been made to the religion of the people and to ecclesiastical establishments, these now form the subject of detail. This part of Scottish history is in many respects the most important, and is certainly the most interesting; it is the part which the author first wrote, and it was only the intrusion of mundane affairs which prompted him to write the Civil History, to endeavour to know and make known who, in the ordinary affairs of life were the subjects of the Ecclesiastical History. The church, and what we call religion, looms largely in the history of the British Isles; the sequel will show that it was no part of the mission of the early Scottish Church to inculcate 'peace on earth,' the warlike propensities of Pict, Scot, and Saxon, received no check.

Our early chroniclers from the time of Bede and Adamnan, to Matthew Paris and Androw of Wyntoun, were all churchmen. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Pictish Chronicle, the Annals of Ulster and of Tighernac, in fact all the annals referred to in the previous part, were compiled by ecclesiastics, little wonder then that

the church should occupy its due or undue place in the history of the times. In Scotland we shall see that the influence of St Columba was overwhelming, but after his time, and that of his immediate successors, until the Roman revival, ecclesiasticism, and perhaps still more so, religion, were in a state of coma. From this period until the Reformation, much of the wealth and all the intellect of Scotland were resident in the church. The last great movement turned every true Scotchman into an ecclesiastic deeply versed in all points in theology and church government, and up to the present day he displays a knowledge of, and interest in, topics which are utterly incomprehensible to an Englishman, let alone the benighted inhabitant of countries separated by a wider gulf than the channel, Popery and Rationalism.

The earlier stages of this development it is now our object to trace. The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland may be divided into four periods. The first may be termed the Prehistoric, extending from the introduction of Christianity until the arrival of St Columba. The second can bear no other name than the Gadhelic, introduced by the Abbot of Hy in the sixth century, and reaching to the time of David I. in the twelfth. The third and fourth need only be mentioned, the periods of the Roman and Reformed Churches.

The inquiry should properly be made here, What was the religion of the inhabitants of Britain previous to the introduction of Christianity? But it would be a fruitless one; there are no remains, archæological or historical to guide us, the only refuge is to say that it was Druidism, though what are Druidical remains, and what Druidism was, either on the Continent or in the British Isles, is an insoluble puzzle. Whatever the religion was, it was of the most primitive kind, and had taken no hold of the minds of the people, there could have been no powerful religious caste, or we should have heard of martyrs among the early teachers, such a thing is unknown in Pagan English, Scottish, or Irish history. There was not an enthusiastic enough belief in the religion of our ancestors to produce the inevitable sequence to such

a belief, the martyrdom of those who sought to overturn it. It is sufficient to say that a harmless superstition, ministered by men of no great influence or standing, was the religion with which the missionaries in North Britain came in contact.

The probability is that Britain received the faith of Christ at a very early period; but Dean Milman is of opinion that 'the visit of St Paul is a fiction of religious national vanity; it has few or no advocates except English ecclesiastical antiquaries.'¹ On the other hand, Mosheim does not altogether reject the theory of William of Malmesbury and the other monkish chroniclers, who maintain that Joseph of Arimathea, with twelve others, were sent from Gaul by St Philip A.D. 63; that they were successful in planting Christianity; spent their lives in England; had twelve hides of land assigned them by the King at Glastonbury, where they first built a church of hurdles, and afterwards established a monastery. By maintaining the truth of this theory, the English clergy obtained the precedence of some others in several councils of the fifteenth century, and particularly that of Basil A.D. 1434.² The author quoted expresses a modified belief in the tradition narrated by Bede: 'In their time, A.D. 156,³ whilst Eleutherus, a holy man, presided over the Roman Church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to him, entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith, which they had received, uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian.⁴ Commenting on these traditions and others of St Peter, James the son of Zebedee, Simon Zelotes, and Aristobulus, Mosheim says, 'Whether any apostle, or any companion of an apostle, ever visited Britain, cannot be determined, yet the balance of probability rather inclines

¹ Milman's *Christianity*, vol. i. p. 459, note.

² Mosheim's *Church History*, ed. 1845, vol. i. p. 135, note.

³ The chronology here is confused, the period may be any time from 156 to 190.

⁴ Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, p. 10; Nennius, p. 393.

A. D. 196 400. — towards the affirmative. The story of Joseph of Arimathea might arise from the arrival of some Christian teacher from Gaul, in the *second* century, whose name was Joseph. As to Lucius, I agree with the best British writers in supposing him to be the restorer and second father of the English Churches, and not their original founder. His application I can never believe was made to the Bishop of Rome. It is much more probable he sent to Gaul for Christian teachers. The independence of the ancient British Churches, on the See of Rome, and their observing the same rites with the Gallic Churches, which were planted by Asiatics, and particularly in regard to the time of Easter, show that they received the gospel from Gaul and not from Rome.¹

The Christianity thus introduced in the second century was left during the third to flourish in security, so far as intestine war was concerned, for from the time of Severus, 208-211 till 360, no barbarian invasion threatened the Roman empire in Britain. Whether the Christian community was tried in the fire of the tenth persecution under Diocletian is very problematical. It was certainly wide-spread, unsparing, and bloody in many parts of the country, notably in the East, but a good deal depended on the character of the governors to whom the execution of the edict was entrusted, and Spain, Gaul, and Britain were under the command of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, who favoured the Christians to the extent of his power. Britain, during the time of this persecution, was the residence of Constantius; he was an object of suspicion to Galerius Maximus, and reciprocated the distrust; it is very unlikely he would carry out the orders of the man whom he knew to be his bitterest enemy. The story of the martyrdom of St Alban and his fellows, as told by Bede,² cannot be reckoned as true history, indeed the whole tradition of the persecution in Britain rests on the shallowest foundation. The Rev. Mr Soames eloquently abridges the venerable story. He tells how Alban

¹ Mosheim, vol. i. p. 135, note.

² Bede's Eccl. Hist. pp. 12-14; Gildas, pp. 302-304.

became a Christian, how firm the young convert was in the faith, nought could shake it. Scourging being tried in vain, he suffered decapitation. He resided at Verulam, or Werlamcester, as the Saxons eventually called it. The place of his martyrdom was the hill overlooking the spot then occupied by that ancient city. Here in after-times arose the noble abbey of St Albans, a worthy commemoration of Britain's earliest blood-stained testimony against Gentile errors. After Alban's example, many other members of the ancient British Church surrendered their lives rather than deny their Saviour.¹

A. D. 156-400.

From this time until the collapse of the Roman power Christianity flourished, and Usher and other church writers maintain that British bishops were present at the Councils of Sardica, A.D. 347, and even of Nice, A.D. 325. Milman, however, says, that the only representative at the latter was Hosius, who appeared for Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

That there were bishops or ecclesiastics of some kind, experts in the rapidly advancing science of theology, rulers of thought, is evident. We now find the Arian heresy intruding itself into this remote corner of the vineyard, and of its being fiercely opposed by the lords of the vineyard. The spread of this dangerous and *new* opinion is thoroughly described by the Venerable Bede; he tells how, after the persecution, 'the faithful Christians displayed their conquering ensigns in all places; they celebrated festivals, and performed their sacred rites with clean breasts and mouths. This peace continued in the churches of Britain until the time of the Arian madness,² which, having corrupted the whole world, infected this island also, so far removed from the rest of the globe, with the poison of its arrows; and when the plague was thus conveyed across the sea, all the venom of every heresy immediately rushed into the island, ever fond of something new, and never holding firm to anything.'³

¹ Soames' Anglo-Saxon Church, pp. 28, 29.

² Arius first ventilated his opinions in Alexandria, shortly before the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; he died 336.

³ Bede, p. 16.

A. D. 156-400.

Whether Arianism struck root in the British Isles or not, it was soon eclipsed by another heresy, which for long troubled the orthodox teachers of Christianity. Pelagianism succeeded to the silenced and exhausted feud concerning the number of persons in the Godhead.

Pelagius, 'whose perfidious doctrine against the assistance of Divine grace' so roused the holy ire of the Venerable Bede, was a native of Wales, whose real name is supposed to have been Morgan, his associate in his impious work was Cœlestius, a Scot (Irishman). About the beginning of the fifth century they promulgated the doctrines since known as Pelagianism, and which obtained wide acceptance in many parts of the empire. But the genius of the Church soon perceived their dangerous character, the powerful pen of St Augustine victoriously controverted them: a controversion acquiesced in by all ecclesiastics since, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike. From the fact of both of the heresiarchs being British Celts, a notice of them and their doctrines seem a necessary part of our history.

Pelagius was a British monk who, about A.D. 400 went to Rome, where he abode for five years before he began to publish his peculiar views, A.D. 405. Whether he had imbibed these opinions while yet in Britain, whether he had received an education there, and communed with kindred spirits leading up to them, whether he was a youth, or in the prime of life, is unknown. At Rome he is said to have imbibed the opinions of Origen, who, while always recognised as a father of the church, seems to have been at the bottom of all the heretical opinions subsequent to his time. At Rome Pelagius met his countryman Cœlestius, an Irish monk, of whom as little is known; he eagerly embraced his views, a warm friendship was formed, and Cœlestius ever after followed the fortunes of his friend and compatriot. Both are described by their enemies (for no writings of their friends are known) as men of distinguished genius, learning, and sanctity, both were expelled from Rome, their writings condemned; their persons anathematised

by Popes and Councils. Neither of these was yet powerful enough to take stronger measures for the safety of the church. Pelagius left numerous writings, part of which, strangely enough, have been incorporated in the works of St Jerome, and even in those of St Augustine, and were published as the productions of these orthodox fathers. Pelagius, after a checkered career, disappears from history A.D. 418. Cœlestius led a more wandering life than his fellow, and disseminated his errors widely in Asia and the islands; he left several works, of which his 'Confession of Faith' is the only one extant. After A.D. 431 his name is not mentioned in church history.

According to Dr Walch, as abridged by Schlegel, the system of Pelagius was comprised in twenty-nine propositions,¹ most of them, we are afraid, are held avowedly or concealedly by the large section of believers in Christianity, lay and clerical, who attach little or no value to dogmatic theology. We give the initiatory:— '1. Men, as they now come into the world, are, in respect to their powers and abilities in the same state in which Adam was created. 2. Adam sinned! but his sinning harmed no one but himself. 3. Human nature, therefore, is not changed by the Fall; and death is not a punishment for sin; but Adam would have died had he not apostatized. For death is inseparable from our nature; and the same is true of the pains of childbirth, diseases and outward evils, particularly in children. 4. Much less is the guilt of Adam's sin imputed to his offspring; for God would be unjust if He imputed to us the actions of others.' From these and other corollaries Pelagius maintained 'that human beings can, by their natural powers, renovate themselves, and reach the highest degree of holiness; that man requires indeed external grace to call forth his efforts, 'but needs not a supernatural grace outside of himself for his efforts.' The heresy has lost its sting in our days; being only a dispute over an insoluble problem, the origin of evil, and what are the influences which may

¹ The account of Pelagius and his system is taken from Mosh-eim, vol. i. pp. 487-490, and notes.

A. D. 156-400. ameliorate the evil or exterminate the propensity. If we knew more of Pelagius and his disciples, we would probably find that the movement which he inaugurated was the revolt of the intellect against the slavish submission to the letter of Scripture and formulated modes of thought on this basis, which already was dwarfing the religion of Christ. It was also a protest against the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a doctrine which turned the most beautiful and touching, as well as the oldest of all religious rites into a fetich. The evils which this superstition (for no other name is applicable) were very great, and were so deeply rooted that even Pelagius, though it contradicted his own theory, acknowledged that baptism was necessary for the remission of sins, but that the 'guilt washed away was the pettishness of the child.'¹ Yet all honour to the man who threw doubt on 'a doctrine of the church which wrung the mother's heart with an agony that was too poignant even for that submissive age to bear.'²

Looking at the period when the Pelagian heresy originated, there is little wonder that it was anathematised; like the silversmiths of Ephesus, the clergy saw that belief in it endangered their craft.

¹ Wyntoun quaintly describes the opinion of Pelagius, and lays great stress on his want of faith in the effects of infant baptism:—

'Pelagius borne into Brettane,
A clerk was and a wykkyd man,
Proponyd that time heyly
Conclusyownys off gret heresy.
Off hys conclusyownys ane this was,
Man mycht be sauff, but Goddys gras,
Off propyr will man mycht in mede
In alkyn rychtwysnes procede ;
He sayd, and barnys abortywe,
And burrnys borne yhong hawand lywe,
Wes all fre qwyt and hale
Fra the auld syne orygynalle,
Na the baptyisme, he sayd, in dede,
Dyd noucht but ekyd thame thaire mede.'

—Cronykil, vol. ii. p. 5.

² Lecky's Rationalism, vol. i. p. 396; *Ibid.* p. 399, in which see also the account of observances, by which the still-born child was baptised, the ceremony as it were antedated.

Except perhaps in the very earliest stages of Christianity, there have been uniformly two classes, more or less sharply divided, the clergy and the laity, the rulers and the ruled. By the fifth century the rulers were a powerful and compact body, in the possession of what were supposed to be truths and mysteries requisite to salvation. Up to the time of Constantine, different aspects of these truths and mysteries were not treated as dogmas, but simply differences of opinion they were little thought of, a common danger united all parties who bore the name of Christ. But the fourth century crystallised all the incomprehensible and mind debasing doctrines which still dominate over Christians, Catholic and Protestant; St Athanasius and St Augustine are oracles to all. One doctrine was thoroughly developed; that all outside of the pale of the church were condemned to everlasting woe,¹ and another consequent on this, that admission to the church and its privileges could be obtained only through its accredited ministers: 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.'² The grace of God which alone could give salvation could, in addition, be procured only through the sacraments of the church administered by its officials.³ That this inestimable gift could be obtained in any other way was fatal to the pretensions, nay, to the very existence of the clergy, it laid their ghostly power in the dust, and led men back to human hopes and aspirations accessible to all.

We have introduced this sketch of Pelagius and his opinions chiefly on account of the interesting speculations it opens up as to the state of culture among the Romanised Britons. The Heresiarchs could hardly have imbibed all their opinions, could hardly have attained to the well-balanced culture which gave them birth, while

¹ It is still held by the so-called evangelical bodies, that these unfortunate, though numerous sons and daughters of the Deity, can only be recipients of His *uncovenanted* mercy.

² John i. 10.

³ Though the Roman Church considered that in certain extreme cases baptism, administered by a layman, was efficacious.

A.D. 156-400. studying at Rome. Their previous training must have had much to do with it; did they derive their cultured education from any school, monkish or otherwise, in Britain, and was that culture sufficient of itself to foster such ideas? The state of the country, and the little we know of Cymric and Gaelic saints, bishops, and monks, would lead us to believe that Pelagius and Cœlestius stand alone in their culture.¹ Piety, energy, and in the case of John Scotus Erigena, learning, are to be found in the holy men of the Celtic Church, but the scanty remains of all the Celtic fathers put together do not approach in value (judged by the standard of modern criticism) to those of the heretic Welshman and Scot.

The disciples of Pelagius would be few, free spoken and intelligent, and would certainly be reckoned dangerous, the doctrine would be caviare to the mass of the people, in fact, was unsuitable, the world was not ripe for the main point involved, freedom of thought; it needed a master, and found one in the Roman Church. The majesty of the law of ancient Rome was gone, and anarchy was the result; the majesty of Papal Rome was to take its place, and for centuries it was the best thing the people could have had; internal corruption caused its downfall, but even yet we are hardly fit to take the law in religious matters into our own hands; we need an infallible *something*. From the success of the arguments of St Augustine, and the general acceptance of his system, it is evident that it was the outcome of, and in sympathy with, the deepest religious feeling of the age. Nothing in the life of the new barbarian converts seemed to contradict the dogma, that 'the world was very evil,' that nothing but supernatural influences could work a cure,

¹ How such a paradox in the history of intellectual developement should be credited to the Celtic mind, seems to have forcibly struck the learned editor of the Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern, the late Bishop of Brechin. 'How a system which magnifies the force of the human will and minimizes the supernatural factors in the operations of the soul, should have found favour among a race so influenced by the imagination, and so affected by the hyper-physical, is one of the most abnormal circumstances in the history of human thought.' —Introduction, pp. lxxi.-ii.

they accepted this cure thankfully from their teachers, in A.D. 156-400 firm but perhaps unreasoning faith.

To return to the history of the early British Church; there can be little doubt that after the accession of Constantine it was prosperous; the Christian religion was that of the state, and would readily be embraced by all connected with, and dependent on the government; it would be the badge of civilisation, the provincials affected Roman manners, and Christianity was a part of these. Ministers of religion would be found at the civil and military centres, perhaps even at the outposts, but it is not at all likely that churches had been planted in the district north of the wall of Hadrian previous to A.D. 360, there, the Roman name was no guarantee of safety, services, however, may have been held at the fortified stations, and even missionary work carried on. But on the territory which had for its northern boundary the Firths of Forth and Clyde, being restored by Theodosius in A.D. 369, and incorporated under the name of Valentia, it is probable enough that churches would be planted there. St Ninian's father was a Christian; St Patrick's was a deacon, his grandfather a priest. But as we have seen, from the time of the withdrawal of the imperial forces in A.D. 388, Britain, and especially Valentia, became a prey to the incursions of the Picts and Scots; Christianity and civilisation were extinguished. The first is eminently proved from the fact of St Patrick himself, in the beginning of the fifth century, being without the knowledge of the true faith; yet there must have lingered some spark, for St Ninian, who is of a rather earlier date, is said to have been brought up in the Christian faith. 'He, in very infancy, regenerated in the water of holy baptism, preserving immaculate the holy robe which, clad in white, he had received, a conquerer of vice, presented it in the sight of Christ; and that Holy Spirit whom he first received to cleanse him, he merited by his most holy ways to maintain as the instructor of his pious heart.'¹ Not from this statement, which may, and probably is, Ailred's twelfth century idea of what St Ninian must have

¹ Life of St Ninian, pp. 7, 8.

A. D. 156-400. been, but from the general tenor of subsequent events, it is highly probable that there was a remnant left of this early Christianity, and that it was strongly impregnated with superstitious veneration for the rites of the church, and the ascetic mode of life which culminated in monasticism. St Ninian's labours were entirely missionary, he had to collect the scattered few who *may* have been waiting for a shepherd ; but, so far as we know, he had to make his converts, and found his Church ; there was not the survival to be found further south, the institutions there were not overwhelmed, we shall have occasion to refer to the British (Cymric) Church under the presidency of a galaxy of saints.

CHAPTER II.

HAGIOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Hagiological Literature, its Value—St Ninian—Authorities—Ailred's Life—Dedications to St Ninian—His Early Life—His Visit to Rome—His Visit to St Martin at Tours—He returns to Britain—Establishes an Institution at Witerna (Whithorn)—Builds a Church, Candida Casa—King Tudvallis—Miracles of St Ninian—He undertaketh the Conversion of the Picts—Survival of Candida Casa—Subsequent History, A.D. 370-437.

BEFORE we commence the narrative of the lives of the persons who founded Christianity in North Britain, and whose memoirs are nearly all the material from which history can be compiled, it is necessary to bear in mind, that all the lives handed down to us from the time of Bede are tinged with a tendency to exalt the power of the Pope and the Church, *i.e.* the Roman Church. The biographers endeavour to gloss over the supposed errors of the Scottish saints, and bring them and their acts into conformity with the Roman Church of their own times. There is also one thing always to be borne in mind, that the so-called bishops were bishops with no diocese and exercising no territorial supervision. The deification of the Virgin, the invocation of the saints, and purgatory, were unknown, and there was also no acknowledgment of the supremacy of the See of Rome; any authority affirming the reverse may, without further evidence, be assigned to a date not earlier than the middle of the eleventh century.

But in addition, an apology is needed for much of the matter now to be detailed. The lives of the saints of the Scottish Church, and indeed of all the devoted men who planted the seeds of Christianity, could be told in a very few paragraphs, were the miraculous to be eliminated; why then should fables, to use a mild word, form a part of history? Yet we cannot throw them aside as idle tales; they were believed in for over fourteen

hundred years, from the time that the Apostles left their Galilean homes endowed with power from their Master to cast out devils, to heal the sick, to raise the dead. The body they founded called the Church, believed that this power was in members of that mystical body, whether presided over by apostle, pope, or patriarch, or, as in the Scottish Church, acknowledging no head save Christ. The records of the deeds we stigmatise as fabrications, or vivid efforts of the pious imagination of ignorance and error, were truths, and in religious language saving truths to the cultivated Greek and Roman, as well as to the savage Celt and Teuton. The workers and narrators of these miraculous events have given to us our creeds and liturgies, they have left marks which time has failed to obliterate, on our religion, our literature, our modes of thought. The strictest sects of Protestants have accepted the theology of St Augustine in its most daring conclusions, and yet refuse to accept the miracles by which he confirmed his doctrine and confounded his gainsayers. A belief in miracles seems to give a higher tone to religious feeling, the believers in them have given to us the most ennobling and spiritualised conception of a temple to the unseen God¹ in the Gothic cathedral, their hymns and devotional utterances are our best and truest spiritual food.

We have no doubt in our minds that the narrative in the Iliad is not true history, the stories in the Vedas and the Eddas we reckon mythological, yet these were to the religious mind of a past age, educated and uneducated, narratives of events which really happened. The Hagiology of the Church has the same true interest for us: man lives in his ideals; the early church had for its ideal purity of life and unbounded faith in a power

¹ 'No other buildings the world has seen are so admirably calculated to produce a sensation of blended awe and tranquillity, to harmonise or assuage the qualms of passion, to lull to sleep the rebellious energies of the intellect, to create around the mind an artificial, unworldly, but most impressive atmosphere; to represent a church which acts upon the imagination by obscurity and terrorism, and by images of solemn and entrancing beauty.' Lecky's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 279.

outside of itself, acting and reacting by direct and supernatural influences; all this clustered round those who are called saints, and even as, in our critical age we fondly invest with virtues and faculties which they only partially possessed, those whom we have loved and revered, so in past ages, the virtues and powers of the pure and the great men of the Church were idealised, exaggerated, perhaps created. To separate this ideal from the narrative is to emasculate it, to omit even the trivialities is to rob it of its simplicity; all is needed to bring before our minds the forms and labours of the founders of our faith.

Little is known of the first Christian minister in Scotland, St Ninian, if we are to accept only facts which can be verified. That he was a successful missionary teacher, and founded at Whithorn in Galloway, a church or monastery for religious and educational purposes, is certain. It is also highly probable that his labours were not confined to what Anglican and Roman writers call his diocese—the southwest of Scotland and northwest of England, but that they extended to the region lying between the Firth of Forth and the Month (Grampians). This much can be safely gathered from Bede, the only high to contemporary authority who mentions his name: ‘The southern Picts, who dwell on this side of those mountains, had long before (A.D. 565), as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth, by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose Episcopal See, named after St Martin the bishop, and famous for a stately church (wherein he and many other saints rest in the body), is still in existence among the English nation. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House, because he built there a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons.’¹

The other notices of St Ninian are to be found in the Aberdeen Breviary and the life by St Ailred, which is

¹ Bede, Ecc. Hist., pp. 113, 114.

A. D. 370-437. evidently an amplification of Bede's account, though the biographer states that he had the help of 'a book of St Ninian's life and miracles written in a barbarous style.' This biography, in Latin and English, has been published in the very valuable series of 'Scottish Historians,' vol. v., and forms the groundwork of our sketch of the life and labours of the saint. Its value is pithily stated by the learned editor and translator: 'With every wish to deal fairly with the work of St Ailred, we must pronounce it almost worthless as a historical tract. There is hardly one fact additional to those with which we were already acquainted from the celebrated passage in Baeda, quoted by himself, at the beginning of his biography. Indeed there the author admits that the barbarous work which he professed to polish only elucidated the same facts. Even the miracles lack much of the local colouring which gives so much interest to some of the Irish legends. It is entirely wanting in the mournful interest which gives such a charm to the invective of Gildas. On the other hand, the style for the eleventh century is exceedingly good. The diction is flowing and the sentiments gracefully expressed. The account of the early life of St Ninian is admirable, and even the declamation on the evilness of the times, though slightly turgid, is not without eloquence. A historical work like this is not the place to enlarge on its religious aspect, but the vein of real piety which runs through it all, while it is evidence of the beautiful moral nature of the author, gives the lie to those crude notions of the world lying in spiritual darkness during the mediæval times, and of the absence of gospel light from epochs distinguished by some of the strongest outcomes of the Christian sentiment, such as the Wars of the Crusades, Wars for an idea—the idea of the special sacredness of that Holy Land

'Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross.'¹

Ailred is a well known character in Scottish history, and

¹ Life, Introduction, pp. x., xi.

a most favourable specimen of the learned and pious men A. D. 370-437. who in the twelfth century adorned the monastic profession. 'He belonged to a hereditary family of priests, who owned the church of Hexham as they would a leasehold or freehold property.'¹ By the time of his birth a reformation in manners had taken place, *i.e.* as celibacy was being imposed on the clergy, and 'Eilaf, the grandfather of Ailred, not uncompensated, gave up Hexham to Edric, and in 1113 a college of canons was established, which under Thurstan eventually grew into a house of Augustinians. Eilaf himself, after making the grant to which we have just alluded, assumed the habit of a Benedictine monk at Durham, and dying contrite and devout after a few days, is recorded in the *Liber Vitæ* of that house as 'Eilaf sacerdos et monachus,'¹ 'Ailred began life at the court of David, King of Scotland, whose subject he was by virtue of the Scottish possession of Cumberland and Northumberland at that time, and with whose son Henry he seems to have been educated. At the age of twenty-four, in 1133, he became a Cistercian, at Rievaulx in Yorkshire. In 1142 he became Abbot of Revesby, and in the next year returned as Abbot of Rievaulx.'¹ St Ailred was led to write the life of St Ninian from a visit which he paid to Galloway, his description of the manners and morals of the people will not bear translation; it is to be hoped that the ascetic virtue of the monk exaggerated the barbarism and immorality he depicts; if true, little wonder that the gentle Norman knights cried shame on David for allowing such savages in the ranks of his army. Ailred was a voluminous writer, and seems to have led a busy and useful life, he died on January 1166, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in the odour of sanctity, and high in the esteem of the Kings of England and Scotland.

The state of the country where St Ninian founded his church has been previously described, it is only necessary to recall to the attention of the reader the fact, that Galloway was not in his time so barbarous as it afterwards became, neither Picts, Scots, Angles, or Norsemen had as

¹ Life, Intro. p. vii.

A. D. 370-437.

yet overrun and ravaged the country, destroying the civilisation of the Britons of the district, who are termed by Ptolemy, Novantæ, and who were probably to some extent Romanised, even Christianised. Their principal town, on the west side of the bay of Wigtown is termed Leucophibia, and there St Ninian built his church, making the locality his headquarters. The edifice, we have seen, was built of stone—an unusual circumstance, all the buildings for centuries after, being constructed of wood or wattles. The name of *Candida Casa* was the common appellation. It is evident from St Ninian's visit to Rome and Tours that communication with the continent was free and uninterrupted, and that there was friendly and sympathetic intercourse with the Gallic Church. It would seem also, for all that can be said to the contrary, that the discipline, ritual and doctrines of the Roman Church were accepted, but there is not the slightest evidence to show that the Bishop of Rome or the Pope was looked upon as the head of the Church by the clergy of Britain, Gaul, and Spain; in fact, during the fourth century Hosius, Ambrose and Martin, were much greater potentates in church and state than any of the popes of that period.

The dedications to St Ninian in Scotland extend from Orkney to Dumfries; they number sixty-five; the most numerous are in Forfarshire, eight; Ayrshire six; Aberdeen and Lanark five each; strange, two only in Wigtonshire and none in Kirkcudbright. There are allusions to St Ninian or St Ringan in the works of Sir David Lindesay, in Stewart's *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland*, and in the early ballad literature. A resumé of his life by Ailred may further illustrate his labours and the times in which he lived.

'The father of St Ninian was a king, by religion a Christian, of such faith in God, and of such merit, as to be deemed worthy of a child by whom what was lacking in the faith of his own nation was supplied, and by whom another race that had not known the sacraments of the faith became imbued with the mysteries of our holy religion. He in very infancy, regenerated in the water of baptism, preserving immaculate the nuptial robe which,

clad in white, he had received, a conqueror of vice, presented it in the sight of Christ. . . . He was sparing in food, reticent in speech, assiduous in study, agreeable in manners, averse from jesting, and in everything subjecting the flesh to the spirit.¹ To abridge, he studied the sacred Scriptures,² and whether, as his biographer says, out of love and affection to Peter and Peter's vicar; or, like most men who have the means, desirous of instruction in the learning of the day, he went to Rome.

The records of the visit to the apostolic seat are scanty, but it must have exercised an enormous influence on the life of the young Briton. We have seen what his native country was—a building of stone, a thing unknown. Rome was then untouched by the spoiler, no Attila or Genseric had desecrated the house of the descendants of 'the she-wolf's litter.' The buildings which in ruins are still the admiration of the world were then existing in their entirety. The temples to the gods of Olympus were still there, though deserted by their worshippers, but no Christian temples had yet taken their place. Rome was in a transition state, half heathen half Christian; the gladiatorial shows had been abolished, but the baths of Titus, and all the luxurious appliances for the pleasure and sustenance of a savage and pampered populace, had not given way to the ecclesiastical shows and mummeries of future years. Heathenism was in its last stage of decline, Christianity was triumphant, its ministers in the ascendant, no longer trembling under the eye of the prætor, but the pampered favourites of the Emperor and the Court. The Empire was ruled by Theodosius, and in his code the clergy were exempted from all civil employments, and from taxation. Bishops were responsible to their own order only. Men were needed for the state, the Emperor no longer compelled the monks to be of use to society, to become soldiers, but civil officers were for-

¹ Life, pp. 7, 8.

² It is very unlikely that St Ninian could have done so previous to his visit to Rome. Was there in Britain a Latin version earlier than the Vulgate, or had he a knowledge of Greek, and perused the Scriptures in that language?

A. D. 370-437.

bidden to take orders, the refuge of the pious and lazy coward of the time. The mediæval religious life was commencing, and was at fever heat in the capital. The Roman ladies, under the later Paganism so infamously licentious, were for a short time chaste, they were the ardent disciples of St Jerome, many of them leaving the ease and luxury of their homes to share with him his exile in Palestine. The patriotism of the ancient Roman was dead, even his courage had fled; luxury had enervated him, the new religion in the form it assumed annihilated all that was left of manhood. The affairs of the Church now absorbed the attention of the populace, the election of a pope or a bishop was of more importance than that of an emperor, the loss of a province or the slaughter of a legion of less consequence than the spread of an heretical opinion. Rome was no longer the capital of the State, but it was fast becoming the capital of the Church, and appeals to the Pope would soon become as frequent from all parts of the civilised world, as they had been in former times to Cæsar. Under the pontificate of Siricius, when St Ninian was in Rome, there was issued the first authentic decretal. Not much attention was paid to it, but it was the first letter of the Bishop of Rome in which he attempted to lay down the law for the Western Church, and was the foundation of the vast system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence of Christendom. St Jerome and his associates were ascetics, the secular clergy were far from being so. Asceticism and luxury jostled one another in startling antithesis. 'The monastics inveighed against the worldly riches, pomp and luxury of the clergy; the clergy looked with undisguised jealousy on the growing, irresistible influence of the monks, especially over the high-born females; St Jerome spared neither. On the clergy he thus writes:—'Sunt alii, de hominibus loquor, mei ordinis, qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum, ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videantur.' Then follows the description of a clerical coxcomb: His whole care is in his dress, that it be well perfumed, that his feet may not slip about in a loose sandal; his hair is crisped with a curling pin, his fingers

glitter with rings, he walks on tiptoe lest he should splash himself with the wet soil; when you see him you would think him a bridegroom rather than an ecclesiastic.'¹

A.D. 370-437.

Into this embroglio of piety and luxury the young Briton was introduced, and it says much for the simple devotion of the youth that he ever returned to the mud hovels, the scanty fare and the barbarous mode of life of his own people.

The biography says, 'The most blessed youth having arrived at Rome, betook himself to the Bishop of the Supreme See, and when he had explained to him the cause of his journey, the Pope accepted his devotion, and treated him with the greatest affection as his son. Presently he handed him over to the teachers of truth to be imbued with the disciplines of faith and the sound meanings of Scripture.'² St Ninian's education in theological matters needed correction, for 'he learnt moreover that on him and his fellow countrymen many things contrary to sound doctrine had been inculcated by unskilled teachers.'² Could Gnosticism, Arianism, and kindred heresies have penetrated so far north? St Ninian received the sincere milk of the word as administered by orthodox hands, and 'being chaste in body, prudent in mind, provident in counsel, circumspect in every act and word, he rose to the favour and friendship of the Supreme Pontiff himself.'³ 'Wherefore, after living in a praiseworthy manner far many years in the city, and having been sufficiently instructed in the sacred Scriptures, he attained to the height of virtue, and sustained on the wings of love, he rose to the contemplation of spiritual things.'³ The Pope consecrated the man of God to the Episcopate, and after giving him the benediction with his own hands sent him forth as an apostle, to convert to the faith of Christ those of his countrymen who had not received it, and to bring back to the true faith those who had been led astray by heretics.

There is one thing pretty certain, St Ninian would leave Rome with a high opinion, if not of himself personally, if

¹ Millman's Latin Christianity, vol. i. p. 92.

² Life, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

A. D. 370-437. his order and his office. Whatever antiquarian churchmen may say, in the early history of Christianity there was little or no distinction between the clergy and the laity, in fact the terms were unknown. Apostles, bishops or overseers, and presbyters there were, men who had gained their position by holiness, by intrepid courage, and in some cases by their literary attainments. But for long there was no priestly caste, which could be entered into only by special training and gradation from the lower to the higher ranks, no special provision was made for their subsistence, wordly employments were not reckoned inconsistent with the dignity of the cloth. So late as A.D. 374 Ambrose was called from the position of governor of Æmilia and Liguria to be Bishop of Milan, by the voice of the people. For long the clergy were without distinction of dress except on ceremonial occasions. The Puritan and Presbyterian clergy in Great Britain very nearly returned to this primitive mode, but for some time back have seen the error of their ways, and now affect an attire akin to the Anglican or Roman mode. 'At the end of the fourth century, it was the custom for them in some churches to wear black. The proper habits were probably introduced at the end of the fifth century, as they are recognised by councils in the sixth. The tonsure began in the fourth century. The mitre is of the eighth, the tiara of the tenth.'¹ The learned author does not give us the origin of the 'pastoral staff,' which figures considerably in the history of the Scottish saints, the following description seems to hint that it was of use in its day: 'The Bachal-more of St Moloch in the possession of the Duke of Argyll, and figured in the *Origines Parochiales*, is a black-thorn bludgeon, with traces of a metal covering, measuring only thirty-four inches in length.'² By the time of St Ninian Rome was the centre of fashion, as well as of devotion, there would be clerical tailors and milliners, as well as professors of dogmatic theology, it is not improbable, that his person would be attended to, as

¹ Millman's Christianity, vol. iii. p. 271, note, where authority for the statements are given.

² Life of St Kentigern, notes, p. 343.

well as his mind, and that he would leave the seat of St Peter's successor tonsured and equipped in the latest mode. A. D. 370-437.

On his way through Gaul St Ninian paused at Tours, the residence of St Martin, and was so delighted with the reception he experienced, that a lengthened stay was made. Here in a thoroughly different atmosphere, and from thoroughly different lips he would be further initiated in the duties and the exalted position of the Christian minister.

Martin, the monk bishop of Tours, stands out as one of the foremost pioneers of Christianity, the first of the church militant in a realistic sense, the precursor of the French Huguenots and British Puritans, who stormed the temples of Baal, and not unfrequently hewed down at the altars priest and worshipper. Born in A. D. 316, under a heathen Emperor, of Teutonic race, the son of a military tribune, the saint on attaining the age of fifteen, served in the imperial army for five years, but from early religious impressions or otherwise, he betook himself to St Hilary of Poitiers, by whom these were deepened, and he became not only a devoted follower of Christ, but an accomplished theologian, skilled in the then controversy of the day—the Trinitarian. He returned home, converted his mother, proved his skill in theology by triumphantly confuting the Arians (for which, however, he was banished); he then entered the monastic life at Milan, but was driven thence by the Arian bishop. At last he found refuge with his friend and teacher St Hilary. The life work of St Martin now commenced; he left the confutation of heretics for nobler duties, indeed his persecution seems to have purified his spirit, for along with St Ambrose he nobly protested against the crime of putting the heretic Priscillianists to death.¹

He now built a monastery at Lugugé, where in conse-

¹ The heresy of the Spanish Bishop Priscillian seems to have been an exaggerated Gnosticism, coupled with erroneous notions on the divinity of Christ, a belief in magic, and extreme asceticism. He must, however, have been very bad, as the late amiable editor of the Life of St Ninian says, 'If ever there was an excuse for violent measures it was in the case of this strange and mysterious sect.'

A. D. 370-437.

quence of his fame in raising two dead men to life, he was chosen Bishop of Tours A. D. 371, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His fame thus established, St Martin continued the campaign of his early days, he raised a large army of monks (two thousand of them followed him to his grave), at their head he marched carrying destruction to the idols, temples, and consecrated trees of Gaul, Paganism, Roman and Celtic, was rooted out. In this he was aided by miraculous powers, which stagger modern notions; so frequently were they exercised, that on one occasion 'the saint mistook a harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.'¹ But it is hardly fair to judge St Martin by the life told by his biographer Sulpicius Severus; though a contemporary and challenging contradiction to the miracles narrated, he and his readers were easier satisfied on these matters than we are; rather ought we to judge the apostle of Gaul, by the results of his life. He founded monasticism there, an institution in its day of unmixed good, he introduced a very different rule from that which prevailed in the east. His monks were no eremites, dreaming or savage enthusiasts hardly elevated above the wild beasts who prowled beside their dens, they were men sworn to celibacy and asceticism of the severest kind, but they were also sworn to work, to be tillers of the soil, artisans, teachers and students. Active work, mental and bodily, not contemplation and retirement, was St Martin's rule, his monks were to *fight* the world, the flesh and the devil, not to *flee*.

It is little wonder that this great mind, at once an enthusiast and an organiser, had a strong perception of his high and commanding position in Christ's army; the powers with which he was gifted, the success which followed his labours, warranted him in the position he took, as far above all merely civil power. His fellow-workers shared with him the dignified position, and the chief boldly asserted the claim. 'At the table of the Emperor Maximus, Martin, Bishop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter,

¹ Gibbon's Rome, vol. iii. p. 283, note, where authority is given.

his companion, before he allowed the Emperor to drink, the Empress waited on Martin at table.¹ St Martin was simplicity itself, sober and temperate in his habits, careless of ostentation, it was only to mark the difference between the accredited ministers of heaven and mere earthly potentates, that he stood upon his dignity. St Ninian was thus introduced to a new kind of official dignity, not that of pomp, pretension and dress, but one founded on supernatural gifts and holiness.

This notice of St Martin may seem an undue digression; but whether St Ninian received from him the benefits we have indicated or no, from this time the intercourse between Britain and Tours became intimate and cordial. The Paschal Cycle drawn up by St Sulpicius Severus was that which the Britons followed. The confession of St Patrick exhibits constant communication taking place between Tours and Alclyde, and the pilgrims to Rome and to the Holy Land from Britain, for the existence of whom we have the authority of Theoderet, must have begun their weary journey by passing through Gaul. The guest book of the recently secularised monastery of Rheinau, now preserved at Zurich, contains the name of many Irish bishops, inscribed when on their way to Rome.²

The visit to St Martin is well described by St Ailred; and as no miraculous events fall to be recorded, it does not occupy much space in the biography: 'Therefore the man of God (St Ninian), returning from the city (Rome), full of the Spirit of God, and touched with the desire of seeing him (St Martin), turned aside to the city of Tours. With what joy, devotion, and affection he was received by him, who shall easily tell? By the grace of prophetic illumination the worth of the new bishop was

¹ Gibbon's Rome, vol. ii. p. 258, note. S. Severus Vita, c. 23 and Dialogue 2-7.

² Life of St Ninian; Introd. p.xli. The statement is perhaps exaggerated; the pilgrims, if any, would be few, and as for the Irish bishops who visited Rheinau, they are of a much later date, when the Irish or Scots were well known as wanderers, and were just as likely to be bishops as no, the dignity, we shall see, was a common enough one.

A.D. 370-437. not hid from him, whom by revelation he recognised, as sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and sure to be profitable to the salvation of many. The pillars in the tabernacle of God are joined one with the other, and two cherubim stretching out their wings touch each other; sometimes borne up on the wings of virtue, they soar to God, sometimes standing and folding their wings they become edifying to each other. Therefore, coming back from these exalted things to what is earthly, blessed Ninian besought of the saint masons, stating that he proposed to himself that, as in faith, so in the ways of building churches, and in constituting ecclesiastical offices, he desired to imitate the holy Roman Church. The most blessed man assented to his wishes,¹ and so satiated with mutual conversations as with heavenly feasts, after embraces, kisses, and tears, shed by both, they parted, holy Martin remaining in his own See, and Ninian hastening forth under the guidance of Christ to the work whereunto the Holy Ghost had called him. Upon his return to his own land a great multitude of the people went out to meet him. There was great joy among all, and wonderful devotion, and the praise of Christ sounded out on all sides, for they held him for a prophet. Straightway that active husbandman of the Lord proceeded to root up what had been ill planted, to scatter what had been ill gathered, to cast down what had been ill built. Having purged the minds of the faithful from all their errors, he began to lay in them the foundations of faith unfeigned; building thereon the gold of wisdom, the silver of knowledge, and the stones of good works; and all the things to be done by the faithful he both taught by word and illustrated by example, confirming it by many and great signs following.²

Divested of the pious rhetoric, which, however, is a model for the writers of memoirs of missionaries, we may infer that St Ninian was received by a considerable

¹ The reader will judge according to his proclivities, whether the two saints were so devoted to the holy Roman Church, a title not then in existence.

² Life, Chap. ii. pp. 10, 11.

body of people who preserved their allegiance to Rome and Christianity; that, fresh from orthodox training, he inveighed against doctrinal errors which may have found their way so far north; but that, like a faithful missionary of the cross, his great aim was to preach Christ by precept and example.

That his efforts were crowned with success is evident from his commencing at once to form a permanent centre for his operations, which, as will be seen, was both a church and an educational establishment on the monastic principle, he himself being Bishop and Abbott combined. 'But he selected for himself a site in the place which is now called Witerna, which, situated on the shore of the ocean, and extending far into the sea on the east, west, and south sides, is closed in by the sea itself, while only on the north is a way open to those who would enter. There, therefore, by the command of the man of God, the masons whom he had brought with him built a church, and they say that before that none in Britannia had been constructed of stone. And having first learnt that the most holy Martin, whom he held always in wondrous affection, had passed from earth to heaven, he was careful to dedicate the church in his honour.'¹ The building was in white stone, and afterwards bore the name of Candida Casa, and must have awakened considerable admiration, though it is very far from the fact that it was the first stone church in Britain. If Christianity had now been so long the State religion, and professed by natives and Romans, its ministers would not be without places of worship built by masons as expert as those from Gaul. It is a matter of dispute whether the church was built on the site at Whithorn, 'where the ruins of the cathedral now are, or were they two miles distant southward at the port called the Isle of Whithorn.' The late Bishop Forbes, perhaps the best authority on the subject, inclines to the belief that Candida Casa was built on the mainland.²

It is impossible now to account for St Ninian's choice. Security from hostile attack, and easy escape by sea, may

¹ Life, Ch. iii. p. 11. ² *Ibid.* note xi. pp. 268-71.

A.D. 370-437 have guided him ; but history shows the reverse. It was continually open to the ravages of the Scots or Picts, and latterly the Norsemen. Perhaps the only reason was that it was near to his native place ; he would be under the protection of kinsmen and relatives.

The consecration of the church is the alone guide to the age in which its founder lived. Ailred believes that St Ninian went to Rome in the year 370, that he abode there twenty-four years, and was consecrated 394, in the popedom of Siricius. This of course is mere conjecture ; but we are inclined to think that it leaves too little time for the visit to Tours, the journey home, and the building of the church. The arrival in Rome might also be made a little later, as in 370 the remembrance of the atrocious and bloody deeds by which Pope Damasus gained his tiara was fresh, and the narration of them would not impress the young Briton with a very high opinion of the man who was to be his guide in spiritual matters.¹ All that can be said with even an approach to certainty is, that St Ninian, after a visit of some years to Rome and Tours, in the last decade of the fourth century, when he was not less than forty years of age, returned to his native country, and commenced his labours as an apostle and missionary. The short notice by Bede, and the Life by Ailred give us the following particulars :—

Shortly after St Ninian's arrival he was confronted by King Tuduvallus, probably one of the chiefs in the vicinity, he contemned the teaching of the saint, and despised his admonitions. But judgment soon followed, 'he was struck by an unbearable disease, and to such an extent did his sickness prevail, that a sudden blindness darkened those haughty eyes, and he who had opposed the light of reason, lost the light of sense.' Tuduvallus was not like Pharaoh hardened in his evil way, but humbled, he besought the good offices of the man he had contemned. 'The most blessed man hearing this, not elated with human pride, but abounding as ever in the bowels of compassion, having first offered up prayer to God, went straightway to the sick man with the greatest kindness and devotion. And first

¹ See Millman's Latin Christianity, vol. i. pp. 88, 89.

he corrected him with tender reproof, and then touching the head of the sick man with healing hand, he signed the blind eyes with the sign of the saving life. What shall I more say, a cure was effected on the instant, and King Tuduvallus became one of the most ardent supporters of the man whom so lately he had despised.¹

The next chapter tells of a miracle more amusing than edifying, but it is not alone in hagiology,² and thus we give it a place here :—

‘A certain girl in the service of one of the noblemen, as to the sinful flesh, fair of face, and graceful of aspect, by the solicitations of a young man was induced to conceive sorrow and bring forth iniquity.’ The law, her parents, her master, were feared ; she thought she would be less severely treated if she said she had been deceived by one of great name. Making a covenant with death and putting her trust in a lie, on being urged to declare who was the cause of her shame, she laid the charge of violence on the presbyter, to whom the bishop had delegated the care of the parish. ‘The good were scandalised, the wicked elated, the common people laughed, and the sacred order was scoffed at, the presbyter whose fame was injured, was saddened.’ The wicked woman was believed by all but St Ninian, who kept his own counsel, and bided his time until the child, a son, was brought forth. He then called an assembly to the church, and after sermon, laid his hands on those who had been baptised. ‘Meanwhile the bold woman, casting aside all shame, bursting in among the people with those who belonged to her, thrust the child in the face of the presbyter, and vociferated in the ears of all the congregation that he was the father of the child, a violater and deceiver.’ But St Ninian was equal to the occasion ; he calmly took the babe in his arms and adjured it to say who was its father ; an answer was speedily given. ‘Accordingly out of the infant body (a day old) a manly voice was heard, the untaught tongue formed rational words, stretching out his hand, and pointing out his real father among the people. This, said he, is my father, he begat me, he committed

¹ Life, Chap. iv. p. 12.

² *Ibid.* note, pp. 273-4.

A D. 370 437. the crime laid upon the priest, verily, oh bishop, thy priest is innocent of this guilt, and there is nought between him and me, but the community of the same nature. 'This was enough.'¹ The babe became silent, and only gained the use of speech in the ordinary course of nature. There was of course great rejoicing; but one would like to know what came over the guilty couple and their very wonderful child!

The next chapter tells us of the most important part of St Ninian's life, the title is, 'He undertaketh the conversion of the Picts—He returneth home.' It is a pity that we are told so much of miraculous events, and so little of labours and localities; perhaps the miracles were the only events handed down even in 'the book of his life and miracles, written in a barbarous style,' and which was the text of St Ailred's work. The title tells all that is in the chapter. The mission was to the southern Picts, the inhabitants of Scotland from the Month (Grampians) to the Firth of Forth, and who in the saint's time were rapidly extending further to the south; from the number of churches dedicated to him, from the borders to Aberdeen, it is probable that his labours extended over this wide district. Enflamed by the example set by St Martin, and by his personal influence, it is likely enough that he was assisted by enthusiastic fellow-workers partaking of the monastic character. That the roots of Christianity or civilisation were planted is next to certain, that they struck deep is very problematical, the work had all to be done over again. S. Ailred says, 'the holy bishop began to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops, distribute the other dignities of the ecclesiastical ranks, and divide the whole land into certain parishes.'² This is manifestly untrue, as any one with the slightest knowledge of the period will admit; Bishop Forbes, however, thinks it worth while to controvert it in an elaborate note.³

The next two chapters are taken up with more homely matter, showing that those holy men of old were not so much wrapt up in contemplation or absorbed in labour,

¹ Life, Chap. v. pp. 13, 14.

² *Ibid.* Chap. vi. p. 15.

³ *Ibid.* Notes R, pp. 281-4.

as not to look after the affairs of their household. One day at dinner the saint noticed there were no leeks or other herbs on the table, the gardener was called and asked the reason why; he answered, the first crop was exhausted, and the new ones he had planted were not yet out. 'Go,' said the father, 'and whatever thy hand findeth, gather and bring to me.' He obeyed, and found leeks and other herbs not only green but bearing seed, he culled as much as seemed sufficient, and placed it on the table before the bishop. The guests looked at each other, and with heart and voice magnified God working in His saints, and so retired much better refreshed in mind than in body.¹ 'St Ninian was in the habit of visiting his flocks and the huts of his shepherds, wishing that the flocks which he had gathered together for the use of the brethren, the poor, and the pilgrims, should be partakers of the episcopal blessing.' The sequel will show that the blessing of a bishop in those days was a real temporal benefit, the possession of which a border laird a few centuries later would envy. Before the saint retired to rest he traced a circle round the castle with his staff, commanding that all within the space should that night remain under the protection of God. Certain thieves seeing the cattle unprotected, and not even enclosed, attempted to drive the beasts off, but to their amazement the herd moved not, with the exception of the bull, who rushed upon them in fury, striking at the leader, he threw him down, pierced his belly with his horns, sending forth his life and his entrails together. Then tearing up the earth with his hoofs he smote with mighty strength a stone which happened to be under his foot, and, in a wonderful way, in testimony of the miracle, the foot sunk into it as if into soft wax, leaving a foot mark in the rock, and by the foot mark giving a name to the place. For to this day the place in the English tongue is named Farres Last, that is the footprint of the bull. St Ninian found the man lying dead, and his companions rushing about as if possessed with furies, he besought God to raise the dead, his prayers were answered, the man was not only restored to life, but made

¹ Life, Chap. vii. p. 16.

A. D. 370-437. safe and sound, the others cast themselves at the feet of the saint imploring pardon, which was benignantly granted.¹

St Ailred then indulges in complaints of the morality of his age, contrasting it with the high standard set by St Ninian. Whenever he went abroad, like Lord Macaulay, he had a book with him, the Psalter or other kindred work; and what was useful in a climate like ours, and before umbrellas were thought of, in the heaviest rain no moisture ever touched the book on which he was intent, it was as if he was protected by the roof of a house. On one occasion, however, in company with a brother, a suggestion of the devil tickled the saint, and he lifted his eyes from the book, whereupon the shower at once invaded him. 'Then the brother who was sitting by him knowing what had taken place, with gentle reproof reminded him of his order and age, and showed him how unbecoming such things were in such as he. Straightway the man of God coming to himself, blushed that he had been overtaken by a vain thought, and in the same moment of time drove away the thought and stayed the shower,'² Smile not reader at this absurd story, spiritual food may be extracted. 'The touching miracle of the *Illicita Cogitatio* suspending the divine protection from the rain, which speaks to us of the protection which accompanies the just, the tenure on which it depends, the negligence whereby it may be forfeited, the need common to the weakest and strongest to watch and pray,' 'is a beautiful form of marvel which frequently occurs in the ancient hagiology.'³

The staff of St Ninian like the rod of Moses, was possessed of many virtues, we are not informed whether he received it from the hand of St Siricius or not, but the miracles performed by it would have done credit to the Pope if he was the donor. 'Many, both nobles and men of the middle ranks, intrusted their sons to the blessed Pontiff to be trained in sacred learning.' St Ninian's discipline was severe, his biographer calls it salutary, a proof that he inflicted it in his day, and was

¹ Life, Chap. viii. pp. 16, 17. ² *Ibid.* Chap. ix. pp. 18, 19.

³ *Ibid.* note x. p. 290.

well acquainted with the text, 'he that spareth the rod A. D. 370-437. hateth the child.' 'One of the youths had committed a fault which could not escape the saint, and because it was not right that discipline should be withheld from the offender, the rods, the severest torments of boys, were made ready.' The culprit, to evade punishment fled in terror, but not being ignorant of the power of the holy man was careful enough to carry away his *staff*; he fled to the sea and there found one of the small boats made of twigs or wattles, but without its covering of ox-hide which rendered it impervious to water. The lad launched the boat, embarked, and a slight touch sent the tiny craft well out to sea, it commenced to fill, but a happy thought struck the fugitive: 'In a lamentable voice he implored pardon, and besought the intercession of the saint, he stuck the staff into one of the holes, the sinking craft no more made water, and what was more wonderful still, the staff acted as a sail and caught the wind, as a helm it directed the vessel, as an anchor it stayed it.' The people standing on the western shore,¹ and seeing a little vessel like a bird resting on the waters, neither propelled by sail, nor moved by oar, nor guided by helm, wondered what this miracle might mean. 'Meanwhile the young man landed, and that he might make the merits of the man of God more widely known, animated by faith he planted his staff on the shore, praying God, that in testimony of so great a miracle, sending forth roots, and receiving sap contrary to nature, it might produce branches and leaves, and bring forth flowers and fruit. The divine propitiousness was not wanting to the prayer of the suppliant, and straightway the dry wood, sending forth roots, covering itself with new bark, put forth leaves and branches, and growing into a considerable tree, made known the power of Ninian to the beholders there. Miracle is added to miracle; at the root of the tree a most limpid fountain springing up sent forth a crystal

¹ The youth intended to make for Scocia, but whether this was Ireland or Ayrshire is a disputed point. See Life, note Y, Ireland is the most probable, the soil being better adapted for the miracles which followed on the arrival of the staff.

A. D. 370-437. stream, winding along with gentle murmur, with lengthened course, delightful to the eye, sweet to the taste, and useful and health-giving to the sick for the merits of the saint.'¹

No early authority gives the date of St Ninian's death. Fordun's statement is very vague: 'They said that he died in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, 408, 451.'² Bishop Forbes gives two probable dates 432, 437.³ In either case he had pretty near the allotted span of man's existence, and it is almost certain lived long enough to see much of his life's work undone.

By the exertions of Stilicho, the fierce invaders had been driven back and Valentia restored, just about the time St Ninian arrived from Tours. But in 407, Constantine withdrew the Roman troops, the southern wall became the boundary, and the diocese of the saint bishop, with its army of ecclesiastical officers, was over-run as in former times. The Picts and Scots were perhaps the only invaders in St Ninian's time, and perchance his commanding influence mitigated the atrocities common to barbarian warfare. That there was constant fighting there, and for long after, between the Cumbrians and the invaders who finally occupied their country is certain, it were vain to think that Christianity progressed in such an imbroglio. Very probably a considerable portion of the later years of the life of the saint were spent at Candida Casa, in the midst of his spiritual associates, and surrounded by a circle of ignorant but pious peasants and others, who sought the safety which the presence of the holy bishop would secure. Dr Forbes states that 'some connection of the saint with Ireland is certain,'⁴ and the Irish life which the Bollandists consider 'full of falsehoods,' make him die there; might he not in the distracted state of his native country pay a visit to the 'isle of saints,' on whose shores there were no foreign foes.

If Ailred's narrative is to be trusted at all, the aged saint felt his end approaching, and that his death would be a severe loss to his flock: 'That day was a day of exaltation and joy to the blessed man, *but of tribulation* and

¹ Life, Chap. x. pp. 19-21.

² Fordun, vol. ii. p. 86.

³ Life, p. xiii.

⁴ Life, p. v.

misery to the people.' The biographer paraphrases St Paul's words, 'For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better;'¹ and after proving that though the saint was not a martyr in the strict sense of the word, yet he certainly would pass to the glory prepared for these blessed ones, concludes in a passage unique in beauty and pathos: 'For the time of engrafting had come; for the ripened cluster was to be cut off from the stem of the body, or from the vineyard of the church here below, to be melted by love and laid up in the heavenly cellars. Wherefore blessed Ninian, perfect in life and full of years, passed from this world in happiness, and was carried into heaven, accompanied by the angelic spirits, to receive an eternal reward, where associated with the company of the apostles, joined to the ranks of the martyrs, enlisted in the hosts of the holy confessors, adorned also with the flowers of the virgins, he faileth not to succour those who hope in him, who cry to him who praise him. But he was buried in the church of Blessed Martin, which he had built from the foundations, and he was placed in a stone sarcophagus near the altar the clergy and people present, with their voices and hearts sounding forth celestial hymns, to the accompaniment of sighs and tears; where the power which had shone in the living saint ceaseth not to make itself manifest about the body of the departed one, that all the faithful may acknowledge that he is dwelling in heaven, who ceaseth not to work on earth. For at his most sacred tomb the sick are cured, the lepers are cleansed, the wicked are terrified, the blind receive their sight; by all which things the faith of believers is confirmed, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen.'² So ends what after all is no more than a beautiful idyll, embodying the high toned religious feelings of one who does much to redeem the character of the age he lived in, an age infamous for its crimes against order and morality, yet in it far more than the requisite number of righteous men

¹ Philippians i. 23.

² Life, pp. 22, 23.

A.D. 537.

for whose sake the Lord would not have destroyed Sodom.

For nearly a hundred years nothing is known of Candida Casa, the history of Valentia, civil and political, is a blank. We give Dr Forbes' account of its re-appearance in history: 'But a circumstance here emerges which is not without many parallels in the history of Ireland. No external oppression, no confusion at home, prevented the beneficent action of the Church.¹ In less than a century after the death of St Ninian, Whithorn, in the Irish pronunciation called Futerna, but better known as the 'Magnum Monasterium' or Rosnat, is discovered as a great seminary of secular and religious instruction. St Modwena or Monenna who is probably our Scottish Saint Medana, the friend of St Brigida, had founded a church in Galloway, Chil-ne-case by name, and the Christianising influence of Ireland on the sister country was naturally strongly felt in the district nearest to it. The curious and touching hymn of St Mugint, which is given in a note to this volume, sheds a remarkable light on the life, half-monastic, half-social at Rosnat. As the daughter of the King of the Picts received her secular education here, so we learn that the King of the Britons also sent his children to the school. Nor was the work simply educational. The names of such great saints as St Tighernach, Monennus, Eugenius, Mancennus, and above all St Finnian of Maghbile, St Wynnin of Ayrshire, and who is mentioned with honour by Pope St Gregory the Great, are closely connected with the monastery at Whithern.'² This statement is very interesting, and is a charming picture of the 'Church in the Wilderness,' of the beneficial effects, of one of the earliest monastic institutions on a barbarous people. It is corroborated by Mr Skene, perhaps the best modern authority on such matters; but his authorities are all lives of the saints compiled by Colgan, the Bollandists, and others.³

¹ If we omit the word *beneficent* this is a happy and true statement. The Church in Ireland was thoroughly at home in the midst of the chronic fighting, the clergy were combatants, and occasionally had pitched battles all to themselves.

² Life, p. xlii.

³ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 47.

What these are worth is entirely a matter of opinion. That St Ninian founded at Whithorn a church and monastery, which was to a certain extent an educational establishment *may* be accepted as an historical fact, that during any period of its existence it approached to anything like a mediæval or modern institution of a similar kind is a fond fiction of the past. That it existed for the period mentioned, and that Christianity lived in the persons of great and small saints, may also be true, but beyond the names of these persons, nothing is trustworthy, their deeds and influence are alike creations of a later age. The legend of St Modwena or Monenna, and her connection with Candida Casa and Ayrshire is of very slender authority.¹ Dr Lanigan says that St Modwenna was an Irish virgin who was famous in England in the seventh, but more probably in the ninth century.² Monenna he makes an Irish virgin of date 630. But he adds: 'her history is so confused that it is impossible to ascertain her precise date.'³ He adds, she is said, to have gone to North Britain and founded seven churches in various parts of that country, and died during the life time of St Columba. Other accounts take her to England in the seventh and ninth century. The learned author very sensibly says, 'amidst these jarring statements I am not able to form any decisive conclusion.'⁴ But perhaps a similarity of names led to a mistake in the sex: 'St Tigernach received his clerical education, *as we are told*, in the monastery of Rosnat in Great Britain, under the holy Abbot Nonennus.'⁵ The touching hymns of St Mugint, and the spiritual fellowship at Rosnat with the other saints, is an invention of later years, whether they ever saw one another is a matter of doubt, as the statements as to the period when they lived, are of the most distracting character.

What secular education the daughter of the King of the Picts and the children of the King of the Britons could have received, is a puzzle; it must have been in

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 37.

² Lanigan's Eccl. History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 40-42.

³ *Ibid.* p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 434.

A.D. 537-731.

Greek or Latin, as then, neither the Cymric or Gaelic had attained to the dignity of a written language. Besides the fact that in the fifth century there were no Picts in the district called Galwethia, the statement bears intrinsic marks of a writer six or seven centuries later, when persons in a high position in life thought an education desirable for their children. The absence of all reference to the Magnum Monasterium in the works of Gildas, Bede, and Adamnan is sufficient to show that if it existed, its influence was little felt, its reputation unknown.

Among the crowd of saints whose names are connected with the mission of St Ninian, is that of St Kentigern; he is said by his biographer to have 'cleansed from the foulness of idolatry, and the contagion of heresy the land of the Picts, which is now called Galwethia, with the adjacent parts,' he would probably inspect the Monasterium Magnum in its different departments, though the circumstance is not mentioned.

Candida Casa did not continue as a Cymric or Gaelic Church, it seems to have passed to the Saxon, as Bede, whose history closes in 731, mentions it as a See in Northumbria presided over by Bishop Pechthelm.¹ It continued subject to the Archbishop of York, afterwards to Glasgow.

The glimpses in history are scanty, the Scots or Picts and the Norsemen must have made wild work in their piratical incursions, rank and piety would avail little where plunder was to be got. At the Reformation there was almost nothing left to destroy, even of ruins, and these comparatively modern, then nothing remained of the original structure reared by the masons of St Martin.

A more graceful pendant to the life of St Ninian can not be given than in the words of the late amiable and learned Bishop of Brechin: 'No one can stand within the precincts of the ruined priory of Whithern, or look out to sea from the roofless chapel at the Isle, without emotions which are difficult to describe. He stands on a spot where the ancient civilisation of Rome, and the more ancient barbarism of the Mæatæ alike gave place to the

¹ Bede, p. 292, note.

higher training of the gospel of Christ—where the domination of the earth, transferred to the true faith, but still proceeding from the Eternal City, laid hold upon the strongest of all those Celtic races which constitute the population of Scotland; where Irish learning established the great monastery, and Irish piety received illustrations in Brignat and Modwenna, Mancennus, Eugenius, Tighernachus, and Endeus—where a Saxon Church, remarkable for the sanctity of its bishops, repaired the breaches caused by conquest and foreign oppression—where, amid the ravages of the Norsemen, and the feuds of the local princes, a rest was found for the ashes of St Cuthbert—where, in the great restoration of the twelfth century, the civilising influence of the See of York and spiritual grace of the Order of Premontré brought some alleviation to the barbarism of the times—where an Italian legate, meditating between the conflicting claims of Scotland and England, brought his Italian astuteness and his Italian tact to bear upon the question; where Ailred acquired the knowledge which gives local colouring to his narrative—where the bishop of the diocese, so poor that he needed to act as suffragan and co-adjutor of the Archbishop of York, yet appeared in his true place as intercessor for the rebel Thomas to his offended King; where David, wounded in battle, found a cure for his festering sore—where, year by year, the concourse of devout pilgrims to St Ninian's shrine was so great as to call for royal interference, and in the presence of his sanctity the old feuds of Scots and English were for the time to be forgotten—where the good Queen Margaret, the wife of James III., found food for a piety which has almost entitled her to a place in the Kalendar of the saints—where the gallant and chivalrous James IV., in whom, in spite of the temptations of youth, the devotional element prevailed, drew in that spiritual life, which, expressing itself in deep penitence for his complicity in his father's death, sent him with an iron girdle of penance round his waist to the fatal field of Flodden.

And all this historic interest centres round one single figure, sketched in faint outline by the Venerable Bæda,

A.D. —
—

A. D. —
—

filled in by the graceful hand of the amiable Ailred, commemorated in the dedications of many churches through the length and breadth of Scotland—Ninian, the apostle of the Britons and of the Southern Picts.

‘ IN PARADISO ECCLESIE
VIRTUTUM EX DULCEDINE
SPIRAMEN DAT AROMATUM
NINIANUS CÆLESTIUM.’¹

¹ Life, pp. lx.-lxii.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY SCOTTISH SAINTS.

Early Scottish Saints—Palladius—Germain—Ternan—Serf—His Miracles—Kentigern—Lives of—State of Cumbria—Value of Joceline's Life—St Mungo—Extent of his Labours and Foundations—Birth and Parentage of Kentigern—Residence with St Serf at Culross—His first Miracle—Leaves Culross and arrives at Glasgu—Establishes a Church and is consecrated Bishop—His manner of Life—Success of his Labours—His Disciples—Their discipline and mode of Life—Miracles—Secular Disputes—Kentigern leaves Glasga for Wales—Is recalled to his Diocese by King Rederech—His reception, and success of his Labours—The Miracle of the Ring and the Salmon—Visit of St Columba—Kentigern's last days, death, and burial—Church of Wales—SS. Dubricius, Iltud, David, Cadoc, A.D. 437-603.

THE period between the death of St Ninian (432-437) A.D. 437-518 and the arrival of St Columba (563) is a blank, though it is filled up to a certain extent by the names of SS. Palladius, Ternannus, Servanus, and Kentigern, who kept alive the faint spark of Christianity in Scotland. A little light is also thrown on the state of religion and civilisation in the country in the life of St Patrick.

The mission of Palladius has produced an immense deal of controversy, though whether he ever set foot in North Britain is very doubtful. He and his mission are of importance only to Anglican and Roman antiquaries. Had his name not been connected with Fordun in the Mearns, he would never have attained the position of a Scottish saint, and the Apostolic Vicar in Scotland of his holiness the Pope of Rome, and the successor of the apostles.

The contemporary authority in which his name is mentioned is the chronicle of St Prosper of Aquitaine, who lived 402-463, from which document, the Venerable Bede undoubtedly quotes in his statement as to the labours of the saint. All others in succeeding times, are

A.D. 437-518. but amplifications, if not inventions. The most exhaustive reference to St Palladius will be found in Dr Todd's Life of St Patrick,¹ and to it we have to refer our readers for confirmation of the *resumé* we now give.

We have seen that in the early part of the fifth century, the Pelagian heresy had spread sufficiently in Britain to alarm the orthodox fathers there, and on the continent. St Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, accompanied by St Lupus of Troyes, and other ecclesiastics of inferior rank, were sent to confute the heretics. Two accounts of this mission, which is usually dated 429, are given. The first is by Constantius of Lyons, a contemporary, who says, that a deputation of Britons waited upon the Gallican bishops, urging them to defend the Catholic faith in Britain and undertake the confutation of the heretics. The other account is by the chronicler previously referred to, St Prosper, who says nothing about the deputation to Gaul, and attributes the mission direct to Pope Celestinus: 'Agricola, a Pelagian,' he says, 'son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, corrupted the churches of Britannia by insinuation of his doctrine; but by the instrumentality (or negotiation) of the Deacon Palladius—*ad actionem Palladii diaconi*—Pope Celestinus sends Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in his own stead—*vice sua*—to displace the heretics, and direct the Britons to the Catholic faith.' And in the year following, A.D. 431, the same chronicler says, 'Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine and sent to the Scots, believing in Christ as their first bishop.'²

Whether the mission received the sanction of the Pope or no, is a matter of immense importance to Romanists, but it had little or no significance at the time. Constantius, the biographer of St Germanus, did not think the sanction of the Bishop of Rome (if applied for and got) of sufficient importance to be noticed. There is, therefore, no actual inconsistency between the two narratives.³

St Germanus was eminently successful. Demons raised

¹ St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, a Memoir of his Life and Mission, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D. Dublin, 1854.

² *Ibid.* p. 270.

³ *Ibid.* p. 271.

a tempest while the party were crossing the channel; prayer and the sprinkling of a little water on the waves, in the name of the Holy Triad quelled the raging billows. On landing the heretics were found to be unpopular, but had the courage of their opinions, and challenged a disputation, which was at once arranged. The heretics are described by Bede as 'conspicuous for riches, glittering in apparel, and supported by the flatteries of many.' They opened the debate. 'They long took up the time, and filled the ears with empty words. Then the venerable prelates poured forth the torrent of their apostolical and evangelical eloquence. Their discourse was interspersed with scriptural sentences, and they supported their most weighty assertions by reading the written testimonies of famous writers.'¹ Need we tell the result?—'human presumption fell at once before piety and authority. The people, who were judges, could scarcely refrain from violence, but signified their judgment by their acclamations.'¹ The missionaries were wise in their generation; orthodoxy, in more matters than religion, may be safely left to the 'ignobile vulgus.' After performing a few miracles—a feat seldom attempted by the Arian, and never by the Pelagian heretics—and taking the command of the British army at the celebrated 'Hallelujah Battle,' St Germanus returned to Gaul. All this occupied him but one year, and gained him the credit of having made the 'Roman island Catholic.' Dr Todd seems to think that though St Germanus was, in the first place, nominated for his great work by the Gallican bishops, yet he was desirous of the sanction of the patriarch of the imperial city, and that he despatched his Deacon Palladius there to obtain this, and that the latter was a native of Gaul, certainly not a Roman nor Deacon to Pope Celestine. Palladius, naturally interested in the mission of his master, now sought to extend it, and with his sanction, and also that of the Bishop of Rome, set out for Ireland.

The words of the chronicles in which the account of this mission is preserved, we need not say can bear no other interpretation; he was sent 'ad Scotos;' in the

¹ Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 28.

A. D. 437-518. time of Prosper, and for centuries afterwards Scotia was Ireland; besides, from ancient Irish authorities we know it was to Ireland he was sent.¹

Palladius had little or no success in his labours; the three passages given by Dr Todd show this, though they vary as to the place of his decease; the probability is, that the one in the Annotations of Tirechan on the life of St Patrick, preserved in the Book of Armagh, is the true one: 'Palladius the bishop is first sent, who by another name was called Patricius, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots as ancient saints relate.'² The reader will observe he bears also the name of Patrick, one would think just to add to the obscurity in which his life and death are shrouded. Dr Skene is of the opinion that the statement just quoted is the true one, and that a St Ternan, a disciple of Palladius, brought his relics to Scotland, founded the church at Fordun, where he bestowed the remains of his master, and dedicated the church to him. In time the disciple became identified with the master—in fact, St Ternan was the real Palladius of Scotland.³ Yet the third ancient version in Dr Todd's work may perhaps be quite as good an authority, and it gives Palladius his place in the Kalendar of Scottish saints: 'He (Palladius) founded there some churches by Tich-na Roman, or the House of the Romans, *Kilfine* and others. Nevertheless, he was not well received by the people, but was forced to go round the coast of Ireland toward the north, until driven by a great tempest, he reached the extreme part of *Modbraidh* towards the south, where he founded the church of Fordun, and *Pledi* is his name there.'⁴ Dr Todd thus comments: 'On leaving Hy Garchon in Wicklow (either to return *via* Britain to Rome, or to prosecute his mission in Britain) Palladius sailed northwards along the coast of Ireland, but was driven by a great storm still farther north towards the Orkneys, perhaps through Pentland Firth, and was unable to land, or at least effected no permanent landing

¹ See Todd's St Patrick, pp. 280, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* 289.

³ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 30.

⁴ Todd's St Patrick, p. 290.

until he had got down to the shores of Kincardineshire. A. D. 437-518.
 However extraordinary, this was certainly not impossible. The light boats or coracles of that age were frequently driven to considerable distances. It will be observed that in this version of the story nothing is said of an intention on the part of Palladius to return to Rome in despair. He is represented as having been still intent upon prosecuting the object of his mission. He sailed along the coast of Ireland with that object in view, and when he found himself driven from Ireland to the region of the Picts, he lost no time in establishing a Christian Church amongst that people.¹

The history of the saint would be incomplete without the account of his mission by John of Fordun, which was until lately accepted by all historians of the Church of Scotland, but which, we need not say, has little or no foundation in fact. He says that before the arrival of Palladius the Scots had, as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments, priests only, or monks, following the rite of the primitive church. In A. D. 430 Pope Celestinus sent St Palladius into Scotia,² as the first bishop therein. So he arrived in Scotland with a great company of clergy in the eleventh year of the reign of King Eugenius, and the king freely gave him a place of abode where he wanted one.³ 'He there found St Servanus, whom he appointed suffragan over all the nation of the Scots.' The holy Bishop Terranan likewise was a disciple of the blessed Palladius, who was his Godfather, and his fostering teacher and furtherer in all the rudiments of letters and of the faith.'³ Nothing further is stated as to the labours or death of Palladius, except the vague statement that the holy man with his coadjutor strove 'to teach the people the orthodox faith, and with anxious care perfect the work of the gospel.'³ It is hardly necessary to call the reader's attention to the fact, that at the period referred to, the kingdom of the Dalriadic Scots was not in existence, though there may have been a few colonists on the west coast.

¹ Todd's St Patrick, pp. 291-2.

² Scotland not the true Scotia of the period—Ireland.

³ Fordun, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86.

A.D. 437-518.

That in any portion of Scotland not occupied by the Roman forces, Christianity had penetrated previous to this time, is in the highest degree improbable; the mission of Palladius is the first attempt to extend the gospel north of the Firths, and all that we know of it is the names of the first missionaries; their deeds, miracles, rank in the church, and authoritative powers are the creation of times long subsequent.

SS. Ternan and Serf were undoubtedly real personages, indeed there seem to have been two St Serfs, the one a contemporary of Palladius, the other of Adamnan. I see no other way of getting out of the difficulty; the life of St Servanus,¹ and the notice of him in Wyntoun's Cronykil,² make him visit Scotland in the time of the Abbot of Hy, the other accounts make him, as we have seen, of a much earlier date. Both agree in his residence at Culross, and in the account of his miracles, and as the life of St Kentigern would be incomplete without his loving teacher and spiritual father, we can not allow Dr Skene to deprive us of St Serf, though he is welcome to St Ternan.³

No sketch of a saint, however slight, can be reckoned satisfactory without some notice of his miracles. St Ternan, according to the Aberdeen Breviary, was born of noble parents in the province Myrma (Mearns, Kincardineshire); he is said to have visited Rome, and was honourably received by Pope Gregory.⁴ After seven years he was raised to the Episcopal office, and dismissed with the blessing of the Supreme Pontiff to preach the gospel to his countrymen. Pope Gregory, on leaving gave the saint the present of a bell, but he and his companions found it so heavy that they were compelled to leave it, but morning after morning, the bell was found beside them till they arrived at their destination, it being borne with them by

¹ Chronicles of Picts and Scots, p. 412.

² Wyntoun, p. 38.

³ Dr Skene's argument is, I am afraid, incontrovertible, see Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32, he concludes it: 'We thus lose two traditionary apostles of the early Scottish Church.'

⁴ Gregory was made Pope A.D. 590; dates were of no consequence to the compiler of the legend.

divine power.¹ The chief of the territory in Scotland where he had fixed his residence was an unbeliever in the message or the power of the saint. Seeing the holy man with his followers approach him he thus rudely accosted him: 'Hypocrite, what doest thou in my territory?' Ternan replied: 'We seek thy salvation, that thou mayest know God and serve Him alone.' The chief replied still more rudely, and ordered the party to be off. The saint retired, and the prince turned for the same purpose, but his foot adhered firmly to a stone, so that he could not move from the spot. Ternan did not bear malice, but prayed, and the scoffer was released and baptised. At another time a contemporary saint of whom nothing but this circumstance is known, Machar of Aberdeen was out of seed grain and sent to St Ternan for a supply. The latter having none, sent some sacks of sand, which, sown in faith, proved equally efficacious as the grain required, and a plenteous harvest was the result.²

A.D. 437-518

Servanus or Serf is said to be the founder of the famous ecclesiastical institution at Loch Leven, which afterwards became a Culdee establishment, and only yielded to Rome in the twelfth century. If it was founded by St Serf; he must have been the second of the name, for the saint under our notice, according to the life of St Kentigern, was the head of a religious and educational establishment at Culross. The acts of the two are inextricably blended; the second is said to have been resident in Culross as well as Loch Leven, perhaps he presided over them in turn. His miracles are numerous and striking. A poor man whom he, along with his followers, were visiting, killed a pig for their refreshment, but such was the merit of the saint, that after all had satisfied their appetite, the animal was found alive immediately after. He converted water into wine, and giving it to a sick man to drink, he was restored to health. A thief stole a sheep from the saint, killed and ate it; suspicion falling on him, he came to St

¹ This must have been a very early specimen, as bells are said to have been invented by Paulinus about A.D. 400. See Lecky's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 278.

² St Columba is recorded to have performed a similar miracle.

A.D. 437-518. Serf and solemnly protested his innocence ; to his horror the bleating of a sheep was heard from the throat of the thief, who thus convicted, confessed his crime and craved pardon of the blessed man. In Tillicoultry he raised from the dead two young men, and in Tullibodie cast out an evil spirit from a Christian man. In Dunning there was at the time 'a fell dragowne' who was in the habit of devouring men and cattle. St Serf needed not the warlike accoutrements of St George, for he put on but the breast-plate of faith, and smiting the monster with the point of his staff he slew him. In memory of this, 'that plas wes ay the dragownys den cald to this day.' Wyntoun gives an account of an interview he had with the enemy of mankind, but the intent of the foul fiend was only 'till fand hym with argument.' The devil's questions do not show him a profound casuist, and St Serf had no difficulty in answering him. After this the saint retired to Culross, and knowing

'That till his endyng nere he drewe
The wrechyd warld he forsuke
Hys sacramentys thare all he tuke
Wyth schryffte, and full conitriyowne
He yhald wyth gud devotyowne
Hys cors tlll halowyd sepulture
And his soule till the Creature.'¹

A.D. 518-603. We do not allude here to St Patrick, whose mission was near to identical in point of time with that of St Palladius, nor to the real or supposed missionaries from the Irish Church whose names are connected with places in the territory of the Southern Picts, Inchmahome, St Fillans, and Aberdour,² but pass on to the patron saint of Glasgow, St Kentigern, who, in tradition at any rate, is the legitimate successor of St Serf, the suffragan of Palladius.

How little is known of St Kentigern, better known by the familiar name of St Mungo, can only be known by a study of the two lives, published in the series of Scottish historians. His name is not mentioned in the writings of Gildas, Bede, or Adamnan, if he had the affecting in-

¹ Wyntoun's Cronykil, vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.

² Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 33.

terview with St Columba, to be afterwards told, the bio-
 grapher of the latter was ignorant of it. A.D. 518-503.

The two lives edited and translated by the late Bishop of Brechin are, in their present form, compositions of the twelfth century, they do not possess the literary merit of Ailred's Life of St Ninian, their historical value may be on a par, both claim to have gained their information from an older record in a barbarous tongue. The shorter life or fragment was composed during the lifetime of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164, by a foreign ecclesiastic, who, in his prologue, says: 'That many regions had he traversed, he had found other countries venerating their own saints. But when he came to the kingdom of the Scotti he found it very rich in the relics of saints, but slumbering in negligent sloth as regards reverence for them.' To stir up this lamentable deficiency, he, a cleric of St Kentigern, undertook the work we have referred to. He further states that his readers ought to remember the proverb of the blessed St Jerome when he saith: 'Much better is it to say true things rudely than to utter false things gracefully.' The reader will appreciate this when he compares the two accounts of the birth of the saint.

The longer life was written about twenty-five years later by Joceline, a monk of Furness; in it the biographer gives the life of the saint from the cradle to the grave. The work possesses charms which have captivated the matter-of-fact mind of the historian of Scotland. He says: 'Jocelyn's book is all hard miracle-working of the conventional kind, accompanied by a deal of bickering with the secular power, in which the saint, by virtue of his supernatural support is always victorious.'¹ Yet he does not wholly discard the fact of St Kentigern's mission, and details with evident relish some of the miracles, while passing over in a single line the labours of St Ninian.

If we could but *believe* that either of the two biographers had authentic material to work on, however highly they coloured the facts, their narratives, particularly that of Jocelyn, would be invaluable, for it professes to

¹ Burton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 235.

A.D. 518-603. give us glimpses of Scottish history on which no other light is shed.

St Kentigern was born about A.D. 514, and died A.D. 601, his time and period thus synchronise with an intensely interesting epoch of history, the only record of which exists in what must be called heroic fable. King Arthur and his train of knights in search of the Holy Grail must then have trode this earth, and he must have exercised a precarious rule from Carlisle to Aberdeen. Local tradition connects the scene of Queen Gunivere's death with Meigle in Perthshire, the last struggle of the British hero we have seen was by Mr Skene's account at Camelot. We should also like to connect the toad, Mordred, whom Sir Lancelot kicked in the Queen's garden,¹ with the stingy monarch who refused the small modicum of grain St Kentigern asked for, and in spite of miracle and meekness afterwards insolently kicked the holy man. That there was a struggle for the victory between British Christianity and Saxon and Pictish heathenism is evident, and the death of Arthur may have personified the result. Neither St Kentigern nor any other saint took part in this struggle so far as is known, but towards the end of the century he turns up in connection with a similar contest.

St Kentigern was expelled from Glasgow and sought a refuge in Wales until 573, when events occurred which were the means of his restoration. About that time, A.D. 573, the year of the accession of King Ryhydderch Hael, a battle was fought at Ardderyd (Arthuret), near Carlisle, between his forces, and an army commanded by Guendolin. Rhydderch was the head of the Christian party in North Britain, and in this action he was completely victorious, the hosts of heathenism were scattered to the winds, and the victor became the ruler of the district, from the Clyde to the Derwent. One of his first acts was to recall St Kentigern, and to install him as spiritual monarch of his kingdom. In the extracts we shall give from the Life, the reader will at once notice that there is little, or rather no account given of the contemporary saints then in Wales. Dr Forbes thus calls attention to it: 'It is remarkable, and

¹ Tennyson's *Idylls*, p. 226, ed. 1859.

it must be mentioned in abatement of the value of Joceline's Life, how very little allusion there is to the galaxy of saints who illustrated the epoch of St Kentigern, both in Wales and Ireland. Even the great St Gildas, born in his own kingdom of Strathclud at Alcluyd in 516, is not mentioned as known to him. Except St Asaph and St Dewi, we have no allusion to the many Welsh Bishops and Abbots who illustrated that remarkable century in the Annals of Wales, and it is equally strange that the allusions to the religious life of Ireland are comparatively scanty, although the recollection of the Magnum Monasterium at Whithern, in his own diocese, must surely have been preserved.¹ In justification of Joceline, however, it may be said that however credulous he was as to miraculous powers, he had a pretty correct estimate of Celts and Celtic Christianity, and culture in Wales and Ireland, only scholars of our own time have been able to unearth the beauty of holiness which then adorned those favoured districts. Whether the visit of St Columba took place is very uncertain. Dr Forbes says, 'It is one of those little incidents which we wish to be true, and which we have no certain reason for believing not to be so.'

A. D. 518-603.

Before giving extracts from the Life we may give the opinion of the editor as to their value: 'That with every abatement, both lives of St Kentigern contain matters of history cannot safely be denied. There is too much individuality about them to make us believe that they were written to order in the twelfth century, to promote a cultus or advocate a system. St Kentigern was an abiding reality in the minds of the people when both Lives were written. . . . There is everything to make us believe that the Lives were really founded on earlier documents, and give the contents of these documents in the main truly, though perhaps not always without an importation of later ideas.'²

St Kentigern, better known by the name of St Mungo, was the honoured friend and ghostly adviser of the King of Strathclyde until the day of his death. He was the

¹ The Historians of Scotland, vol. v. p. lxxxix.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxxxv.

A. D. 518-603. bishop of a diocese embracing a large part of lowland Scotland and part of the north of England, it is also probable he exercised supervision over the infant churches, schools or monasteries in the land of the Picts, and just as likely was the founder of the great city which bears his name. Dr Forbes says: 'The dedications to St Kentigern under his honorific name of St Mungo, help in a measure to indicate the ancient sphere of his labours.' These are to be found in Dumfriesshire, Lanarkshire, Mid-Lothian, and Aberdeenshire, two each; in Berwickshire, Peeblesshire, Perthshire, Invernessshire, Clackmannan, and Selkirk, one; in Cumberland eight.¹ The most of my readers will be rather sceptical on this point, viz., that dedications to a particular saint prove the fact of his personality at these particular places. If they do prove this it shows that the saint neglected no part of the country where a footing could be obtained.

St Mungo is the most popular of all the Scottish saints, and this popular devotion is indicated in the strange prayer of the Scottish Borderers against the pestilence, said by the English to be sent in God's grace for their repentance—'Gode and Saint Mungo, Saint Ronayn and Saint Andrew schield us this day fro Goddes grace, and the foule death that Englishmen dien on.'²

Glasgow, we need not say, peculiarly claims him, but whether a place of worship, the seat of a bishop existed there before the episcopate of Magsuen and John, 1051-60, cannot be proved from authentic records, a Bishop Sedulius turns up at Rome 721, who is supposed to have been a successor of St Kentigern. Whether the See, and along with it Christianity, lapsed, is a matter on which different opinions may be held, but it is perhaps not too much to say, that the little burgh founded by William the Lion in the twelfth century owed its existence to the kindly saint who planted the seed of the gospel there six centuries previously.

The mother of St Kentigern was named Thaney, the daughter of a certain King Leudonus, a man half-

¹ The Historians of Scotland, vol. v. pp. 89, 91, 83.

² *Ibid.* p. 102.

pagan (vir semi-paganus) according to the fragment, by A.D. 518-603.
 Joceline's account most pagan (paganissimus) in his creed. The province over which he ruled was named after him Leudonia (East Lothian). She found herself with child, but as to how she became pregnant the accounts vary. The fragment of the life says—the maiden being a Christian, set devoutly to learn the mysteries of our holy religion—she constantly meditated upon the virginal honour and maternal blessedness of the most holy Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and revolving it in her mind, in her simplicity said, 'O how glorious is the name of this honourable Virgin, and how gloriously it is praised by all people through the four quarters of the world; would that both in her virginity and in her bringing forth I could be like unto her, for the honour and salvation of my nation in these northern parts.' Her father did not sympathise with these aspirations, he wished her to form a matrimonial alliance with a neighbouring prince, who ardently sought the hand of the maiden, and who seems to have borne an unexceptional character. Persuasion by both parent and suitor was tried, but the fair devotee was obdurate—a virgin she would remain. The King finding kind words of no effect, spoke to her harshly and said, 'Either thou shalt be handed over to the care of a swineherd, or thou shalt please to be married to this young man. Choose now of these two which thou wishest.' The girl was firm, and was sent as a servant to the swineherd, who fortunately was chaste, and secretly a Christian. He not only showed his royal domestic every respect, but further instructed her in the doctrine of Christ, having received the same from St Servanus. The suitor, ardent in his passion, followed the object of his affections, and to abridge, in the disguise of a female obtained possession of the person of Thaney. He said to the simple girl, 'Weep not my sister, for I have not known thee as a man is used to know a virgin. Am I not a woman like thyself; it is folly to cry for what is done in sport. Go in peace. It is in thy discretion to weep or to be silent.'¹ Poor Thaney did weep, and had soon good cause for

¹ Life, pp. 33-133.

A. D. 518-603. grief, 'the tokens of her sex began to appear in her as in every woman at the conception of a child.'

Joceline refines this account: 'Thaney, with a certain presumptuous boldness of female audacity, willed to be like the Virgin in conception and birth, for which she sedulously laboured to entreat the Lord.' After the lapse of some time she was found with child, and her soul did magnify the Lord, simply believing, as she did, that her desire had been accomplished. She declared with an oath in the name of Christ, that she was innocent of all intercourse with man.' Joceline has his suspicions, but would like to believe that the conception was miraculous; the father being 'vir semi-paganus, or paganissimus,' and not acquainted with the immaculate conception, had no doubt as to its cause. On the girl refusing to give any information he determined that a law promulgated from a remote antiquity should be put in force, 'that a girl committing fornication in her father's house, and found with child, was to be cast down from the summit of a high mountain, and he who sinned with her should be beheaded.' The biographer here gives a severe castigation to men and women of all ranks in his time, hinting that if this law were put in force now, many 'of both sexes and every condition' would be liable to its penalties, and that there would be not a few vacancies in ecclesiastical benefices.¹

The unhappy victim was led to the top of a hill called Dulpelder, now known as Taprain Law, forming a part of the Lammermoors in East Lothian, and in spite of her protestations of innocence was hurled from the top of the mountain; her last words to her executioners being a prayer to the Virgin Mary for deliverance, and a promise that the fruit of her womb should be devoted to her and her Son, as a special property, and to be their servant all the days of his life.² Her prayer was granted. 'A wonderful thing occurred, unheard of from ancient times.

¹ Historians of Scotland, vol. v. See note F. St Kentigern. As to the birth of Arthur, St David of Wales, and 'Darker shades of guilt connected with the birth of saints, as in the case of St Cuimmin Foda.'

² *Ibid.* pp. 36-7.

³ *Ibid.* p. 38.

When she fell she was not bruised, because the Lord A.D. 518-603. supported her with His hand, and therefore she sustained no injury, since, as it seemed to her, like a bird bearing feathers, she came down with easy descent to the ground lest she should dash her foot against a stone.¹ The Christians rejoiced, but the most part thought her guilty, and her escape the effect of magical arts, making her even worse, a witch and a sorceress. With the consent of her father, and 'by the common verdict of the society of the ungodly, and of the adversaries of the name of Christ, it was decreed that that poor little pregnant woman placed alone in a boat, should be exposed to the sea.'² The details in the earlier life, as Dr Forbes observes,³ are much more picturesque and fuller than in Joceline's narrative. 'She was put into a coracle, that is a boat made of hides, and carried out into deep water beyond the Isle of May. And as that pregnant girl departed from the shore all the fish of that self-same coast attended her in procession as their mistress, and after the day of her departure the take of fish there ceased. And the river mouth, so prolific in fish as mentioned above, because it received the child unjustly condemned, remaineth unproductive unto the present day; but the fish who followed her remain where she was abandoned.'⁴ Poor Thaney drifted away from the sympathising fishes, and when morning dawned was in safety cast on the shore at Culenros (Culross) in Fife, about thirty miles distant. Meanwhile her father perished, 'cut off by divine vengeance,' and it is to be hoped that the abettors in the foul deed met with a similar fate.

Thaney now on dry land crawled to the remains of a fire left by some shepherds, and as best she could rekindled it, and there gave birth to her child. The passing shepherds noticing her, were moved with pity, they brought her food and other necessaries, and conveying the mother and child in as suitable a way as they could, presented them to St Serf, who at this time was resident at the school or college he had established there.⁵

¹ Life, p. 38.

² *Ibid.* p. 39.

³ *Ibid.* note A, p. 323.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 131.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 47.

A. D. 578-603.

On hearing their narrative, 'and seeing the little boy, the mouth of the blessed old man was filled with spiritual laughter, and his heart with joy. Wherefore in the language of his country he exclaimed, 'Mochöhe, Mochöhe,' which in Latin means, 'Care mi, Care mi;' adding, 'Blessed art thou that hast come in the name of the Lord.'¹ He nourished both, baptised them, and anointed them with the sacred chrisam, calling the mother Taneu, and the child Kyentyern, 'the capital lord,' but as a term of endearment he was accustomed to call the boy Munghu, 'which means Karissimus Amicus,' my dear or dearest one. Whether Munghu is Gadhelic or Brythonic is so profound a subject that volumes have been written on it, and it still remains a mooted point. Dr Forbes, on the authority of Dr Skene, says, 'This a Welsh word. It comes from *Mwyn*, mild, amiable, gentle; and *Cu*, in composition *Gu*, dear. This is the same termination as in *Glesgu*; or, as in the British Museum MS., *Deschu*, which the same author gives as the old name of Glasgow, and by him translated into *cara familia*.'²

Munghu seems to have been a bright clever boy. 'For there were bestowed upon him by the Father of Lights, from whom descendeth every good and perfect gift, a docile heart, a genius sharp at understanding, a memory tenacious at recollecting, and a tongue persuasive in bringing forward what he willed, a high, sweet, harmonious, and indefatigable voice for singing the divine praises.'³

Joceline's next chapter⁴ is devoted to an incident which may appear silly to the educated mind of the present day, and unsuited to the pages of a religious biography, but it is interesting as giving us a glimpse into the school-life of the time (whether that of St Mungo's or Joceline's). It illustrates also the kindly but irascible nature of St Serf; besides it is St Mungo's first miracle.

The fellow-pupils of St Kentigern, seeing that he was beloved beyond the rest by their master and spiritual father, hated him, and were unable either in public or

¹ *Life*, p. 41.³ *Ibid.* p. 41.² *Ibid.* notes, p. 327.⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 42, 43.

private to say anything peaceable to him. Perhaps like A.D. 518-603. other *good little boys*, he was a bit of a prig and a tell-tale. Now St Servanus had a pet robin red-breast of which he was very fond. The little creature 'perched upon his head, face, shoulder or bosom; sometimes it was with him when he read or prayed; and by the flapping of its wings, or by the sound of its inarticulate voice, or by some little gesture, it showed the love it had for him.' St Serf retired to his oratory; the boys in play handled the little bird so roughly, that it was torn in pieces—the head separated from the body. On this, play became sorrow, and they already in imagination (the culprits), saw the blows of the rods which are wont to be the greatest torment of boys. They laid the blame on Kentigern, and St Servanus, despite his affection for his favourite pupil, threatened severe vengeance on the destroyer of the robin. 'But when Kentigern, the most pure child, learnt this, taking the bird in his hands, and putting the head on the body, he signed it with the sign of the cross, and lifting up holy hands in prayer to the Lord, he said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, in whose hands is the breath of every rational and irrational creature, give back to this bird the breath of life that Thy blessed name may be glorified for ever.' The bird straightway revived, and in its usual way flew forth to meet the holy man as he returned from church. Thus were the enemies of the Lord and His servant confounded, and His name glorified.'¹

It is marvellous how little effect miracles have had on the minds of certain persons; this did not extinguish the ill-will of the schoolmates of the saint, nor show them the futility of their efforts to do him harm. One morning when Kentigern, in the course of his prescribed duty, rose to attend to the lights, he found them all extinguished by the malice of his schoolmates, and no fire to be got. Put about and disheartened by this mark of envy he thought of flight, but only for a moment; in faith he plucked a hazel bough from a hedge, made the sign of the cross, and breathed on it, when, wonderful to relate, fire immediately proceeded from it, and with this torch

¹ Life, pp. 42, 43.

A. D. 518-903. he was at once enabled to discharge his office. Again he thus discomfited his enemies, and more, the bough grew into a wood, and to this day the green branches of it catch fire as readily as dried twigs.

The next event in the early life of the saint was one which added greatly to his reputation—no less than raising a dead man to life.¹ The cook, a very important personage evidently, and ‘a man well qualified and active in his duty,’ was seized with a sudden illness and expired. Though envious of St Kentigern, the disciples and servants were now thoroughly conscious of his powers, and they besought St Servanus to summon ‘his Munhu and compel him by his virtue of obedience, so far as to endeavour to raise the cook from the dead.’ St Serf reluctantly consented, and on the prayer of the saintly neophyte life was restored. The cook on his resuscitation gave a circumstantial account of his being before the dread tribunal, and that he saw many receiving their awards, some to purgatory,² some to hell, and some to heaven. While tremblingly awaiting his own sentence, he heard that he was the man for whom St Kentigern was praying, and he was ordered back to the body, and ‘sedulously warned, that for the future he must live a stricter life.’ He did, lived seven years longer, and was buried in a noble sarcophagus, on which was engraven an account of this miracle and by whom it was performed.

St Kentigern, notwithstanding his miracles and his sanctity, did not find himself comfortable at Culross, and either on account of this feeling, or from a desire for a new and more active field of labour, he determined to leave his old friend and quarters. He secretly left, and proceeding westward came to the Forth, a tidal river, broad and deep. But the saint, nothing daunted, made use of the same miraculous powers granted to Moses and

¹ Life, pp. 46, 47.

² Purgatory as yet, except as an indistinct doctrine of the Manicheans, was unknown to the Church. The belief in it could not have penetrated to Scotland for centuries later. ‘Purgatory grew up possibly with St Augustine, probably with Gregory the Great.’—Millman’s Latin Christianity, vol. ix. p. 91. Introduced, 593. Platina. First set forth by a Council at Florence, 1438. Dr Hook.

Eliseus, 'the same mighty hand and stretched out arm A.D. 518-613 divided the Mallena (Forth) that Kentigern, beloved of God and man, might cross over on dry ground.' St Servanus missed his beloved son, and followed him in haste; from the east side of the river he called on him to return, saying, 'Do not despise me, nor neglect my grey hairs, but return, that in no long time thou mayest close mine eyes.' Kentigern was deeply moved, but, steadfast in his purpose, refused to return, whereupon St Serf pled hard to be allowed to share the fortunes of his youthful friend. This, however, was not to be; the pair parted with many tears and protestations of undying affection.¹

The next chapter in the life of the saint is peculiarly tantalising, as it brings him to Glasgow, and little details or names of localities, everything in fact but miracle would have been interesting and useful, if not edifying, to the pious mind. On his journey he rested at a town called Kernach, identified as Carnock in the parish of St Ninians. There a man named Fregus was on the point of death, St Kentigern on this occasion did not make use of his supernatural powers to restore him to health, but kindly gave advice as to the disposal of his gear, and undertook to attend to his funeral. The man received the sacrament, and expired during the words of prayer. 'Next day St Kentigern yoked two untamed bulls to a new wain, in which he placed the body, whence the spirit had departed, and having prayed in the name of the Lord, he enjoined upon the brute beasts to carry the burden placed upon them to the place which the Lord had provided for it. And in truth, the bulls, in no ways being restive, or in anything disobeying the voice of Kentigern, without any tripping or fall, came by a straight road, along where there was no path, as far as Cathures, which is now Glasgu, along with Kentigern and many others accompanying; and then, with all gentleness, with the burden of the sacred earth laid on them, a beauteous sight, they halted near a certain cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St Ninian.² The journey is compared to

¹ Life, pp. 48-50.

² *Ibid.* pp. 50-52.

A. D. 518-603. that made by the Ark of God from Ekron to Beth-shemesh,¹ and the chronicler considers it no less a miracle. There they buried the body of Fregus,' and this was the first burial in that place where afterwards very many bodies were buried. That tomb is to the present time encircled by a delicious density of overshadowing trees in witness of the sanctity and the reverence due to him who is buried there.'² Modern civilisation will never put an end to the imaginative part of our nature, to a love for even the legends of the past—the history of our fathers. Mayhap when the great St Rollox stalk has crumbled into dust, when the seat of manufacturing industry is no more, the old chronicle now quoted may be read by some one in as shady solitudes as those described by the Abbot of Furness in the twelfth century.

St Kentigern, with his companions, established themselves on this spot, on the banks of the Mollendinor, probably near where the present Cathedral of Glasgow now stands. He was thoroughly appreciated, the fame of his sanctity and miraculous powers having no doubt preceded him: 'The king and clergy of the Cambrian region,' both existing only in the fertile mind of the biographer, with one consent approached St Kentigern and elected him to be their bishop. After the usual coquetting, so characteristic of the cleric in all ages—youth, unworthiness, etc., he consented. A bishop was sent for from Ireland, and he was consecrated in a somewhat uncanonical manner, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter. The great defect, it appears, was the want of two other bishops, three being the correct thing. Joceline thinks that one *might* do, when no better could be had; but he makes it lie sore on the Bishop's mind, and when he visited Rome, at his own earnest request (for the Pope, like a sensible man, thought his first consecration good enough) he was reconsecrated in due form according to the canons.

These incidents call for a little digression. *First*, Who was the King of the Cambrian region at this time? After a careful study of the authorities on the subject, I am

¹ I Samuel vi.

² Life, p. 52.

unable to give him a name. His rule may or may not have been extensive, say from the Clyde to the Derwent, or he may have been a petty chieftain. One could almost exclaim, after having made the search, 'Welsh and Irish genealogies are only documents for bedlamists, being the quintessence of frenzy and folly.'¹

Second, Were there at the time clergy, and a fair following of Christians? From what the reader of these pages may have gathered, the answer must be given in the negative. The people must have been friendly and willing to hear the words of the missionary, but more can not be said. The *mode* of the appointment of St Kentigern, like everything ecclesiastical, naturally engenders controversy, and the Rev. Mr M'Lauchlan, in his work on the Early Church,² finds here the first and the true model for the members of the Church of Scotland, neither Erastianism nor Clericalism. He says, 'It is interesting to observe the character of Kentigern's call. During the primitive ages of the Church the thought does not seem to have been entertained that any pastor could be admitted to the oversight of a congregation except by the call of the members. . . . It is manifest that in Britain the right to call a pastor was held to belong to the Church membership, in the sixth century, and when a call was given to Kentigern, the king, the clergy, and the Christian people insisted with one accord in giving it.' Could the reverend gentleman have made more of this solitary notice had he been in possession of a 'purged communion roll?' The argument is ludicrously overstrained, and not even consonant with Joceline's narrative, if it can be accepted as a true statement of facts. It was not the members of a congregation, but 'the king and clergy of the Cambrian region, with other Christians, albeit, they were few in number, who approached St Kentigern, and elected him, not pastor of a congregation in Glasgu, but bishop of a diocese co-extensive with the kingdom.'³ All that can

¹ Pinkerton's Inquiry, vol. i. p. 75; for confirmation read Skene's Four Books of Wales, vol. i pp. 165-78; Life of St Kentigern, note B. B., pp. 329-335.

² Early Scottish Church, pp. 117, 118.

³ Life, p. 54.

A.D. 518-603. — fairly be inferred is, that the King, favourably disposed to the newly arrived saint and worker of miracles, consulted with those entertaining the same sentiments, and appointed Kentigern the spiritual director of himself and his subjects. But taking for granted that it was a popular election, it is nought to us. Whatever value may be attached to the example of civilised men, such as were to be found among the Christians of the empire before its fall, none can be attached to that of savages like the inhabitants of Strathclyde in the sixth century; as well take a model from a mission church in Borneo, founded and presided over by a native. All forms of church government or association, in or out of existence, had their parallel in the early times of the Church in the civilised portion of the world. The barbarians who overwhelmed them had simpler notions; they elected their spiritual chief, bishop or abbot, as they elected their military leader, their king. The latter, foremost among his peers, the bravest of the brave, the choice of the people, was raised on a buckler, and amidst the clash of arms was heard the universal shout, 'Thou be our bersekir.' The former on much the same principle, and in a manner not essentially different, was raised to the episcopal throne. He was the wisest and the holiest; he was endowed from on high with supernatural powers and graces; in many cases he was dragged from his retirement, and midst shouting and tumult raised to the rank of spiritual king, enthroned and be-mitred, chiefs and people joining in the acclaim, 'Thou be our bishop.' Church and State managed through time to form close incorporations, and have the selection of their own officers in their own hands. It is only a higher civilisation that can destroy both, no fond looking back to institutions which have had their day.

Third, As for the visits to Rome on this and other occasions,¹ they are in the highest degree improbable. Travelling in Britain and on the Continent was very different from what it was in the times of St Ninian. The Roman Empire was broken up; the facile means of communication, so wonderful a feature in the imperial ad-

¹ Life, p. 83.

ministration was a thing of the past; Jutes, Angles, and Saxons were ravaging every corner of Britain; Goth, Hun, and Vandal had obliterated civilisation from the Channel to the Mediterranean. St Kentigern's journeys to Rome existed, like many other incidents, only in the imagination of his biographer. A. D. 518-603

St Kentigern, in spite of the fashion in which he was consecrated, at once took up his position. 'He established a cathedral seat in a town called Glesgu, which is interpreted, The Dear Family, and is now called Glasgu, where he united to himself a famous and God-beloved family of servants of God, who practised continence, and who lived after the fashion of the primitive church, under the apostles, without private property, in holy discipline and divine service.'¹ Though the town of Glasgu is spoken of as in existence before the time of its first bishop, its size must have been insignificant, likelier a wilderness and a swamp. If the narrative contains a measure of truth, this is the first instance of a town forming around an ecclesiastical foundation, a centre of religion and civilisation. Glasgow may well be proud of its origin, and rejoice in its motto: 'Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word.'

As St Kentigern excelled others in dignity, so he strove to excell them in sanctity: 'When he broke his fast after three, or oftener after four days, he revived rather than recruited his body by tasting the cheapest and lightest foods, such as bread and milk, and cheese and butter and condiments. . . . He abstained entirely from flesh and from blood, and from wine, and from all that could inebriate, like one, nay, like a chief, among the Nazarites. If, however, at any time it happened that he was on a journey, or dining with the King, he tempered the accustomed rigour of his abstinence. Afterwards, when he returned home, punishing in himself that which he regarded as a gross crime, he increased his abstinence.'² Intemperate abstainers and vegetarians might study this last paragraph. Joceline says that the saint lived one hundred and sixty years, and that from the time of his ordination,

¹ Life, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.

A. D. 548-603.

in his twenty-fifth year, this was his scanty fare ; but as he travelled a good deal, and was on terms of the closest intimacy with the royal families of Strathclyde and Wales, it would be often supplemented by a more generous diet.

‘ Of the mode of dress of St Kentigern. He used the roughest haircloth next the skin, then a garment of leather made of the skin of the goats, then a cowl like a fisherman’s bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. He bore a pastoral staff, not rounded and gilded and gemmed, as may be seen now-a-days, but of simple wood, and merely bent. He had in his hand the Manual Book, always ready to exercise his ministry whenever necessity or reason required. And so by the whiteness of his dress, he expressed the purity of inner life, and avoided vain glory.’¹

The next chapter is a description of the couch, the vigils, and the bath of St Kentigern. ‘ What shall I say of his bed ; I hesitate to call it a bed or a tomb. He lay in stone hollowed like a monument, having for his head a stone in place of a pillow, like another Jacob. He rather tasted than took sleep, rising oft and pouring out his soul in the sight of the Lord his God, in psalms, and hymns and spiritual songs. This lasted until the second cock-crowing ; then, entering upon a fiercer conflict with that great and malignant dragon, that according to the prophet lieth in the midst of his rivers, he used to strip himself of his clothes, and naked, following a naked Christ, making himself naked and bare, he plunged into the rapid and cold water. Then, verily, as the hart desireth the water brooks, so his soul desired and thirsted for God, the living water : and there in cold and nakedness, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he chanted on end the whole Psalter. Emerging from the water like a dove bathed in milk, nay, rather as a Nazarene, whiter than snow, brighter than milk, ruddier than ancient ivory, fairer than sapphire, he sat himself to dry his limbs on the brow of a hill called Gulath (the Dew

¹ Life, p. 57. See also note, p. 343. The staff was probably more for use than display, like that of St Moloch. See *ante*, p. 22.

or Dow Hill, a district still known by that name in Glasgow, near the Cathedral) by the water side near his own home.' This custom of bathing, added to his mode of living previously described, not only added to his term of life, but so subdued his passions that he grew in years "like an unfading lily." Once upon a time he simply declared to his disciples that the sight or touch of a most beautiful girl had no more effect upon him than the hardest flint.¹ 'Holy Kentigern in the form of his body is said to have been of middle stature, rather inclining to tallness, and it is asserted that he was of robust strength (a miracle of itself considering his way of living), capable of enduring great fatigue in the labours both of body and soul. He was beautiful to look on, and graceful of form. He attracted all hearts, and his outward cheerfulness was but the faithful interpreter of that inward peace which the Lord had bestowed upon him.'²

Joceline gives in the same chapter an edifying discourse on hypocrisy, and in the next tells of the success attending the labours of St Kentigern. 'He began to overthrow the shrines of demons, to cast down their images, to build churches, to dedicate them when built, to divide parishes by certain limits by the cord of distribution, to ordain clergy, to dissolve incestuous and unlawful marriages, to change concubinage into lawful matrimony, to bring in as far as he could ecclesiastical rites, and strove to establish whatsoever was consonant with the faith, the Christian law and righteousness.'³ This reformation was spread far and wide, involving long and distant journeys, all of which the saint performed on foot after the fashion of the apostles, never, even to extreme old age, indulging in the luxury of a horse.

St Kentigern, having completed his tour, returned to Glasgow and began to set his own house in order. It is difficult to avoid the belief that from the earliest period of Scottish ecclesiastical history celibacy was reckoned the highest life, and that the saints whose names have come down to us were celibates. Yet the passage we now

¹ Life, pp. 58, 59, note H H, p. 344.

² *Ibid.* p. 63.

³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

A. D. 518-603. give throws some doubt on this belief. 'For after the fashion of the primitive church, under the apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, and living soberly, righteously, godly, and continently, they (the great many disciples whom he trained) dwelt, as did St Kentigern himself, in single cottages from the time that they had become mature in age and doctrine.'¹ Why were separate dwellings provided, and not a common dormitory, unless to accommodate married persons with their families? Even in the time of Joceline a married clergyman was by no means an abomination; a St Donald, with a numerous family, turns up later on in our history; St Kentigern, with that tenderness to human frailty so conspicuous in his character, while practising the strictest celibacy in his own person, may not have insisted on it in his disciples. 'Therefore these "singulares clerici" were called in the common language "Calledei." No argument in favour of the celibacy of these "disciples" can be deduced from the words "singulares" or "Calledei." Joceline here uses a term unknown to all the earlier writers—Bede, Adamnan, and others; it is only his opinion that they were "singulares clerici."

The derivation and meaning of the word 'Calledei' has been much controverted, the Culdees themselves have but a shadowy existence. Celto-maniacs give the meaning as 'men of the recess,' from the Celtic word 'Cuiltich.' Dr Reeves, whose Celtic scholarship is as profound as his judgment is unbiassed, thus states his predilection for the translation of 'servant of God' rather than 'spouse of God,' as rendering the word 'Cele De.' 'I have not been able to discover an instance where "sponsus" or "maritus Dei" has been used as "monachus" or "servus Dei."² Joceline' may therefore have used the word to denote men who had devoted themselves to the exclusive service of God, but whether as celibates or no, must remain an open question.

Their service, however, was not one of idleness, and far from, not only the life ascribed in popular ditty to 'the Monks of Old,' but the *hard toil* which exhausts the

¹ Life, p. 66.

² Culdees of the British Isles, p. vii.

modern clergyman. 'The servant of Jesus Christ went forth to his work in the morning, and to his labour till the evening, labouring mainly at agriculture, that he might not eat the bread of idleness, but rather in the sweat of his brow afford an example of labour to his own, and have to give to him who was suffering necessity.'¹ It might be a question whether the 'sweat of the brain,' which is said to exhaust the energies of our present church dignitaries is of as much benefit to their disciples and the people at large.

The biographer of St Kentigern candidly informs his readers of his predilection for the marvellous events in his narrative, 'doubting not that they will be profitable to very many,' regretting only that he cannot tell them all. Once upon a time the brethren had no oxen wherewith to plough, and the land was like to lie fallow. When the man of God saw this, he lifted up his eyes and beheld a herd of deer feeding. Straightway offering up a prayer, he called on them, and in the name of the Lord commanded them to be yoked in place of the oxen. The deer at once obeyed the command of the man of God, and like tame oxen used to the yoke, ploughed the land to the astonishment of many. Released from their work, they went to their usual pastures, and at the proper hour returned to their accustomed toil. This was very satisfactory, but once upon a time, as the stags were going and returning like domestic animals, a hungry wolf rushing upon one of them, throttled him, and filled his voracious stomach with the carcase. St Kentigern was equal to the occasion; extending his hand towards the wood he said, 'In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I command that the wolf, who hath wrought this injury on me who deserved it not, appear before me to make satisfaction.' Wondrous words! more wondrous deeds! the wolf did appear, fell howling at his feet, and in the best way he could, begged pardon, and offered to make reparation. St Kentigern at once ordered him to go and yoke himself in the place of the stag he had devoured, and plough what was left in the field, about nine acres.

¹ Life, p. 66.

A. D. 518-503. Verily the wolf obeyed the word spoken, whereupon the saint freely allowed him to depart.¹ The further history of the wolf is not given, whether he relapsed into vicious courses, or like the jackdaw of Rheims, at last 'in the odour of sanctity died,' is uncertain. The former is the more likely, as we have no Saint Isegrim in the Kalendar of Scottish saints.

But another miracle was needed after the field was ploughed; it was discovered they had no seed grain. St Kentigern having doubtless heard of St Ternan's resort in such cases, sand was sown instead of seed. It proved equally efficacious, to the great astonishment and edification of all who witnessed this wonderful power of faith.²

The Bishop of Glasgow now finds himself in contest with the secular power, Mr Burton calls it 'bickering in which the saint, by virtue of his supernatural power is always victorious.'³ The monarch who received Kentigern with so much cordiality was now dead, and a 'certain tyrant, by name Morken, had ascended the throne of the Cumbrian kingdom. His heart was at once elevated by pride, yet blinded and contracted by greed. He scorned and despised the man of God, and attributed his miracles to magical illusions.'

St Kentigern, in spite of the miraculous culture of his lands, found some difficulty in supplying the numerous mouths dependant on him. Like a true churchman who is not particular to the creed of those who *pay*, he demanded supplies from the temporal power, 'gently hinting' that out of the King's abundance, according to the injunction of the apostle, he should come to their aid and supply their wants. Morken, though a disbeliever in the saint, knew his Bible, for he replied, 'Cast thy care upon the Lord and He will sustain thee;' as thou hast often taught others, that they that fear God shall lack nothing, but they that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.⁴ I don't fear God, and have plenty; you do, and suffer want, 'Thy faith therefore is vain, thy preaching false.' St Kentigern, of course,

¹ Life, pp. 66, 67.

² *Ibid.* p. 68.

³ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. p. 235.

⁴ Psalm xxxiv.

proved that this was a most absurd way of interpreting Scripture ; but argument was of no avail, the King despised it, and in a rage, by way of a clencher to the saint's pretensions, exclaimed, 'If trusting in thy God, without human hand thou canst transfer to thy mansion all the corn that is kept in my barns and heaps, I yield with a glad mind and gift, and for the future will be devoutly obedient to thy requests.' Saying this he retired joyfully, as if by such an answer as this he had made game of the saint. But alas, little did he know the power he had defied. St Kentigern grieved in spirit left the monarch, and gave him to the evening to repent ; but then finding him still obdurate, he lifted hands and eyes to heaven in prayer. At that moment the River Clud flowed over its banks, surrounded the barns and heaps of corn of the King, and licked them into its own bosom ; floating down the stream, they turned into the Mellingdenor (Molendinar Burn), were safely deposited at the saint's mansion, and securely housed, all by unseen hands. Morken seems to have been a second Pharaoh, with even less command over his temper ; he belched forth many reproaches against the holy bishop, calling him magician and sorcerer, and threatened that if ever he appeared again in his presence, he should suffer severely as a man that had made game of his prince. St Kentigern was, however, foolhardy enough to do so ; when the man of Belial rushed upon him, struck him with his heel, and smote him to the ground upon his back. It seems strange that the saint did not exercise his supernatural powers, but perhaps he was taken by surprise, or it was decreed that Morken should fill up the measure of his iniquity, and St Kentigern had to suffer in course. The King was instigated to this sacrilege by a confidential friend Cathen ; he shared the punishment of his master, and the fate of the two reprobates is a warning to all who lay violent hands on the servants of the church. The saint being raised by the bye-standers meekly departed. Cathen laughing loudly mounted his horse, and rode off, but the steed stumbled, and the rider in falling broke his neck. But the principal in the sacrilegious outrage was not to

A.D. 518-603.

A.D. 478-503. escape; a swelling attacked the feet of the King, pain followed the swelling, and then succeeded death. The sins of the father are visited on the children to the third and the fourth generation the disease was not destroyed or buried in the succession of that family. 'From the beginning of that time, for the future, the weakness ceased not, and a gout was handed down hereditarily, and this family takes after the father, not in face or in habit of the body, but in disease.'¹

The biographer, after some few pertinent quotations from Scripture says, that for many days St Kentigern 'enjoyed great peace and quiet, living in his own city of Glasgu, and going through his diocese; because the divine vengeance, shown forth upon his persecutors, supplied to others, a motive of fear, reverence, love, and obedience toward the saint of God, and gave him the opportunity of doing whatever he desired for the service and glory of God.'²

We are utterly in the dark as to the length of this period; it could not have been very prolonged, as the date of his expulsion has been guessed (for no other term can be used) at A.D. 540,² when the saint was only twenty-six years of age. Evil days indeed were coming, and infant Christianity was nigh to extinguished in St Kentigern's diocese. The Christian hero, King Arthur, is said to have fallen at Camelon 537, and with him the fortunes of the new religion. In a short time the terrible Ida trampled out what was left, and probably not only the Bishop of Glasgu, but many other faithful confessors sought a refuge in the fastnesses of Wales. 'When some time had elapsed, certain sons of Belial, a generation of vipers of the kin of the aforesaid King Morken, excited by the sting of intense hatred, and infected with the poison of the devil, sought how they might lay hold of Kentigern by craft and put him to death.'³ It is hardly to be wondered at, the roots of Christianity were not deeply rooted; and a man who could abstract a whole harvest so easily, and visit a whole family with gout, was 'na

¹ Life, pp. 69-72

² *Ibid.* pp. 72, 73; Intro p. lxxv.

³ *Ibid.* p. 73.

canny.' But, strong in the affections of his flock, St Kentigern escaped the snares set for him. A conflict became imminent between the two parties; but the saint, a man of peace, though possessed of superhuman powers, and able also by the help of his followers to 'meet force by force,' thought it better for the time, to quit the spot and to give place unto wrath, and to seek elsewhere a richer harvest of souls, rather than to bear about with him a conscience seared as with a hot iron, or even darkened by the death of any man, however wicked.¹ The example of St Paul leaving Damascus by 'a basket and a rope' to avoid 'a death without fruit' was present to the mind of the saint, and he hardly needed the Divine revelation, which instructed him to flee to Menevia (Wales), 'where at that time the holy Bishop Dewi, like the morning star when it with its rosy countenance heraldeth the day was shining forth in his episcopal work.' St Kentigern came first to Karleolum (Carlisle), and for some time (how long is not stated) laboured in Cumberland and Westmoreland. His principal seat of operations was at Crossfield, which, according to Dr Forbes, was in the extreme parish of Cumberland near Crossfell;² and his labours must have been successful, as there are no less than eight dedications to St Kentigern in the county of Cumberland.³ 'Turning aside from thence, the saint directed his steps by the seashore, scattering the seeds of the word as he went, and not without fruit. At length, safe and sound he reached St Dewi, and found in him greater works than had been reported by fame.' The reception of the exile was most cordial; the saints, 'the poor, the middle class, the nobility, even King Cathwalain,⁴ who reigned in that country, all vied in doing honour to the distinguished guest. The king willingly listened to St Kentigern, and after hearing 'did much which concerned the good of his own soul; he asked the saint to choose any place in his land and there build his monastery, but on account of its suitability, assigned him

¹ Life, p. 73.

² *Ibid.* p. 349.

³ *Ibid.* pp. lxxxiii-v.

⁴ The great grandson of Cunedda. See Life, p. 350; also Skene's Four Books of Wales, vol. i. p. 47.

A. D. 518-603. Nautcharvan (Llancarvan). The narrative is here confusing. St Kentigern is said to have accepted the offer, to have bade farewell to St Dewi, and betaken himself to the place aforesaid. But subsequently we are told of his search for a suitable place, and it being found in the territory of a heathen prince. If Llancarvan had not been a well-known monastery founded by St Cadoc, we should say that it and St Asaph were one and the same, and that Joceline invented the discovery of the latter to bring in the miracle now to be related.

St Kentigern, accompanied by a great crowd of disciples, set forth in search of a home; and his biographer unintentionally no doubt, bears witness to the acuteness of the 'Monks of Old' in mundane matters. 'They explored the situations of the localities, the quality of the air, the richness of the soil, the sufficiency of the meadows, pastures and woods, and the other things that look to the convenience of a monastery.' All looked to their leader with feelings of confidence and affection; the pet name of his foster-father, St Mungo, my dear one, seems well-merited, for he was beloved by man and beast. 'A wild boar from the wood, entirely white, met the party, and approaching the feet of the saint, motioned to him and his companions with such gesture as he could, to follow him.' They all marvelled, but followed their leader the boar, which preceded them. 'When they came to the place which the Lord had predestinated for them, the boar halted; and frequently striking the ground with his foot, and making the gesture of tearing up the soil of the little hill that was there with his long tusk, shaking his head repeatedly and grunting, he clearly showed to all that that was the place designed and prepared by God.' St Kentigern at once accepted what appeared to him divine guidance; he blessed the place and its surroundings in the name of the Lord, erected a cross, and there pitched his tents. The boar superintended all this, and seemed unwilling to depart without some recognition of his services; 'he, by his frequent grunts, seemed to ask somewhat of the bishop; then the saint, scratching the head of the brute, and stroking his mouth and teeth, said, "God Almighty, in

Whose power are all the beasts of the forest, the oxen, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, grant for thy conduct such reward as He knoweth is best for thee." Then the boar, as if well remunerated, bowing his head to the priest of the Lord, departed, and betook himself to his well-known groves.' St Kentigern and his followers immediately set to work, levelled the ground, felled trees, and a church with its offices of polished wood after the fashion of the Britons, was approaching completion when the work was arrested by the heathen prince of the country. He demanded by what right they dared to settle on his domains. St Kentigern meekly replied that they had done so by the permission of King Cathwallain, in whose possession he believed the place to be. But Galganu, if he was a vassal prince, did not care to acknowledge his superior; he, furious and raging ordered the settlers to be expelled, and what was erected to be pulled down. He departed breathing threatenings, but met with the usual fate of the enemies of the saint, divine vengeance overtook him; he was smitten with a sudden blindness. The visitation turned out a blessing; he was not a hardened reprobate like Morken, but recognised and blessed the hand which had stricken him. Inward light shone in him; he caused himself to be carried to St Kentigern, entreating him to dispel the darkness and wash him in the font of salvation. The saint at once complied, sight was restored, and the convert dipped in the saving water of baptism. 'Thus the Lord smote that He might heal; and making the new Paul out of the old Saul, He blinded him that He might give him light.' We need not say that Galganu became 'an active and devoted fellow-worker in all that the saint desired at his hand.' The monastery of St Asaph, Joceline would thus lead us to infer, was founded by Kentigern, though nowhere in the Life does he give it a name.

Yet the journey to Wales seems more than any other part of the life an invention of the author of the Life; the most that can be said for it, is given by Dr Forbes: 'It is a tempting theory, indeed, that St Asaph, of which no trustworthy record of a bishop exists prior to A.D. 928, came

A. D. 518-603. into existence as a See with the little Denbighshire district of Strathclwyd, founded by a colony from Kentigern's northern Strathclwyd. Kentigern driven from the Clyde in Scotland, and entering Wales, was arrested by the sight of a vale and a river, which resembled that which he had left, and resolved to found an establishment there, calling the river "Clyde," after the Clyde he had left.¹ The theory is, we need not say, untenable, but tempting enough to continue the story. Kentigern established there the 'Cathedral Choir of his bishopric. In truth he led back to the way of salvation a countless number of men who were either ignorant of the Christian faith, or averse from it, or degraded by profane doctrine, or deteriorated by wicked works.' He did not confine himself to the supervision of his church and monastery, but travelled far and wide, preaching the word; 'but as he never found where the foot of his desire could long find rest, he returned to the much-loved quiet of his monastery, like the dove to the ark, from the face of the deluge of the world.' The monastery soon found inmates; in a short time nine hundred and sixty-five persons, drawn from every rank in life, renounced the world, and professed in life and habit the monastic rule, while nobles and men of the middle class brought their children to be trained unto the Lord. St Kentigern was a gifted administrator, shrewd and practical as he was pious, or at any rate his biographer makes him so, showing certainly his opinion, what a worthy abbot *should* be, rather what he was in those halcyon days. 'He divided this troop that had been collected together, and devoted to the Divine service, into a threefold division of religious observance. For he appointed three hundred, who were unlettered, to the duty of agriculture, the care of cattle, and the other necessary duties outside the monastery. He assigned another three hundred to duties within the cloister of the monastery, such as doing the ordinary work and preparing food, and building workshops. The remaining three hundred and sixty-five who were lettered, he appointed to the celebration of Divine

¹ Life, p. 351. Quotation from Haddan & Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. i. p. xxxi.

service in church by day and by night; and he seldom allowed any of these to go forth out of the sanctuary, but ever to abide within, as if in the holy place of the Lord.' The service of God was carried on perpetually 'Laus perennis.' 'The sacred choirs being conveniently and discreetly arranged so as to succeed in turn, while the work of God was celebrated perpetually, prayer was made to God without ceasing of the church there; and by praising God at every time, His praise ever resounded in their mouths.'¹ While it is highly improbable that this institution existed in this form, at this time and under St Kentigern's rule, it is not at all improbable that Joceline describes truly the numbers and composition of a Welsh monastery in slightly later times, and the occupation of its inmates. Without placing full credence in the account of the numbers resident in the monasteries of Wales and Ireland,² a partial belief is perhaps warranted. Protestants, and especially Scotch Protestants, are wont to undervalue the piety and the usefulness of the monastic order, yet in that rude age the monks were the only civilisers, and their morals (though according to Gildas these were loose enough) were infinitely superior to those of all around them. Next to constant exercises of devotion, manual labour and the education of the young were the duties imposed upon them, all were felt to be religious duties, all the service of God; the hind and the scripture reader alike His servants. It might be asked whether the ministers of religion are engaged in as useful occupations now, but 'tempora mutantur.'

¹ Life, pp. 75-80.

² The enormous size of the Welsh monastery finds confirmation in the condition of others. In that of St Finnian of Clonard there were at one time 3000 monks. Bangor, near Carrickfergus, contained, before the death of its founder St Comgal, 4000. At Bangor in Wales there were eight divisions each of 300 monks. In the year 900 there were more than 1000 monks in the Abbey of St Silvester, at Nonantula, near Modena. That of Jumiegès, founded by SS. Philibert and Bathildis, contained 900. At Fulda, during the days of Hrabanus Maurus, 370. At Clugny, in the days of Peter the Venerable, 400, besides an immense number of guests and a multitude of poor. Hugo, the abbot there, admitted more than 10,000 monks into the ranks of the Lord's host.—Life, p. 351. Possibly true, but a faith similar to a belief in miracles is necessary.

A. D. 519-5c3.

The intense abnegation of self, common to the enthusiasts of all religions in their initiatory stage, must, from the nature of things, become extinct; it is now, except as forming the text of a homily; but there is one feature distinctive of the early church everywhere, and which we have seen formed the most important part in this church, the service of praise, which has been resuscitated in our own times. Within the memory of the most of those who may read these pages, the sermon formed the most important part of the service in the churches of Scotland and kindred Dissenting bodies in England and Ireland; among earnest men and women, it formed the only topic worthy to be discussed. This is now changed, and the service of praise has taken the place of the sermon, not only among the enthusiasts who form associations of their own, but also among the members of the three bodies of Presbyterians who dominate the mind of Scotland. The enthusiasts both in and out of the recognised churches make this service the leading feature, but there is one point in which the Welsh monks, enthusiasts also, displayed a purity of taste unknown to those of to-day. Their service of praise was psalmody, the musical form the chant or the chorale. Now many of the converts in Wales we know were bards, and indeed we are given to understand the whole body of the people were highly musical, yet we cannot discover the introduction into the service of the church, words or music of a secular character. The psalms, as a whole, do not meet the spiritual requirements and aspirations of an age so far removed in everything from that in which they were composed, yet even in their entirety it would be sacrilege to compare them as a vehicle for religious worship, apart from their literary merit, with the hymns (save the word) used by the believers in the great American revivalist, not to mention the doggerel of the more advanced Salvation Army. As for the music to which these are set, the earliest known chant or chorale, to a man or woman who has any appreciation of the dignity of religious worship, must be infinitely more acceptable than the most catching of Christy Minstrel

melodies, which form the basis of Ira D. Sankey's songs A D. 518-f03 and solos.

St Kentigern performed numerous miracles while in Wales, one of them is well known, and told in the Aberdeen Breviary. Asaph, one of his pupils, was as dear to Kentigern as he had been to St Serf, and the favour shown to him probably aroused the same anxious feelings, and was the occasion of a miracle, quite as wonderful, but by no means so interesting as the restoration to life of the dead robin. The holy bishop continued his practice of reciting the psalter in the depth of winter, while taking his bath; the season was very inclement, and it proved too much for the old man, in resuming his clothes he became rigid. 'Wherefore the holy father ordered the boy Asaph to bring fire to him whereat he might warm himself. The lord's little boy ran to the oven, and requested that coals might be given to him. And when he had not wherewith to carry the burning thorns, the servant either in joke or seriously said to him, 'If thou wishest to take the thorns, hold out thy dress, for I have not at hand that in which thou may'st carry them.' The holy boy, strong in faith, and trusting in the sanctity of his master, without hesitation, gathering together and holding up his dress, received the living coals in his bosom, and carrying them to the old man, cast them down in his presence out of his bosom, but no sign of burning or corruption appeared in the dress.' The newly fledged and the old saint had an argument, which was entitled to the merit of the divine interposition. Joceline inclines to give it to both: 'Holy Kentigern, who had always held dear and beloved the venerable boy Asaph, henceforward ever from that very day regarded him as the dearest and most loved of all, and raised him as soon as he could to holy orders. At the due season he delegated to him the care of the monastery, and made him his successor in the episcopate.'¹ His name has come down to our own time in connection with the See.

During St Kentigern's incumbency in Wales he is said to have visited Rome seven times, where his fame had pre-

¹ Life, pp. 80, 81.

A. D. 518-603. ceded him; it is needless to say that visit and knowledge of such a person there at that time are alike fictitious.

In the meanwhile the Glaswegians had suffered severely for the heinous crime of expelling their bishop; their punishment was dreadful;¹ blindness, paralysis, epilepsy, and a contagious leprosy seized many; some one way, some another were consumed by every kind of incurable disease. Sympathising nature joined. 'The very world itself seemed to fight against those foolish ones, and the elements seemed not able to bear with equanimity the absence of so great a man exiled from that land; for according to the words of the prophecy, all men have departed, all the cattle died, the heavens above were as brass, and the earth as iron, devouring the inhabitants thereof, and a consuming famine prevailed over the earth.' Would such a fearful state of things ever have been even thought of, had the Jewish and early Christian writers not supplied the description?

But better days were in store. King Rederech's accession changed the plague stricken land and its people to fertility and health. 'The sun was felt warmer than usual, the vault of heavens clearer, the air more healthy, the earth more fruitful, the sea more calm, the abundance of all things greater, the force of all things more joyous.'

Rederech, after the decisive victory of Arderydd A. D. 573, found himself sufficiently established in his kingdom, to restore the Christian religion. He was not only friendly to the new faith, but probably baptised in Ireland. He was of Irish extraction by his mother's side, for his sister was daughter of Ethni, surnamed Wyddeles, 'the Irish woman.' This king so favourably known under his surname of Hael (Irish Fial), the liberal or bountiful, at once dispatched messengers to St Kentigern, praying, exhorting, and adjuring him in the name of God, to return and protect the desolate sheep who had been so long without a shepherd. The saint's conduct under the circumstances was wonderfully like that of a modern clergymen who *reluctantly* leaves one sphere of usefulness for another; it can only be done after prayerful consideration, and

¹ Life, pp. 87, 88.

what he is certain is a call from the Lord. While during the night engaged in prayer, an angel smote the saint on his side, and commanded him to rise. On his compliance, the angel said, 'Go back to Glasgu, to thy church, and there thou shalt be a great nation, and the Lord will make thee to increase among thy people. . . .' On the very next day he intimated his resolution to the brethren, and appointed St Asaph his successor, with the consent of all; after which he delivered a profound sermon on the cardinal virtues, obedience to the institutes of the Roman Church, and observance of the discipline and exercises he had established. The sermon over, he enthroned Asaph, and departed by the north door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy. The saint was followed by 665 brethren, 300 remaining with his successor; the company arrived safely at Glasgu, and were received by Rederech in the most cordial manner.¹

St Kentigern at once gave proof of his mission; on the approach of the multitude hastening towards him, he knelt down in prayer, and in name of the Holy Trinity blessed the multitude. 'Then, as if fortifying the bystanders with the sign of the Holy Cross, he spoke as follows: I command that all those who envy the salvation of man, and oppose the word of God, in the power of the same, depart instantly from hence, and oppose no obstacle to them who shall believe. Whereupon, with exceeding speed, an immense multitude of phantoms, horrible in stature and appearance, coming out of that crowd, fled away in the sight of all, and a great terror fell on those who beheld them.'²

All things prospered with the saint in his new diocese; never was such a Bishop, never such a King, never was such a people, but whether the events recorded in chapter xxxiii. ever occurred, we leave our readers to judge. It sounds very like a statement of what the millennium should be, when kings and laymen recognise their true position. 'Now King Rederech, seeing that the hand of God was good to him, and was operating according to his desires, was filled with great joy. And he made no delay in ex-

¹ Life, p. 90.

² *Ibid.* p. 92.

A D. 518-603. hibiting openly the inward fervour which animated his soul. For, stripping himself of his royal robes, on bended knees and hands joined, with the consent and advice of his lords, he gave his homage to St Kentigern, and handed over to him the dominion and principedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be King, and himself the ruler of his country under him as his father, as he knew that formerly the great Emperor Constantine had done to St Silvester. Hence the custom grew up for a long course of years, so long as the Cambrian kingdom lasted, in its own proper rank, that the prince was always subject to the bishop.¹ St Kentigern did not see his way to decline the offer, but at once accepted it, only of course for the benefit of the Church. 'He had also a privilege sent him from the Supreme Pontiff, that he should be subject to no bishop, but rather should be styled, and actually be, the vicar and chaplain of the Pope. But the King, in return for the honour and glory he bestowed upon the holy bishop, received grace for grace, and greater honour and wealth from the Lord.' One would think that an apology is more than necessary for inserting the account of a transaction, existing only in the mind of a twelfth century ecclesiastic determined to promote by any means the power of his church. But the learned and amiable editor of the *Life*, in sober earnest writes: 'We must believe that a real historical fact is asserted here. Modern historians are beginning to recognise, as they should, the extent to which the Christian Church exerted civil power from the beginning.'² He traces it from the writings of St Paul,³ and in this he may not be so far from the mark, making him not only the author of ecclesiastical dogma, but of ecclesiastical rule or tyranny. He seems to think that on the whole the power of the church (taking the word in its widest and best sense) over the State was for the benefit of the latter, and the coronation service of every country in Europe, which in few cases secured ability or morality, 'testifies to the condition of things which illustrates his position,' the State subservient to the Church. Modern historians have unearthed the extent to which priests

¹ *Life*, p. 94. ² *Ibid.* p. 358. ³ 1 Cor. vi. 1-7.

have trampled on the rights of the people ; ancient historians tell us how little power they had (if they tried) to curb the fierce passions of chiefs and people ; if a nominal submission was given at this early period of Scottish history, it meant nothing, and involved the surrender of as little : as to the survival of the custom, to speak of it is absurd, the bishopric lapsed on the death of St Kentigern, and was only revived centuries after the kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria was extinct. Yet the theory on which the late Bishop of Brechin and other churchmen, Anglican and Roman, lay so much stress, is one, which, if we are to believe hallowed foresight, will yet be an accomplished fact, but only when Church and State shall be synonymous terms, when there shall be no lords in God's heritage, not even apostles, let alone their successors. When dogmatic theology and ecclesiastical rule exist only as records of the past, when the universal brotherhood typified in the Founder of our faith shall be the ground of all legislation, civil and sacred, if indeed these terms will not then be identical ; then the dream of poet and saint will be realised. Not when Israel shall be restored to a higher position than that which she abused under the reign of Solomon, not when any section of men calling themselves even by the august name of the Holy Catholic Church, shall dominate over every people, but when men realise their true relationship to one another and to the Universal Father, who was ever in the hearts of men, and who in latter days revealed Himself in the words and life of Christ.

In addition to other benefits conferred on account of the praiseworthy transaction recorded, Rederech's spouse, 'Queen Languoreth, long bowed down by the disgrace of continued barrenness, conceived and brought forth a son ; he was baptised by St Kentigern, who named him Constantine, and to the present day he is called St Constantine by many.'¹ Bishop and King got on swimmingly ; riches, glory, and dignity poured in on the monarch ; converts were multiplied to the saint, churches were erected, wealth and plenty reigned in the habitations of the priests and

¹ Joceline confounds him with two other saints, both kings. See *Life*, p. 366.

A.D. 518-603. clerics, never at any period had the Church such a prosperous time.

¹ The biographer next narrates the missionary labours of St Kentigern outside of his diocese; these are dwelt on in glowing language, but there is no corroboratory proof except the existence of churches in later times bearing his name. He is said to have 'cleansed from the foulness of idolatry, and the contagion of heresy (the bugbear which has vexed so many pious souls) the land of the Picts, which is now called Galwiethia,' the scene of the labours of St Ninian; to have preached the gospel in Albania, the Scotland north of the Forth; and to have penetrated as far as Orkney and even to Iceland, 'the Orchades, Norruagia, and Ysaland.'² In all his journeys the missionary saint was, like St Ninian,³ thoroughly protected, for no rain, snow, or hail ever touched him, they were turned aside from his blessed person. For as we read the garments of the children of Israel in their desert journey, 'were not worn or destroyed by time, so the garments of this man alone were never wetted by the drops of rain from heaven.' If the saint found an audience willing to receive the word, and the atmosphere was clouded, on his commencing to preach, the clouds fled, and a light shone round about himself, the place, and the inhabitants thereof.

⁴ The next miracle of St Kentigern, or as we should rather term him at this time St Mungo, is his most famous and best known, and from it were taken the heraldic insignia of the See and city of Glasgow. The incident is detailed at considerable length, but it is not a pretty story;⁵ it illustrates, however, an amiable point, perhaps weakness in the future saint of Glasgow; that though an

¹ Life, Chap. xxxiv. pp. 95, 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 366.

³ *Ante*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* Chap. xxxvi. pp. 99-102.

⁵ 'In most of these legends the moral is good; it is not so in this case, and the wonder is, that the event it records should have had so prominent a place given to it in the after history of the Church in Glasgow.' Maclauchlan's *Early Scottish Church*, p. 126. The reverend historian forgets that the Roman Church, though severe in visiting sins of the flesh on the clergy, were, unlike the Puritans, tolerant towards the laity, specially those of high rank.

ascetic himself, and proof against all the lusts of the flesh, he could be tender to the frailties of others. Queen Languoreth ungrateful for the son sent her, was unfaithful to her lord, and transferred her affections and intercourse to a young soldier; so infatuated was she, that she gave her lover a golden ring, probably the King's signet, which he in doting affection had entrusted to her care. The secret of the amour was discovered by the foolish act of the Queen. Rederech found the young soldier asleep with the ring on his finger; after a struggle whether he should plunge his sword into the heart of the man who had made a cuckold of him, the King took a more refined mode of vengeance. He plucked the ring from the finger of the sleeping man, and cast it into the Clyde; he then went home and asked his wife for the ring he had given. Languoreth made all manner of excuses in order to gain time to communicate with her gallant, but the exasperated husband was not to be imposed on or trifled with. He made use of very bad language, threw his consort into prison, and threatened to put in force the laws against adulterers. The Queen in her extremity sent for St Kentigern, told him her whole misfortune, and from him, as her only deliverer, she urgently requested help. The saintly bishop, with the example of the forgiveness of the woman taken in adultery, was moved with compassion, and at once extricated the guilty but penitent Queen from her perilous position. He bade her send a man to fish in the Clyde, which she did, and her messenger casting a hook into the river caught a fish which is commonly called a salmon; the fish being opened the missing ring was found in its stomach. The Queen triumphantly rushed into the presence of her husband, and produced the proof of her innocence. Rederech was no doubt astounded and would have his suspicions, but what could he do, being a good natured man, and of a forgiving disposition, he pardoned the fair frail one, he even begged pardon for slandering her, and offered to inflict condign punishment on her traducers. Languoreth was prudent, she deprecated further proceedings, all she desired was the favour of her lord, she made full con-

A. D. 518-603. fession to St Kentigern, received absolution, corrected her life for the future, and kept her feet from a similar fall.

The next two chapters in the Life record at length two miracles, which, with the reflections thereon, might be of great spiritual benefit to former generations, but which would perhaps not confer the same benefit now. They consist in procuring a dish of mulberries out of season, and of turning milk spilt into the river into cheese.

The only other event of importance which falls to be recorded, is the real or supposed visit of St Columba to St Kentigern. Joceline's biography is the only authority for it, but it is not absolutely improbable. The connection between Glasgow and the West Highlands has been close from time immemorial, and two such great men would naturally desire to look one another in the face for once in a lifetime, just like Czars and Kaisars of the present day. It, however, detracts much from its historical value that St Adamnan does not record it.¹ 'At the time when blessed Kentigern, placed in the Lord's candlestick like a burning lamp, in ardent desires, and shining forth in life-giving words, in the examples of virtues and miracles, gave light to all that were in the house of God, St Columba, the abbot, whom the Angles call Columkillus, a man wonderful for doctrine and virtues, celebrated for his presage of future times, full of the spirit of prophecy, and living in that glorious monastery which he had erected in the island of Yi, desired earnestly, not once and away, but continually, to rejoice in the light of St Kentigern. For hearing for a long time of the fame in which he was estimated, he desired to approach him, to visit him, to behold him, to come into his close intimacy, and to consult the sanctuary of his holy breast regarding the things which lay near his own heart. And when the proper time came the holy father St Columba went forth, and a great company of his disciples, and of others who desired to behold and look upon the face of so great a man, accompanied him. When he approached the place called Mellindenor, where the saint abode at that time, he divided all his people into three bands, and

¹ Life, Chaps. xxxix., xl., pp. 106-109

sent forward a message to announce to the holy prelate his A D 518-603 arrival, and that of those who accompanied him.

The holy Pontiff was glad when they said unto him these things concerning them, and calling together his clergy and people similarly in three bands, he went forth with spiritual songs to meet them. In the forefront of the procession were placed the juniors in order of time; in the second those more advanced in years; in the third with himself, walked the aged in length of days, white and hoary, venerable in countenance, gesture, and bearing, yea, even in grey hairs. And all sang, 'In the ways of the Lord how great is the glory of the Lord,' and again they answered, 'The way of the just is made straight, and the path of the saints prepared.' On St Columba's side they sang with tuneful voices, 'The saints shall go from strength to strength, until unto the God of gods appeareth every one in Sion,' with the Alleluia. Meanwhile some who had come with St Columba asked him, saying, 'Hath St Kentigern come in the first chorus of singers?' The saint answered, 'Neither in the first nor in the second cometh the gentle saint.' And when they loudly asked how he knew this, he said, 'I see a fiery pillar, in fashion as of a golden crown, set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his head, and a light of heavenly brightness encircling him like a certain veil, and covering him, and again returning to the skies. Wherefore it is given to me to know by this sign that, like Aaron, he is the elect of God, and sanctified; who, clothed with light as with a garment, and with a golden crown represented on his head, appeareth to me with the sign of sanctity. When these two god-like men met, they mutually embraced and kissed each other, and having first satiated themselves with the spiritual banquet of divine words, they after that refreshed themselves with bodily food. But how great was the sweetness of divine contemplation within these holy hearts is not for me to say, nor is it given to me, or to such as I am, to reveal the manna which is hidden, and, as I think, entirely unknown, save to them that taste it.'

An untoward incident, to some extent, marred the

A.D. 518-603.

pleasure of this interview. In St Columba's train there could not help being men who were born 'cattle lifters;' the race continued till within the memory of our grandfathers. These, though nominally followers of St Columba, were still rievvers. Joceline says: 'For as the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, so the man that is bred to theft and robbery findeth it difficult to change his malice.' Some of these strangers, while they journeyed, beheld from a distance one of the flock of the holy bishop straying and unprotected. It was too much. One of them stole the ram, and cut off its head; but the body rushed away back to the flock, and the head became a stone in the man's hands, and stuck there. Of course he came at once to St Kentigern, and, prostrate before his feet, prayed that he would pardon him. The blessed man at once relieved the thief of his burden, and, in what seems an unaccountable fit of generosity, bestowed the ram on the marauder and his companions, and allowed them to depart. But the head, turned into stone, remaineth there unto this day as a witness to the miracle. Joceline is of opinion that, in the main, this miracle is not inferior to that which the book of Genesis records to have been wrought in the case of Lot's wife. A theatrical effect was the result of the theft and of the discovery. 'In the very place, where the miracle wrought by St Kentigern came to the knowledge of St Columba, and many others, there they interchanged their pastoral staves, in pledge and testimony of their mutual love in Christ. But the staff which St Columba gave to the holy bishop Kentigern, was preserved for a long time in the church of St Wilfred, bishop and confessor at Ripun, and held in great reverence on account of the sanctity both of him who gave it and of him who received it. Wherefore, during several days, these saints, passing the time together, mutually conversed on the things of God, and what concerned the salvation of souls; then saying farewell, with mutual love, they returned to their homes, never to meet again.'

The date of this visit is not given; but, if it took place, it was near the end of St Kentigern's pilgrimage,

and in the next chapter his biographer sums up the account of his labours by telling us of the many crosses he erected, and by the virtue of which, up to the present day, miracles are wrought. One was at Glasgu, in the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Trinity; it was cut from a block of stone of wondrous size.¹ The workmen tried every machinery they could devise, but it could not be raised up. However, at the prayer of St Kentigern an angel descended, rolled it into its place, set it up, blessed it with the sign of the cross, and then disappeared. The saint, without any angelic help, raised another entirely of sea sand, but compact and durable as marble, at Lothwerd (Borthwick in Midlothian), where he is said to have been resident eight years.

The biographer of St Kentigern having closed the account of his life and labours, now gives the detail of his last hours. For some time before his latter end the aged saint tied up his chin with a bandage, so that nothing indecent should appear in the gaping of his mouth. His disciples waited around him on his death-bed. After many comforting words to them, he requested them to retire to their rest. When alone, he was visited by an angel, who adjusted for him the mode of his departure from this world: to wit—That he should be placed in a warm bath, and there his soul should pass in peace to its rest; and after he had paid the debt of nature, his body should be removed, and those brethren who desired to follow him, should enter the bath, while the water was still warm; and they also should be loosed from the world by death, and become his companions in his journey to another world!² The angelic vision departed, and the brethren, entering the chamber, perceived a fragrance of wondrous and unspeakable odour pervading all around. Everything was done as the angel commanded, and after the saint had put off his earthly tabernacles, many went into the bath (they eagerly strove with each other to enter the water), as into a pool of Bethesda, and having tasted

¹ By a people who could construct their churches and dwellings of wattles only.

² Life, pp. 111-117.

A. D. 518-603. of death with the holy bishop, entered into the mansions of heaven. The brethren stripped the saint of his ordinary clothes, which they partly reserved and partly distributed as precious relics, and arrayed him in the consecrated garments, which became so great a bishop. They diligently and devoutly buried him on the right side of the altar, beneath a stone, with as much becoming reverence as they could. The sacred remains of the brethren, who were slaughtered to his manes, were consigned to the cemetery for sepulture, where it is stated rest the bodies of six hundred and sixty-five saints. As in life so in death. At his tomb sight is restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the power of walking to the lame, strength of limb to the paralytic, a sound mind to the insane, speech to the dumb, cleanness of skin to the leper.

King Rederech Hael did not long survive his friend and adviser in all things, temporal and spiritual. Casting aside all exaggeration, the loss of St Kentigern was a serious one. The King was resident at Pertnech—supposed to be the modern Partick—with his court, including, what seems to have been a necessary appendage of royalty, a court jester. This man after the death of St Kentigern, gave vent to the most extreme grief. Those of his craft have seldom been on good terms with the clergy, and the circumstance naturally awakened surprise among the courtiers. The jester was questioned as to the cause of his emotion, and answered 'that his lord King Rederech and another of the chiefs of the land, by name Morthec, would not live long after the death of the holy bishop, but would die within the year.' The prophecy proved true; in the same year the king and prince aforesaid died, and were buried in Glasgu.¹

Thus closes the life of the patron saint of Glasgu. According to his biographer he reached the patriarchal age of one hundred and eighty-five years. Deducting the

¹ Joceline gives here, in bald language, the romantic story of St Kentigern and Lailoken, who was called the second Merlin. We refer our readers to the account of it in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, book iii. c. 31.

century, this is within two years from the time Dr Forbes A D 500-700. dates his decease.¹

The kindred church in Wales, nearly if not identical with that of Strathclyde, merits our notice, though it may be considered a digression and no part of the history of the Scottish Church.

The early Church in Wales was as celebrated for saints which Romanists claim as their own, as even Erin, the Isle of Saints, now as they would say peopled by fanatics and schismatics. It is to be hoped that they have as good a right to the title of saints as their ancestors, though they are called Methodists. In the sea of Cymric legend, piety, patriotism, and nomenclature are inextricably mingled; as the language to a Saxon is worse than Gaelic, the reader will excuse the absence of the last.

There can be little doubt but that the Christian religion was adopted with the enthusiasm characteristic of the race, but it was, to say the least, a peculiar form of our most holy faith. Patriotism became an integral portion of it, but conversion of the Angle and Saxon was not in all the thoughts of the Christian Cymri; it was war to the death. St Germain had a hard task of it; he had to discomfit learned heretics and armed pagans. At the head of an army of weaponless converts he marched against the forces of Picts and Angles, and put them to flight by making his band shout three times Hallelujah, which the neighbouring mountains threw back in echoes. The yells must have been in Welsh, which the invaders were not used to, unfortunately for the heroic defenders of their country, the English and Norman ear got less refined in future battles.

The country, like Ireland and early Scotland, on its conversion was not parcelled out into districts presided over by presbyter or bishop, but large schools, monasteries, or institutions were founded from which swarmed saints innumerable. Wales is nought without Bards and Harps. The Bards were a powerful incorporation, which was constituted into a kind of hierarchy; it survived the

¹ *Ante*, p. 106.

A. D. 500-700.

ruin of the Druids (if they ever existed), and in the sixth century appeared in its fullest splendour. Kings and chiefs were proud to be enrolled in its ranks, and to take part in its poetic assemblies, the bards presided over education, music and poetry ranking first in the course. This influential body of men not only changed their faith readily, but kept their old occupations, and coalesced with the system of the time; every monastery had its bard or bards, at once poet and historian, who chronicled the wars, alliances, quarrels, miracles, and other events civil and sacred. We have imitated their example in our own days, showing the advanced state the Cymri had attained. The early Christians in the home of their faith in the East, in Rome, and in Gaul, even the Arian heretics in Hungary had sternly set their faces against the vanity of the songs of love and mundane affairs. They would have expelled from their brotherhood anyone who dared to sing of the joys of battle, or strike the harp in praise of the heroes who fell on their shields; they meekly submitted to the worst of despotisms, and won the hearts of fierce barbarians by the gospel of peace. But the Celts were a high-spirited and a poetic people, who loved to fight, and to tell how well they fought. We have fallen in our musical attainments, the traveller is not now everywhere received by choirs of singers of surpassing excellence,¹ but we and our spiritual guides can cope with the Welsh of the fifth and sixth centuries in combativeness and self-laudation. We don't keep a bard for our cathedrals and colleges, but we keep a chaplain for each regiment of our fighting men, and for a panegyric on our heroes, or a defence of our most aggressive wars, no readier pen or voice is to be had (seldom poetical now) than the Christian minister. The same arguments would be used in olden times as now, a holy cause, honour of the nation, rights which we cannot see trampled on, humanity, religion, our best interests would suffer, etc. etc.

As in Ireland, the monks were in no way exempt from military service, and entered freely into the inter-

¹ See Giraldus Cambrensis.

necine strife so characteristic of the Celtic race. The monasteries were undoubtedly schools of learning, but, as Catholic writers lament, tainted with the poison of Pelagianism, a heresy which seemingly could not be extirpated on its virgin soil. In this strange mixture of æsthetic culture, boldness in religious thought, ascetic piety, and free fighting, the question may be put, what was the moral tone of the people? The Saxons may have been cruel and merciless in war, gluttonous and bibulous in peace, yet if we take Tacitus' account of their German ancestors as historical, they must have degenerated fearfully, as heathens and barbarians as the Welsh annalists call them, their morals would be far above the standard of the Christian Britons. Their eloquent apologist Count Montalembert thus pictures the state of society—'Kings and chiefs there were, not more blameless than elsewhere. There too as everywhere else the abuse of strength, and the exercise of power engendered every kind of crime, too often perjury, murder, and adultery appear in their annals. St David, the patron saint of the principality, was the son of a nun, whom the king of the country, a nephew of the great Arthur, met upon the public road, and whom, struck by her beauty he instantly made the victim of his passion.' This crime is told by all the biographers of St David without the least surprise or indignation being evoked. Deeds like these are perpetuated in the gallantry which might better be called the license of the Arthurian Epic; reflect the impurity and lawlessness of the age; the real coarseness and barbarity are thinly covered in the mediæval tales, and as exquisitely concealed by our own Laureate. In justice to Montalembert's admiration for the age we give his very pretty apology: 'At the same time faith and repentance often reclaimed their rights over souls not so much corrupt as gone astray.'

We note a few of the more prominent churchmen of the time: Dubricius about the middle of the fifth century, is said to have been ordained by St Germain Bishop of Llandaff in the south of Wales; he ended his days as a hermit. He is said to have assembled at one time more

A. D. 500 700. than a thousand disciples, among whom were Iltud and David.

Iltud or Eltud founded the great monastery of Bangor on the Dee, which became a centre of missionary training and enterprise chiefly to the Continent; it was reckoned to consist of seven divisions, each of three hundred monks, who all lived by the labour of their hands. Like the Irish abbots, he was of princely rank, a cousin of King Arthur. In early life he was not trained to the church, married, and took part in secular affairs, but terrified by the violent death of one of his friends, he forsook his wife, and devoted himself to the service of God, as then understood. The pomp, the vanity, the charms of domestic life were relinquished, but there remained in those great high-born abbots, amidst all their austerities which in Iltud's case were exceptionally severe, a love for improving their country and people in more than religion. Iltud is said to have divided his public life between great agricultural labours and frequent struggles with the robber chiefs around; though possessed of miraculous powers he is not recorded to have made use of them in these labours and rencontres; he also constructed immense dykes against the floods from which the country seems to have suffered. Strange feature in such a busy and useful life, he shut himself up for the last four years of his life (leaving it only twice) in a cave where he had but the cold stone for his pillow, the damp ground for his couch.

David is much better known than his co-disciple, he is the popular and patron saint of Wales, the friend of St Kentigern. His monkish biographers give him much the same trials of, and victories over the flesh and the devil, they give to St Benedict; both must have been partial to the fair sex, as they had to undergo severe trials before they attained to the requisite holy callousness. He early devoted himself to a religious life, but this did not deter him from taking an active part in political and secular affairs; his royal parentage, infamous though it was, seems to have helped his elevation. He is said to have travelled much, and to have made a pilgrimage to

the Holy Land, where he was consecrated archbishop by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In his time the right of asylum was introduced, a custom much abused, but in its early existence of unmixed benefit. He was buried in the monastery of Menevia, his favourite institution, a little way north of Milford Haven. A.D. 500-700.

Immediately after this period appears in legend or history of a kind, St Cadoc, as usual a man of high birth, the account of whom is very romantic, and forms a part of the Arthurian Epic. He embraced the monastic profession, and founded the great monastery of Llanancarvan, which was at once a school of agriculture, a workshop, and a house of learning and piety. St Cadoc, if the compositions attributed to him are genuine, was no mean poet. Religion and political government are his topics. We quote a few lines. A disciple asked him to define the love of God, and he answered,

‘ Love it is heaven.
And Hate? asked the disciple.
Hate it is hell.
And Conscience?
It is the eye of God in the soul of man.’

Cadoc had the happiness of converting his father from paganism before he died; the old king and queen retired to two miserable cabins on the banks of a river, and ended their days in pious austerities—it is to be hoped they were happy if uncomfortable. The son became both abbot and prince, and wielded his powers, sacred and secular, to the satisfaction of all; when the fleshly arm was weak, he put into requisition his miraculous powers, and discomfited all his enemies. In spite of both, the Saxon invaders who had got used to Hallelujahs in Welsh, got the better of him, and he had to retire to Armorica where he established a monastery. Here he rested from his secular labours and resumed his classical studies during the intervals of devotion. Reading Virgil one day, he wept that the poet he loved so much was perhaps in hell. Gildas reprimanded him, saying, that Virgil was certainly damned. At the same time a gust of wind swept the book into the sea; Cadoc was much moved, and retiring to his cell

A. D. 500-700.

said, 'I will not eat a mouthful of bread, or drink a drop of water, before I know truly what fate God has allotted to those who sang upon earth as the angels sing in heaven.' After this he fell asleep, and in a dream soon heard a soft voice addressing him, 'Pray for me, pray for me, never be weary of praying; I shall yet sing eternally the mercy of the Lord.' A stupid miracle spoils the story; the book was recovered in the mouth of a fish caught next morning. The saint returned to labour in the Saxon settlements and met with a martyr's death at Weedon in Northamptonshire. The other foundations of the Welsh Church need not be mentioned; they exercised a beneficent influence in their day, but were all too short-lived. The Christianity and the civilisation of the time had in them the sure elements of decay.

Out of the numerous Welsh saints we have selected the most famous, and as the best examples of that Christianity, which was at once free in thought, superstitious in practice, austere in life, yet mingling freely in secular affairs. We see also in the lives of those men a state of society in which the savage barbarian jostles the saintly follower of Christ, and, stranger still, shocks not that sense of holiness his whole soul is strained to develope. Yet the Cymric Church in the south was a success compared to its northern sister; unlike it, it lived and produced results of importance to Christianity and civilisation.

CHAPTER IV.

ST PATRICK.

Christianity in Ireland—Palladius, St Patrick—His Confession—Epistle to Coroticus—Lives—Miss Cusack's Trias Thaumaturgia—Substance of the Confession, and the Epistle to Coroticus—Dr Lanigan's Theory—Its Untenability—Mission of Patrick—Lands in County Wicklow—Leaves for County Down—Converts Dichu—Visits his former Master Milchu—Confronts King Laoghaire and the Druids—Visits Connaught—Great success there—Laoghaire's Daughters—Returns to Ulster—Missionary Labours in Meath, Leinster, Munster, and other parts—Returns to Ulster—Foundation of Armagh—Supposed Visit to Rome—His Legislation, Civil and Ecclesiastical—Review of his Work—His Death—Monastic Character of the Irish Church after this—St Brigida—First Order of Catholic Saints in Ireland—Second Order, Catholic Presbyters—Third Order, Solitary Ascetics.

IN the preceding chapters we have traced at perhaps A. D. 470 493.
undue length, the legendary history of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. The popularity in ancient times of the saints mentioned, and the influence the names have exercised must be the apology. But their lives are useful only to pious minds of the Roman or modern Anglican school; they throw but a glimmering light on the religious state of the districts they are supposed to have laboured in, and it is more than probable that little or no success attended their efforts. There is no evidence to show that the supposed seats of SS. Ninian, Serf, and Kentigern were the half conventual, half educational establishments which sprang up about the close of the sixth century in Wales, Ireland and Iona. There is no mention made of disciples, who assisted in the labours and trod in the footsteps of the Master. There is in fact little or no individuality, the subjects of the lives are lay figures, the biographer dresses them up, and fills in the background, as suits his own fancy; they are written 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' Whatever work was done, had all

A.D. 410-493. to be done over again, and, to all intents and purposes, St Columba and the Gadhelic Church had virgin soil to operate on.

In tracing St Kentigern's life we have advanced beyond the period when real and substantial results had been attained in the propagation of Christianity in Ireland, and as it was from the Irish Church that Scotland derived its faith, a sketch of the history of the Church there, seems indispensable. Besides, Celtic and especially Gadhelic Christianity has distinctive features which can only be shown by a picture of its founders, and of the people who received it.

Though perhaps not the first preacher of the gospel in Ireland, St Patrick was undoubtedly the first whose efforts were crowned with success; he may truly be called the Apostle of Ireland, and the founder of the faith there. Dr Lanigan, after curtly noticing the traditions of the apostolic origin of the Christian religion in Ireland, says, 'It is very much to the credit of our old annalists and ecclesiastical writers, that none of these uncertain traditions are to be found in their works, and that they never claimed for their country the honour of its having been visited by any of the apostles, or of their immediate disciples. Whenever Irish Christians are mentioned as having been instructed by the apostles, it will invariably be found that they were supposed to have lived in foreign countries, and that the accounts concerning them have originated with foreigners.'¹ Dr Todd comments on this, 'The traditions which have been handed down to us are in themselves by no means improbable. They amount to this, that isolated and accidental visits to the island made by Christian men in the third or fourth century, some of them perhaps merchants, some ascetics or ecclesiastics, had raised up here and there, principally, it would seem, in the south or south-east, some few Christian families, separated from each other, and probably ignorant of each other's existence.'² The only claim must rest on the

¹ Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. i. p. 3.

² St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland: A Memoir of his Life and Mission, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., p. 189.

words of Prosper of Aquitaine, repeated by Bede, that St Palladius was sent to the Scots (Irish) believing in Christ—'ad Scotos credentes in Christo.' The missionary did not find them, indeed he had little cause to suppose their existence from the treatment he received. The claim, like other Irish claims to a high and honourable antiquity, is very shadowy, akin to the Phœnician origin of the round towers and the Beltane fire.¹

That St Patrick and his mission are historical facts, though overlaid by fiction, is undoubted; his name is mentioned in authentic documents of the seventh century, and in the writings of two of the contemporaries of Columbanus.² But there are two documents bearing his name, 'The Confession' and the 'Epistle to Coroticus,' a Welsh prince, which are now received by experts as genuine, and which not only prove his existence, but supply the main facts of his mission and the leading incidents in his life. There are also 'eight lives, that is eight more important records, viz., the seven lives published by Colgan, and the collection in the Book of Armagh.'³ The earlier of these are very fragmentary; there is an utter absence of chronological order; different, even inconsistent, accounts of the same events. Most of them are full of what Dr Lanigan calls 'ridiculous miracles,' added to what was probably in more ancient biographies; the groundwork, when it can be discovered, is taken from the Confession; whatever is not found in it is the vivid imagination of pious and credulous minds, writing to produce a salutary effect, on minds as credulous and as pious as their own. We cannot blame them, perhaps this is the origin of all miraculous narrative.

We propose to give the substance of the Confession of St Patrick and his Epistle to Coroticus, as the only true history of his birth, and of the origin of his mission to Ireland, and afterwards to give a *resumé* of his labours there, derived from other sources, or invented by his biographers.

¹ Supposed to have been derived from the worship of the Phœnician god 'Baal,' the sun.

² Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 17.

³ Todd's St Patrick, p. 339.

A. D. 410-493.

The Confession and Epistle to Coroticus, though most important historical documents, are not to be found entire in any modern work other than Miss Cusack's 'Trias Thaumaturga.'¹ Both text and translation are considered by Dr Skene not only trustworthy but praiseworthy; and whatever may be thought of other parts of her great work, she has earned the gratitude of all students of history by bringing them thus forward in an accessible form. There are four MS. (1.) the copy in the Book of Armagh; (2.) that in the Cottonian Collection; (3, 4.) in the Bodleian Collection. The first is undoubtedly the most ancient (perhaps in the handwriting of the saint); in it are wanting portions found in the others; to our mind these seem interpolations of a later date, and though Dr Todd says they need not necessarily be so; he seems to attach little value to them. The same author, in his Life of St Patrick, gives a large part of the Confession, indeed the important parts; we have made use of his version and of Miss Cusack's indifferently.

Though perhaps anticipating conclusions, we may say that the two works bear upon the face, the marks of authenticity, the marks of an age in the Christian Church when the acknowledgment, or even the idea of Roman supremacy was unknown; when there was no commanding episcopal authority, and when the clergy were, like the laity, married or single, as best pleased them. We rest this entirely on the contents of the Confession, and to assert the reverse after a perusal, seems, in our opinion, a perversion of ordinary fair criticism. But at the same time there can be as little doubt, that the author of the Confession, estimated highly the exalted position of the clergy and himself as their chief; he possibly thought celibacy a higher state of Christian perfection than marriage, and fostered the monastic life; there was an altar used at his religious services; and very likely other superstitious observances of the early church, which have been crystallised and sanctified by time, and now form portions of the

¹ The Trias Thaumaturga, by M. F. Cusack. 4to. London, 1879. Since this was written a translation has appeared by Mr A. F. Foster. Glasgow: M'Lehose, 1885.

service of the Roman, the Anglican, and the Lutheran Churches. The reader will judge for himself whether Patrick believed in his dreams and angelic visitations as realities; he will also judge whether they were so, or the product of a highly-wrought imagination; in one case the dream seems clearly the sequence from a physical cause. The language of the two works has been repeatedly described as fluent but barbarous Latin, such as a provincial would use who had no acquaintance with the classical authors, and whose idiom and mode of thought had nothing in common with them. Both purport to have been written during the latter period of the life of the saint, when his great work was well nigh its close, and when he had reason to congratulate himself on the issue. But either from the natural humility of his nature, from a higher cause, or in the near view of the heavenly horizon, his estimate of himself and his labours is singularly modest; whatever good has been done, to God alone be the glory. From his spiritual birth to the last day of his pilgrimage, he lives only by, and for his God and Saviour.

The Confession opens by saying; 'I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least (*rusticissimus et minimus*) of all the faithful and the most despicable among most men, had for my father Calpurnius a deacon, son of the late Potitus, a Presbyter (*Potiti Presbyteri*), who was of the town Bonavem Taberniæ; for he had a farm in the neighbourhood, where I was taken captive. I was then near sixteen years old. I knew not the true God, and I was carried in captivity to Hiberio with many thousands of men, according to our deserts, because we had gone back from God, and had not kept His commandments, and were not obedient to our priests (*sacerdotibus*), who used to admonish us for our salvation.' Then follow some pious reflections, that all this was deserved, and in his case sanctified, for by this visitation he was brought to the saving knowledge of God. He next gives what Dr Todd calls 'for convenience' his creed; it is not expressed in the formal and technical language so peculiar to us, in the articles of belief known as creeds, but is rather a statement in scripture language of what he believed to be

A. D. 410-493

scriptural truth, and authoritative, because scriptural. He believes in 'God the Father, unbegotten, without beginning, from whom is all beginning, upholding all things; and His son Jesus Christ, always with the Father, before the beginning of the world, spiritually with the Father in an ineffable manner begotten, before all beginning; and by Him were made things visible and invisible; and being made man, and, having overcome death, He was received into heaven unto the Father. And (the Father) hath given unto Him all power, above every name, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord and God. Whom we believe, and look for His coming, who is soon about to be the Judge of quick and dead, who will render unto every man according to his works, and hath poured into us abundantly the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the pledge of immortality, who maketh the faithful and obedient to become the sons of God the Father and joint heirs with Christ. Whom we confess and worship one God in the Trinity of the sacred Name.' Very few Protestants would hesitate to subscribe this; it would suit all, even the most advanced; there is no mention of the Virgin, the miraculous birth, the descent into hell, no baptism for remission of sins, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church has no place in it.

He continues, that he had long ago thought of writing an account of his life, but feared the censure of men on account of his imperfect training in youth, and general lack of education, 'but what avails an excuse, I was taken captive before I knew what I ought to seek and be saved.' 'He undertakes the work to spread abroad the name of God everywhere, so that after my death I may leave it to my Gallican brethren and my sons, many thousands of whom I have baptised in the Lord.'

The next three divisions tell of his captivity in Ireland, and his escape. He was employed there tending sheep, but he does not mention the name of his master nor his rank and position. Both have been supplied by later writers on possibly good enough authority; he is named Miliuc,

Michul, Milchu, of a Dulariadic family, his residence a valley near Mount Mis now Slemish.¹ A. D. 410-493. The youth must have received religious impressions before he was torn from his friends, 'for in his humble occupation, he prayed frequently, sometimes a hundred prayers in a day, even before dawn his supplications arose to his Maker, in snow and ice and rain,' his spirit was fervent within him. In a vision of the night he heard a voice saying, 'Thou dost fast well, fasting thou shalt return to thy country,' and again after a short time, I heard a response saying to me, 'Behold thy ship is ready.' The desire for freedom fortified by the vision prompted to instant flight, but the way was to him unknown, and according to his statement about two hundred miles off.² Nothing daunted, he soon after fled, reached the coast in safety, and found the expected ship in waiting. He applied for a passage to the master, but met with a surly refusal; sadly he turned away and found refuge and comfort in prayer, but had gone only a short way when he heard a voice calling 'come back, we receive thee in good faith, make such friendship with us as you wish.' They reached land after a voyage of three days, disembarked, and for twenty-eight days journeyed through a desert where they found no means of subsistence; their scanty store of provisions, was exhausted, and the party was in danger of starvation. Like all men who have felt the power of a new life, Patrick burned to impart it to others; he seems at once to have made known to the master and crew, who were Pagans, the fact that he was a Christian. In their extremity, the master thus addressed him, 'O Christian, your God is great and all powerful, why canst thou not then pray for us, since we are perishing with hunger?' Patrick answered him not as 'a wonder working saint,' but as a pious man of the present day would, who believes in an all-wise and merciful providence. 'And I said to them plainly. Turn sincerely to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that He may send us food on

¹ Todd's St Patrick, pp. 373-74.

² A mistake of the copyist, or a manifest exaggeration of the writer.

A. D. 410-193. — your way until ye are satisfied, for it abounds everywhere for Him.' Trust in God was speedily repaid, a herd of swine appeared, and were slaughtered, hunger was satisfied, and they rested for two nights in that place. 'They also found some wild honey, and offered me some of it, and one of them said, "this is offered in sacrifice; thank God," after this I tasted no more, fearing lest it had been offered to an idol.' The same night an event occurred which, he says, he could never forget. 'He had a nightmare which he believed to be a temptation of Satan,'¹ though a less formidable reason may be found, on the not improbable supposition that after so long a fast he had made too hearty a meal on roast pig. There fell as it were a great stone on him, and there was no strength in his limbs, 'how it came to pass across his mind to call on Elias,' he says 'he cannot tell, but on calling on the name he awoke in all the brightness of the morning sun.' He piously attributes the relief he experienced to Christ, and that his spirit cried out for Him. Without the slightest irreverence, might it not be said, that the mere fact of calling out *any* name was sufficient. The incident is hardly worth relating except from the fact that an interesting controversy has sprung up out of it. Whether it is a proof that St Patrick practised invocation of the saints—whether Helias is not a mis-transcript of Helios, the Sun, and that the saint was a fire-worshipper—lastly, whether it is a mistake in the copyist, rendering Elias, for El, Eli, Græce, My God? into all it is profitless to enter.²

After having been with the ship's company sixty days or two months, Patrick reached his home and friends; twenty-eight days, he says, they passed through a desert, but the locality is unknown, there is no clew in the Confession to guide us.³

The captive was received by his relatives (whether his parents were alive to welcome their lost son is a mooted point) with the greatest cordiality, and they be-

¹ Todd's St Patrick, p. 370.

² *Ibid.* pp. 370-3. Lanigan, vol. i. p. 155; Trias Thaumaturga, p. 157.

³ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 182; Trias Thaumaturga, p. 153.

sought him to settle quietly at home, after having undergone so much hardship. From this it may be inferred that he was barely settled till missionary thoughts stirred his mind, and that he gave expression to them; he had received a call which urged him at all risk and at any sacrifice to enter into the service of God and Christ. Like St Paul, to whom there appeared a vision in the night, 'There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us,'¹ so also St Patrick. 'In the dead of night I saw a man coming to me as if from Hiberio, whose name was Victoricus, bearing innumerable epistles. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of it, which contained the words, *Vox Hiberionacum.*' Mentally he heard the cries of the suppliants: 'We pray thee, holy youth, to come and henceforth walk among us.' He was pricked in spirit, but still undecided. But again on another night he had a vision, in which the call was not so definite, but it made a great impression; he once and again heard words as in himself, unintelligible words, except in their purport, to serve Christ in the way marked out for him. At the end of the second vision the groanings within his person took form. 'At the end of the prayer he became so changed that he seemed to be a bishop.' A third vision nerved him in the resolution to spend and be spent in the conversion of his captors, and from which he never swerved. The short passage in the Book of Armagh detailing it, is obscure; the interpolation in the Cottonian MS.² throws no additional light. From the latter and other sources, it has been inferred that an additional obstacle was thrown in his way, viz., that he had in early life committed some venial offence, which his friends used as a means to deter him from his intended project, perhaps to hinder his obtaining the necessary qualification of an accredited minister of the church. But it was all in vain; the last vision compelled him to go, even 'without honour and without a name.'

He says nothing of his departure, consecration, rank, or from whom he derived his commission, but briefly and

¹ Acts xvi. 9.

² *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 631-33.

A.D. 410-493. modestly tells of his labours in the land of his adoption. 'But it is too long to detail my labours particularly, or even partially; I will briefly say how the good God often delivered me from slavery, and from twelve dangers by which my soul was threatened, besides many snares, and what in words I cannot express, and with which I will not trouble my hearers.' He concludes by declaring how unhesitatingly he would lay down his life in the service of his Lord.

Further on he says, 'Whence comes it that in Hiberio, those who never had any knowledge of God, and up to the present time worshipped only idols and abominations; how are they lately become the people of the Lord, and are called the sons of God? The sons of Scots and daughters of chieftains appear now as monks and virgins of Christ.' This must have been written when Christianity, and even the monastic form of it had taken firm hold of the upper classes, for the Scoti were the dominant race, and in confirmation of this, Patrick tells us of 'especially one blessed Scottish lady of noble birth and great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptised.' Her name is not given, but she professed her desire to become a virgin of Christ; the saint sympathised with her pious wish, and in six days she entered the religious life which all the virgins of God now adopt.

St Patrick brings his Confession to a close thus: 'But I pray those who believe and fear God, whosoever may condescend to look into or receive this writing, which Patrick the sinner, though unlearned, wrote in Hiberio, if I have done or established any little thing according to God's will, that no man ever say that my ignorance did it, but think ye and let it verily be believed that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession before I die.'

The Epistle to Coroticus was written probably about the same time as the Confession, and bears the mark of the same pure and humble spirit, roused by injuries done to those whom he loved as his own children. The subject of it was a Welsh king or chieftain into whose pedigree it is unnecessary to enter, who, in a marauding expedition across the channel, had slaughtered many of the

Irish, and in addition had carried off numerous captives, some of them St Patrick's own converts, 'clothed in white, after having received the chrism of neophytes.' A deputation of the clergy was sent to remonstrate with Coroticus, but he refused to listen to the words of the holy men, and dismissed them with ridicule and insult. Patrick then sent the Epistle which has come down to our times. In it he styles himself 'I, Patrick, a sinner and unlearned, have been appointed a bishop in Hiberio, and I accept from God what I am.' It is worth noting that this is the only instance in these two authoritative documents, in which he claims, or is given the rank. In the Armagh MS. there occur two passages, in which he speaks of clerics or priests (*clerici*) being ordained, possibly enough by himself, and in the Cotton MS. his episcopate is mentioned, '*laboriosum episcopatum*;' and again, 'Thou art to be given the rank of bishop.' Bishop or overseer certainly he was, but surely never before or since was there a bishop, or a cleric of lower degree, who attached as little value to his title. To return to the robber chieftain, Patrick details his outrages, and demands the release of the captives, and in default excommunicates him. Dr Todd says: 'Patrick claims and exercises the highest spiritual function of the episcopal office, by cutting off an unworthy member from the communion of the church.' It does not seem so to a lay mind. St Patrick certainly uses strong language, and says, 'Ye are estranged from me and from Christ, whose ambassador I am;' he tells the faithful not to keep company with them until they did penance and liberated the captives. Excommunication, in its mediæval sense, had no meaning to barbarians like Coroticus and his followers. Patrick's language is that of a man who threatens and persuades by turns, in the hope that he may attain his purpose as best he can. He seems to have had some difficulty in finding one who would convey the letter to the terrible chief, as the close tells us, 'God hath said it; I entreat whosoever is a servant of God, that he be a willing bearer of this letter. . . .' The epistle was written in Latin, showing that Coroticus and his people had not lost the

A. D. 410-493. language of civilisation ; but whether it was ever delivered, whether it produced the terrible effects of an excommunication by Gregory IX., or whether it had no effect physically or otherwise, is unknown.

The Confession of St Patrick and his Epistle to Coroticus are the only authoritative documents which tell of his early life and labours; but, as we have stated, there are seven lives of the saint which give full particulars of him from the cradle to the grave. From these has been developed a theory as to the birthplace, nationality, education, and nature of his mission; it has undoubtedly the charm of novelty, and contradicts the ideas of nearly all historians previous to the time of Dr Lanigan, who gave it birth. It is emphatically of the modern Roman Catholic Church; and like many of the other theories of that wonderful corporation, has been forced upon it, as a support to its authoritative and primeval claims. It may shortly be stated. St Patrick was a native of Armoric Britain; his place of birth was Bonavem Taberniæ, now Boulogne-sur-Mer in Picardy. After being restored to his native land, he studied at Tours; at the age of thirty he was consecrated priest; he then attached himself to St Germain of Auxerre, and was one of his retinue in the mission to Britain; St Germain, desirous to give his protege employment, sent him to Rome as a person fit to be employed in the mission preparing for Ireland, and of which Palladius was already appointed chief; he was either too late for this, or was detained by the Pope, who, however, treated him with great consideration. When the failure of the mission of Palladius was made known at Rome, his Holiness appointed Patrick his successor; but it is uncertain whether he was consecrated bishop by the Pope or by meaner hands nearer home. In fine, that St Patrick was brought up an obedient son of the holy Roman Church, and that he departed from Rome on his great work, a devoted and obedient servant to the Apostolic See.

The Confession upsets all this; all that can fairly be inferred from it is, that Patrick was born at Kilpatrick, or some neighbouring place near to Dumbarton (Alcluaid)

on the shores of the Clyde ;¹ that he received there the rudiments of Christianity, and such learning as could be got at an advanced Roman station, in a district exposed to predatory incursions ; that his captivity deepened these impressions ; that on his restoration to his native country Britain,² a supernatural call prompted him to undertake his great mission ; that he was consecrated, or appointed deacon, priest, or bishop ; but by whom, when, or where, is unknown ; that he never had, and never cared to have any connection with the Church of Rome ; that he considered he owed no allegiance to any other master save Christ, and that his converts in Ireland, clerics and laymen, should look to him as their master and guide, bishop or archbishop, if the word has a more extended signification. This has been accepted as fact by all unprejudiced writers, by which we mean all who are not thirled (to use a Scotch word) to the Roman system.

In contradiction of the first theory, Dr Todd's arguments are unanswerable ; he seems to think that the acts of Palladius, who is also named Patrick, have been transferred to the patron saint of Ireland, whose mission was not a failure but a success. 'We infer that the whole story of Patrick's connection with St Germain and mission from Celestine should be regarded as a fragment of the lost history of Palladius, transferred to the more celebrated Patrick by those who undertook to interpolate the authentic records of his life. The object of these interpolators was evidently to exalt their hero. They could not rest satisfied with the simple and humble position in which his own writings, his Confession, and his letter to Coroticus had placed him. They could not concede to Palladius the honour of a direct mission from Rome without claiming for Patrick a similar honour ; they could not be content that their own Patrick should be regarded as an unlearned, a rude, and uneducated man, even though he had so described himself. The biography of

¹ Todd's St Patrick, pp. 356-61.

² 'And again after a few years I was in Britain with my parents' Confession.'

A.D. 410-493. Palladius, "alio nomine Patricius," supplied them with the means of effecting their object, and gave to the interpolated story the appearance of ancient support.¹ This version was at once taken hold of by writers who were bound to uphold the authority of the Roman See at all times, and even so honest and unprejudiced a historian as Dr Lanigan has maintained, with great plausibility and learning, that it is the true one. It hardly needs refutation; we venture to say that if the facts stated by Roman Catholic writers could be verified by the most unimpeachable contemporary evidence, the subsequent history of Christianity in Ireland and Scotland would be the most perplexing problem in ecclesiastical history. The discipline, the dogmas, even the heresies of the Roman Church are not to be found in the Gadhelic Church, it is an institution standing alone 'sui generis.' Rightly or wrongly it struggled for an independent existence; in Scotland the good Queen Margaret and her sons gently wrapped it in its winding-sheet; in Ireland it died hard, extinguished only in fire and blood by the ministers of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; like a phoenix it arose from its ashes, Roman, not Gadhelic. Such is the perversity of the character of the people, inherited or acquired, that it would be no surprise were Ireland to attain its independence, that the Church would throw off the allegiance to Rome and become National as of yore, with a King and a Pope of their own.

From what we have stated it may be taken for true history that St Patrick was, after his return to his native country, admitted into priest's orders, or if Presbyterian readers prefer it, was ordained a minister of the gospel, and that in the full vigour of manhood, being from five and twenty to thirty years of age, he departed on his arduous mission. The account we give of this cannot be better introduced than in the words of his biographer, from whom we have freely borrowed: 'It would be inconsistent with the purpose of these pages to record minutely all the adventures and acts attributed to St Patrick by his biographers. Many of these adventures

¹ Todd's St Patrick, p. 320.

were evidently invented to pay a compliment to certain tribes or clans by ascribing the conversion of their ancestors to the preaching of St Patrick. Others were intended to claim for certain churches or monasteries the honour of having been founded by him ; and others again, were framed to support the pretensions of the See of Armagh, temporal and spiritual. Such stories, however, although we cannot regard them as history, frequently possess an interest of another kind. They are precious records of antient topography ; they illustrate the manners and customs of the times when they were invented, and often preserve curious information as to the origin of church property or jurisdiction, and the laws regulating the tenure of land.¹ Such must be our apology for much of what we have given and have to give ; besides, there may be a kernel of truth in those legends, and if we study them in a proper spirit they may be as beneficial to us as they were to our ancestors.

St Patrick is said by some authors to have landed in Leinster, and to have been rejected by the inhabitants there, but this is manifestly a transference of the acts of the first Patrick (Palladius) to the second. The most ancient life by Muirchu Maccumachtheni in the Book of Armagh says nothing of this, but that he landed at Inher Dea in county Wicklow ; that he did not prosecute his mission there, for reasons best known to himself, and recollecting that he had *fled* from his master Milchu, he resolved to ease his scrupulous sense of honour, by waiting on him, and paying him a double ransom, an earthly one in money and worldly goods, a spiritual one, the offer of the gospel.² St Patrick returned on board ship, and sailing northward after a temporary halt at an island off the Bay of Dublin still known as St Patrick's Isle, reached the coast of county Down, and landed at the mouth of a small river Slain, at the south-west extremity of Strangford Lough.³ Here he hid his boat, and proceeded with his

¹ Todd's Life, pp. 400-1.

² *Ibid.* p. 407. Lanigan's Ecc. History, vol. i. p. 207.

³ *Ibid.* p. 406, and vol. i. pp. 212-14.

A. D. 410-493— companions to explore the country. This account of the landing of the boat, bears on its face the mark of truth, and contradicts later lives, which make the companions to consist of 'some Gauls, a multitude of holy bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists, ostiarii, and lectors, and also sons whom he ordained.'¹ The company consisting of probably a very few faithful men, had not proceeded far when they were met by a swineherd in the service of the lord of the district, whose name was Dichu. Supposing them to be freebooters the herd ran with this tale to his master, who mustering his retainers set out, sword in hand, to exterminate the pirates. But the chief on approaching the invaders of his country, was so struck with the venerable appearance of their leader, that his feelings changed to respect. He received St Patrick with kindness, and invited the whole party to partake of the hospitality of his house. Here he heard from the apostle of his country, the glad tidings of salvation, received them with fervour, and was baptised 'the first of the Scots, who confessed the faith under the ministry of Patrick.'

The missionary did not remain many days with his new convert, but bent on revisiting the scene of his captivity, and carrying out the design, formerly mentioned, he set out by land to the place where his old master resided. He reached a hill called Sliabh Mis, the scene of his dream and angelic visitation during his captivity. To the amazement of himself and his companions they beheld Milchu's house in flames. Instigated by the devil, who dreaded the advent of the saint, 'he had set fire to his house, furniture, and property, and to complete the climax of his folly, threw himself into the flames and was burned to death.'² Saddened rather than elated, St Patrick returned to Dichu, with whom he remained for some time, preaching the gospel with great success, and making many converts, among the most distinguished were S.S. Benen or Benignus and Mochaoi, and Rus the brother of Dichu.

These successes emboldened him to storm the citadel

¹ Todd's Life, p. 404.

² Lanigan, vol. i. p. 216, and note 218.

of paganism, and to confront the idolatrous monarch of all Ireland, surrounded by his ministers, civil and sacred, while holding the convention of Tara. We have to ask our readers to refer to the account of this wonderful assembly, given in Appendix (Ireland), it may help them to view matters in their true light, and to question whether there ever was a Feast of Tara or a Druidical hierarchy, except in the fancies of the gifted sons of Erin. Lao-gaire, however, is a historical personage, and was at the time of St Patrick the Ardri of all Ireland, and exercised a precarious sway over the provincial Rís or Kings for the long space of thirty years, A.D. 428-458. Though never a convert to the Christian faith he respected St Patrick, and is said to have made use of his services in correcting the laws of his kingdom, A.D. 438.¹ That this was done, or that there was any general code of laws in Ireland previous to the English occupation of the country is very problematical, but the mention of the saint's name in connection with the subject, shows the interest he took, or was supposed to have taken, in the welfare of the people; that he did more than make monks and bishops; it testifies to the commanding and many-sided nature of the apostle of Ireland.

The time selected for the bold undertaking, coincided with the festival of Easter, probably the first celebrated in the island. Could it be that the Irish missionary, like his brethren in Iceland centuries later, dealt kindly with the feasts and rites of the old faith, substituting when he could, those of the new? Were the people celebrating the triumph of the Sun God, when

'Freed from the ice are river and rill,
By the quickening glance of the gracious spring.'²

Did he but substitute a more glorious triumph, the resurrection of the God-Man, and with Him humanity?

'From the lap of corruption
Lo! Christ has ascended!
Rejoice, for the fetters
That bound you are rended.'³

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 133.

² Goethe's Faust, Martin's translation, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.* p. 42.

A.D. 410-493.

Be it as it may, St Patrick and his companions on Easter eve proceeded as far as Slane; he there pitched his tent, and made preparations for celebrating the festival, among others he lighted the paschal fire. It happened that the King was also about to celebrate a great festival, part of the ceremonial of which was the lighting of a fire on the previous eve. It was also a part of the ceremonial that no fire should be kindled within sight of the royal palace at Tara, until the great fire there should be lighted and visible to all. Several theories have been broached as to what this festival was,¹ all are untenable, the narrative simply represents a fictitious and highly coloured account of the bold front with which St Patrick confronted in his capital Laoghaire and his attendants. It resembles in its essential particulars the celebrated introduction of St Columba to King Brude, but the description of the latter is much more picturesque and animated. Patrick presents himself before the King, who, putting his trust in his Magi, orders the principal one Lochru to begin the contest. He blasphemes the Catholic faith, whereupon 'Patrick fixed his eyes upon him as Peter did upon Simon Magus, and prayed that he might be lifted out and die. Immediately Lochru is lifted up into the air, and falling down again, his brains are dashed out upon a stone in sight of all.'² Dr Lanigan very properly calls this and other incidents we do not give, 'prodigious and partly ridiculous fables,' but where are we to stop; a comparatively late authority accepted on other matters Tirechan, '*saw the stone.*' Both King and Queen were terrified and cowed; the latter humbly entreated of the saint the life and pardon of her lord. Laoghaire for the moment was submissive, but treacherously attempted the life of the saint and eight of his companions; the plot was averted by a miracle.

The next day being Easter Sunday, Patrick and five of his suite presented themselves before the King and his court, while they were in the midst of a great banquet. To the astonishment of all, two persons stood up and

¹ Todd's Life, pp. 413-16; Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 225-30

² Todd's Life, p. 423.

did reverence to the bold intruder, the King's chief bard A D 410-463. and a young poet who was present with him, named Fiacc, who afterwards became a wondrous bishop: the bard named Dubhtach was the first convert on that day, and Patrick became greatly attached to him. Thenceforth he dedicated his poetical talents to Christian subjects, and some works of his are still extant.¹ More contests with the Druids followed, in which the saint, as a matter of course, came off victorious; these, we need not detail, none of them are historical. Indeed, as Dr Todd pungently observes, 'All is reduced to this single fact, that Patrick, at some period of his missionary labours, appeared in the court of King Laoghaire, and preached Christ before the courtiers of Temoria.'²

St Patrick is said to have composed, on this occasion, a hymn in the Irish language, which even in the literal translation, is not only interesting but replete with poetic beauty.³ It concludes with a stanza in Latin worthy of his reputation as the faithful follower of his Master.

' Domini est salus,
Domini est salus,
Christi est salus,
Salus tua Domine sit semper nobiscum.'

Dr Todd's opinion is, that though the fact cannot be proved, yet the strong probability is in favour of the hymn being the genuine composition of St Patrick. There is no sacerdotalism in it, though there is superstition; he prays to be protected from the snares of demons, from the spells of women, smiths, and druids; he speaks of Angels, and Seraphim, of the noble Fathers, of the Prophets, Apostles, and Confessors, of Holy Virgins, and of Righteous Men, but neither popes, bishops, or even the Holy Catholic Church, find a place in it. He binds himself to the power of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the coming to the Sentence of Judgment, but a middle state is never mentioned.

¹ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 225, and note.

² Todd's Life, p. 425.

³ *Ibid.* p. 426, 429.

A. D. 410-493. God and Christ are his hope, the powerful intercessor of the Roman Church, the Mother of God, is never invoked.

All the efforts of the missionary to convert Laoghaire were fruitless, and he seems even to have lost his temper with the monarch, and predicted that though his own life should be prolonged, none of his sons should sit on the throne of his fathers. Unfortunately for the credit of the prophet, the prediction was not fulfilled, for the heir-apparent succeeded in due course, and reigned for twenty-five years.

St Patrick having thus sown the seed of the Word, and probably left labourers behind him, departed, intent on breaking new ground. He is said first to have visited Telltown, in county Meath, where he arrived when a fair or assembly was being held. He met with the usual opposition, and again the earnest but irascible missionary lost his temper.¹ We do not enter into the details, but in the end opposition was overcome, and a site was granted for a church by the lord of the district. The labours of the saint were very successful, and occupied a considerable time, though Lanigan says 'it would be ridiculous to admit the number of churches and religious foundations reported to have been established by him in that territory.'² 'When on the point of quitting Meath, he turned off a little to the northward for the purpose of destroying the idol Crom-Cruach, or, as some say, thirteen idols. This he effected by prayers, and he is said to have erected a large church in the neighbourhood.'³

A political dispute, which brought the sons of the late King of Connaught to the court of Laoghaire, afforded an opening for operations in the country of the suitors. The dispute was submitted to the joint decision of the temporal and spiritual powers, the Ardri and the Bishop. The plea was as to inheritance, or rather succession, and was given in favour of Enna, the eldest brother, who was so satisfied that he expressed the most friendly sentiments

¹ Todd's Life, p. 439.

² Lanigan, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.* p. 239.

to St Patrick, and asked him to visit Connaught. The journey, not so long ago, perhaps even now, is not without its perils; but in addition to the fatigue inseparable, St Patrick was exposed to the malice of the disappointed suitors, and also the ubiquitous Druids. The last were generally disposed of by supernatural power, but, to secure himself as much as possible from the former, the saint entered into a league with them, and arranged for a safe passage through their country. He even employed them to protect his company from the attacks of bad men, paying for that purpose a sum of money equal to the price of fifteen souls of men.¹ Great success attended the labours of the saint. Enna the King, with his seven brethren, and twelve thousand of his subjects were, near the town of Killala, converted and baptised in one day. St Patrick is said to have spent seven years of his life in Connaught, and repeatedly to have converted and baptised large numbers, to have founded churches, ordained and left faithful labourers. Many of the incidents detailed are striking and fanciful, illustrating the peculiar views the biographers had of our holy religion and its first ministers. One we give, on account of the pathetic character of the story, and as it illustrates the wrapt enthusiasm of new converts in a rude and vicious state of society. We should never have had the touching confessions of Jewish and Christian saints had the state of society been less corrupt in their time, had the contrast been less striking between their ideal of how things should be, and what they really were. We should never have had the immolation of the bodies and souls of the eremites of Egypt and Syria, had Alexandria and Antioch not been 'the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.'² The words used by, and the records of the lives of those persons, have no real meaning to earnest and thoughtful men and women of the present day; in fact, times have changed. That the world is not so very evil, but that it can be made better, and that it will not be destroyed in their time, is the opinion even of those who deprecate

¹ Todd's Life, p. 445.

² Rev. xviii. 2.

A. D. 470-493

everything good in the natural man. Yet the history of the struggle for purity of life in thought and action is of undying interest, and properly read may be as beneficial now, as when the best and wisest of men felt the highest virtue to be isolation from their kind and abnegation of self; the holiest frame of mind a feeling of utter abasement.

King Laoghaire had two daughters, named Ethne the Fair, and Fedelm the Ruddy. They had been sent to the care of some relatives in Connaught, who placed them under the direction of two Druids, Mael and Caplit. Near the place of their residence was a well or fountain named Clebach: 'Here St Patrick and his clerical companions, at break of day began to chant the praises of the Lord. The ladies having come very early in the morning to the fountain for the purpose of washing themselves, were struck with the singular appearance of persons clothed in white garments, and holding books in their hands.'¹ On making themselves known, and inquiring who the strangers were, and what was their occupation, St Patrick at once seized the opportunity, and preached Christ. The dialogue is given in Todd's Life of St Patrick, and is highly poetic, as well as interesting in many ways. The hearts of the girls were touched; they accepted the message of salvation, and were baptised. 'A white garment was put upon their heads, and they asked to see the face of Christ. And the saint said unto them, Ye cannot see the face of Christ, except ye taste of death, and except ye receive the sacrifice. And they answered, Give us the sacrifice, that we may behold the Son, our Spouse. And they received the Eucharist of God, and they slept in death (*dormierunt in morte*), and they were laid out on one bed, covered with garments, and [their friends] made great lamentation and weeping for them.'²

Dr Lanigan would have us to think they merely took the veil; but there is no authority for this gloss, and it would rob the legend of all interest and pathos. The

¹ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 241.

² Todd's Life, pp. 452-55.

story, according to Dr Todd, bears marks of high anti-A.D. 410-493.quity, and in its way sheds some light on the character of the apostle of Ireland and the people. It is evident that it was written when some form of paganism was the religion of the country, and that the saint either connived at the superstitious practices of its votaries, or was not free from them himself. It represents Patrick as not only approving of the virgins' desire to undergo a voluntary death, but of having suggested the idea. He administers the Eucharist as their viaticum, but by what means death was procured we are not told. There is a way, however, of avoiding the belief that human sacrifice for any purpose was held meritorious, and practised by the early Irish Church, and Dr Todd puts it forcibly and kindly: 'The Irish stories had for their object no more than to set forth the superior glories of a future life; the blessedness of being delivered from the burden of flesh and the miseries of this sinful world; that to depart and be with Christ is far better. This object was, no doubt, clumsily effected by superstitious and incredible tales; but such tales fitted the taste, and were eagerly, perhaps profitably, received by the credulity of the age for whose edification they were invented.'¹ Let us hope, for the sake of humanity, that this is the true reading.

A singular coincidence in modern enthusiastic religious stories struck the author while this one was fresh on his mind. One evening he went to hear a lay preacher, styling himself an evangelist, and who appeared under the most creditable patronage. In the course of his long and powerful address he told his audience of the numerous conversions he had been the *humble* instrument in making. One of them he detailed. A young lady in the full vigour of health and spirits was entirely devoted to the amusements of this life—balls, concerts, parties, dress, and other frivolities. She met the speaker; he was successful in causing her (to use his own words) to 'accept Christ.' The lady went home, wrote thirty-one notes declining invitations, and in four short weeks died.

¹ Todd's Life, p. 461.

A. D. 410 492 'She had found Christ.'¹ History repeats itself even in religious anecdote.

St Patrick now returned to the scene of his former labours in Ulster; he confirmed the faith of his converts, and erected churches, which he left to the care of the clergy whom he consecrated to the work. But more missionary labour was before him; passing through Meath he entered Leinster, and at Naas baptised the two sons of the pagan king of that country, and who in due course succeeded to the throne of their father. Continuing his way farther south he entered county Wicklow, but not meeting with encouragement from the chief of the Hy Garchon, he turned his steps westward to Queen's county. Here he was in a manner among friends; on his way was the residence of Dubhtach the Arch-Poet of Ireland, who, it will be remembered, was a convert. St Patrick passed some time at his friend's house, and in the course of the conversation on religious topics, he asked the poet if he knew any one fitted to be permitted to religious orders. Dubhtach at once recommended his friend and disciple Fiacc as a well-disposed person, and of an illustrious family besides. Fiacc happened to enter at the time, was presented to the saint, and either put in the way of becoming, or was made on the spot, Bishop of Sletty, with jurisdiction over all Leinster.

St Patrick from here proceeded to Ossory, and blessed the whole district, predicting that from it should proceed many eminent men 'ecclesiastical and clerical,' and that the district should never be subject to the yoke of strangers so long as the people obeyed him and his successors. The prophecy was undoubtedly fulfilled in its first part, not only there, but in all parts of the Isle of Saints up to the present day. It stands harder with the second part, perhaps the people did not fulfil the proviso, but it was in case useful a plea against the supremacy of the See of Armagh.²

Munster was the next field of operations; St Patrick, as was his wont, struck at the citadel, he went first to the seat of its kings at Cashel. On his approach the idols

¹ Verbatim. ² Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 273-4; Todd's Life, p. 466.

all fell before him, like Dagon before the Ark. Aengus A.D. 410-493.
the king received him with distinguished marks of his esteem, and was at once baptised; but a singular accident is said to have taken place at the ceremony. 'Patrick, without perceiving it, allowed the lower end of his crosier, which was sharp and pointed, to pierce the King's foot; Aengus, imagining that this was a necessary part of the baptismal ceremony, endured the torture without allowing himself to utter the slightest expression of pain. It was not until the baptism was over that the fact was discovered.' Dr Lanigan is of opinion that the King who was so civil to the saint was the father of Aengus, who never was a Christian. He is also doubtful as to the story, which, if true, is likelier to have occurred in the case of the young son of the King, who was a pupil of the saint; that it could not have taken place during the baptismal immersion, but *might* have happened after it, when the King, or rather young Prince, while receiving the saint's benediction, stuck so close to him that one of his feet got under the point of the staff.¹ Patrick is said to have met with great success in Munster, and to have spent seven years of his life there, many of his converts being persons of rank and influence.

Many years must have been spent by the apostle of Ireland in his arduous labours for the conversion of his adopted country; few portions of it had not been visited, and we now find him returning to the scene of his early work; the concluding event in his life, according to his biographers, was the foundation of Armagh.

When this event took place, the author of this work cannot pretend to say, the Bollandist fathers make the date A.D. 454, Usher A.D. 445, Dr Lanigan inclines to the former. If Dr Todd's view that St Patrick died A.D. 493, and that he founded Armagh after having made the tour of Ireland, both must be far astray. But whether the Father of Christianity in Ireland sought and obtained a site for a place of worship and religious training in the

¹ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 280.

A. D. 410-493. early or mid portion of his career, without any thought of making it his principal seat, or whether having completed his personal missionary labours, he chose Armagh for the seat of his diocese, is a problem at once insoluble, and devoid of interest to one who has no particular reverence for any particular form of church government, Episcopal or otherwise. The student of history may choose either alternative, according to his proclivities, and will have no difficulty in justifying his choice, by reading the authorities in a partisan spirit.

Dr Lanigan, sensibly perhaps, abridges the account of the Armagh foundation; he says, 'St Patrick erected a church there, together with, as we may safely conclude, an adjoining cloister for his clerical companions, which, considering the discipline and practices he had been accustomed to, might be called a monastery; and it is very probable, that a habitation was provided in the neighbourhood for the pious women and virgins, who had placed themselves under his direction.'¹ The future history of the Gadhelic Church, and the tendency of the age towards a conventual and ascetic life, make this conclusion inevitable, no sophistry can bear out the ideas of some Protestant writers that it was anything else, it may have been a rude enough prototype of the mediæval church, but it had nothing in common with the Church of the Reformation. The legend how the site was obtained is curious, and shows that the saint was by no means a meek man, that he would by no means put up with a slight from any one, however high his station, and also, like most saints then as now, his influence was great with the female sex. Eventually, by the power of miracle, and the lady of the chief to whom the ground belonged, St Patrick obtained a suitable site, situated in a commanding position. The chieftain, named Daire, was unwilling to entrust to strangers, what was in reality a strong military post, and his successors had reason to endorse his fears, the monks in after years were no mean adepts in carnal weapons. The height Druim Sailech, Dorsum Salicis, the Ridge or Hill of the Sallow,

¹ Lanigan, vol. i, p. 312.

or Willow Tree, was called Ardmacha, or Ardd-Mache, A.D. 410-893.
Armagh.¹

Little, or rather nothing further is known of the labours of St Patrick in Ireland, but his biographers fill up his time by a visit to Rome; and though Dr Lanigan say the visit is unhistorical, yet it is just as likely to have happened as other events which he chronicles. Joceline, in his Life, says that the Pope received him with the highest marks of his esteem, granted the saint every thing he asked for, decorated him with the Pallium, and appointed him Legate of his Holiness in Ireland. Another and an earlier life gives an account of the visit quite as unhistorical, but valuable as illustrating the peculiar views of morality held by the holy fathers who invented the incidents, and the credulity of the people who were edified by them. St Patrick's great and professed object in his visit to Rome was to obtain relics, and in this he was successful. By 'a pious fraud or theft, whilst the keepers of the sacred places were asleep and unconscious, he contrived to carry off a great quantity of relics of apostles and martyrs, a towel stained with our Saviour's blood, and some of the hair of His blessed mother.' The writer adds, that the pious theft was believed to have been committed with the connivance of the Pope himself, and exclaims in rapture: 'O wondrous deed! O rare theft of a vast treasure of holy things, committed without sacrilege, the plunder of the most holy place in the world.'² This writer says nothing about the Archiepiscopal ordination and the jurisdiction of his Holiness; it was a claim not thought of at the time, is the observation of Dr Todd; but perhaps the Saint thought he should clear out with his booty in as unostentatious a manner as possible, and not flaunt his title in the faces of those he had despoiled.

It was at this period of his life that St Patrick is said to have assisted at the codification of the Irish Laws, and to have held Synods in which canons were decreed and ecclesiastical matters regulated.

¹ Todd's Life, pp. 469-81.

² Vit. Trip. iii. 82 (Tr. Th. p. 164); Todd's Life, p. 481.

A. D. 410-493.

The story of reforming the civil code is undoubtedly false, as it rests on the assumption that King Laoghaire professed Christianity, which he never did. But it is not at all improbable, as we have previously stated, that the first attempt to enforce law and order by statutory enactment was made by St Patrick or other Christian teacher. The body of Laws which he is said to have codified is called the *Senchus Mòr*, or Great Antiquity, and all that can be said in favour of its remote date: and of St Patrick's connection with it, is put by Dr Petrie, 'These descriptions, as well as the work itself, establish the fact that it is a body of antient laws modified at some period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity to agree with Christian doctrines.' Yet Dr Todd is dubious even if we can accept this, he says: 'It is not impossible that such a work may have been *begun* (not reformed) in the times of St Patrick, but the *Senchus Mòr*, in its present form, cannot be of so remote an age.' Little of it is earlier than the ninth or tenth century, with numerous comparatively modern alterations.¹

The ecclesiastical legislation of St Patrick, and the fact of his having held Synods of bishops, is accepted by Dr Lanigan, but we think the unprejudiced student will be likelier to agree with Dr Todd, who says that 'it is scarcely possible to receive these canons as really his.' The internal evidence is amply conclusive; the allusion to the burning question of the eighth century, the Roman tonsure; the tone of the enactments implying diocesan jurisdiction and a settled form of Christianity, and numerous other points; all show that the collection known as the *Canons of St Patrick* is, in its present form, a document not earlier than the ninth century. Yet it need not be denied, that St Patrick called together his fellow-labourers in council, and both gave and took advice, but from his life, as we know it from his Confession, the welfare of the souls of his converts would be the chief object of these conferences, few and simple the rules laid down; to keep the faith of Christ, and preserve themselves unspotted from the world.

¹ Todd's Life, p. 484.

The only genuine historical facts in the latter years of St Patrick's life, after he had ceased from his missionary travels, are that at this period he wrote the Confession and the Epistle to Coroticus, previously referred to. A.D. 410-493.

What was the fruit of St Patrick's exertions is not known, but no other event of importance seems to have troubled his later years. We can hardly believe they were spent in dignified or undignified leisure, but rather that advancing age prevented him from pursuing the active life he had previously led. The old man seems, from the whole tone of the Confession, to have felt that he had not long to serve his Master, and retiring possibly to his favourite retreat at Saul, he as it were reviewed his life, and in singularly touching words gave to the world this review in his Confession. He had been in every province of his adopted country; he had successfully stormed the strongholds of paganism, and fondly imagined that Ireland was now Christian. All who have told his story, say that he ordained ministers of religion everywhere, 365 bishops (clerics in the Confession), priests and deacons innumerable. When, where, and by whom he himself was consecrated bishop is unknown, unless we accept his Roman mission and Continental extraction. St Patrick seems a good deal like St Paul, he claims his mission direct from heaven, he feels responsible to no human power, and more than likely, if he had ever met Peter's successor, 'would have withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.'¹ He styles himself 'Hiberione constitutus episcopus,' but this may be satisfactory even to a Presbyterian, for he was certainly a 'superintendent,' and a faithful one. Whether St Patrick attached any value to the title of bishop, who can say? St Paul claimed to be an apostle, as much to be upside with the others who bore the name, and were looked up to on that account, the apostle of the Gentiles and the apostle of Ireland were no sacerdotalists, and cared little for names, except so far as they served their purpose. Both of them liked rule and power, but only

¹ Galatians ii. 11.

A.D. 493.

to be used for the highest and holiest purposes, feeling that their title was a direct grant from their Lord and Master.

Such then was the man, bishop, archbishop, pope, or apostle of Ireland, by virtue of his commanding character and holy life, who now passed to his rest in the last decade of the fifth century. Legend is full of the accounts of the death, but the only historical fact seems to be that he died at Saul and was buried at Down.¹ The date of the death as of the mission is, even to the experts the author has consulted, very uncertain. He was born in the beginning of the century, probably A.D. 410, came as a missionary to Ireland A.D. 432-442, and died A.D. 493. The date of the death is the one arrived at by Usher, and that which Dr Todd favours, who states that independently of other reasons 'it is undoubtedly the testimony of the Irish Annals derived from ancient national traditions.'

The mission of St Patrick, though little is known of it beyond its results, is a most important epoch in the history of Christianity. He came to Ireland and found it Heathen, at his death it may be said to have been Christian. He appears as the central figure in this transformation; few of the names of his coadjutors have been preserved, and these were his converts. We should be tempted to think his whole story a myth were it not for the results. Shortly after his death there is found in Ireland a great monastic and missionary church, with intense vitality and the widest sympathies. It invades Pictland and the north of England (Bernicia); in the person of Columbanus, it purifies the infamous court of the descendants of Clovis; it anticipates by a century the labours of Boniface, the apostle of Germany. It has no sectarian feeling; there is constant and friendly communication with the churches of Britain, the saints of this period are the common property of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. We are forced to attribute all this to the personal influence of St Patrick, and compelled to number him among the master minds of humanity.

¹ See Lanigan, vol. i. pp. 351-355; Todd's Life, pp. 489-494.

Born and brought up in an atmosphere of semi-Roman civilisation, unacquainted with Gadhelic manners, politics, or superstitions, he instantly seizes hold of all, and makes them his own. His was the fervent and exalted piety of the age, which found a reality in spiritual communications; but his was also the natural shrewdness which taught him not to run counter to national peculiarities in religion and politics. His mind at once grasped the state of society in the country of his adoption. Ardri, Ris, chieftains, bards, druids, in nothing but position above a people superstitious and savage as themselves. We have seen how he at once went for the leaders of society, civil and sacred. How he made converts of them we cannot tell, but Dr O'Donovan's remarks are singularly apposite when he says, 'Nothing is clearer than that Patrick engrafted Christianity on the Pagan superstitions with so much skill, that he won the people over to the Christian religion before they understood the exact difference between the two systems of belief; and much of this half-Pagan, half-Christian religion will be found not only in the Irish stories of the middle ages, but in the superstitions of the peasantry to the present day.'¹ The sacred stones he respected, and inscribed with Christian names; the festivals he converted into Christian solemnities. Patrick, while paying due respect to that august personage, the monarch of all Ireland, well knew that the kings nominally under him, and the chiefs of the clans were the real rulers of the country, and through them the people were to be swayed. Most of them were his converts, though the Ardri Laoghaire was not. His ordination of bishops, with or without diocesan supervision, has been discussed *ad nauseam*; the early Irish Church undoubtedly possessed those *essentials* of Christianity, but the real heads of the church were the abbots or co-arbs of the monastic institutions, and these, from the time of Patrick the founder, were always of the ruling class; sanctity and miraculous power went a good way to qualify for an abbot, but high birth was indispensable. The Celtic Church was an institution *sui generis*;

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 131, note.

A. D. 493.

to talk of the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh dating from the time of Benignus, the disciple and successor of Patrick, is simply an invention of Romanists;¹ ecclesiastical power, lands, and endowments were vested in the heads of monastic establishments; marriage was no bar to preferment; women were eligible, and were not unfrequently co-arbs. As Mr Burton observes, Perhaps the clearest announcement to be found anywhere about these co-arbs, is the following passage in Dr Todd's *St Patrick*, pp. 171, 172: 'On the whole, it appears that the endowments in land, which were granted to the antient church by the chieftains who were first converted to Christianity, carried with them the temporal rights and principalities originally belonging to the owners of the soil, and that these rights and principalities were vested, not in bishops as such, but in the co-arbs or ecclesiastical successors of those saints, to whom the grants of land were originally made. It is easy to see, therefore, that in the districts where such lands were so granted, a succession of co-arbs would necessarily be kept up. It did not follow that these co-arbs were always bishops, or even priests; in the case of Kildare the co-arbs were always females; and there is an instance on record, although in a different sense, of a female co-arb of St Patrick at Armagh. But it is evident that the abbat or co-arb, and not the bishop as such, inherited the rights of chieftainship and property, and was therefore the important personage in the ecclesiastical community. Hence we have in the *Annals* a nearer approach to a correct list of the abbats and co-arbs, than to a correct list of the bishops. The bishop or bishops, for there were often more than one bishop connected with the monastery, or with what afterwards became the Episcopal See, were in subjection to the co-arb abbat, and did not necessarily succeed to each other, according to our modern notions of an Episcopal succession. There were frequent breaks in the series. The presence of a pilgrim or travelling bishop, who remained for a time in the monastery, would be enough to supply the wants of the community for that time, by giving the episcopal

¹ See Todd's *St Patrick*, p. 172.

benediction ; and it was not until he had left them, that the monastic "family" would feel it necessary to provide themselves with another.'

One great feature of St Patrick's mission, and which formed a prominent feature in the Celtic Church, was the education of the people, young and old. It is said that he was always accompanied by a body of men under training ; now this was very different from the training of candidates for holy orders now-a-days ; then they had to be taught the elements of knowledge, to read and write. 'It is recorded that St Patrick, on several occasions, taught the *abgitorium*—that is to say, the alphabet or A B C—to such of his converts as were destined for holy orders.'¹ It is not at all unlikely that the apostle of Ireland introduced there, not only the Christian religion, but the elements of learning ; if there ever existed a Druidical alphabet and literature, the Druids and bards kept both within their own order ; modern research has failed to exhume either. The Christian learning, even of a secular nature, was freely communicated to all who applied for it ; and during the lifetime of Patrick and shortly afterwards, many schools sprang up in the form of monastic establishments, which, for centuries afterwards, were the glory of Ireland and of the Celtic Church.

But the extent of the success of St Patrick was, after all, more apparent than real ; it is a fond delusion of Mr Thomas Moore and other patriotic historians, that 'not a single drop of blood was shed, on account of religion, through the entire course of this mild Christian revolution, by which, in the space of a few years, all Ireland was brought tranquilly under the influence of the gospel.' St Patrick's life was often attempted, and on one occasion his charioteer was slain in mistake for himself. Though conscious of the success of his labours, and the good faith of his benefactors, he did not trust them much, but fixed his locations as a settler in a new and possibly hostile country would. 'His ecclesiastical establishments were surrounded by fortifications, for the protection of the inmates, and many of the most celebrated of them, as

¹ Todd's St Patrick, p. 507 ; see also note.

A D 500-700 Armagh, Cashel, Downpatrick, Clogher, and others, were built in situations, possessing mutual advantages of defence, or near the already fortified habitations of the antient chieftians.¹ The heads of these establishments did not neglect the military training of the inmates, they repelled force by force, and entered freely into the interminable fights so characteristic of the people. Yet at the time, and in spite of the half secular half sacred character of the ecclesiastics, these establishments were an unmixed benefit to the country; the state of society was something fearful, a very slight acquaintance with the Annals of Ireland amply justifies the remarks of Dr Todd: 'The state of society rendered it practically impossible to maintain the Christian life, except under some monastic rule. The will of the chieftain was law; the clansman was liable at any time to be called upon to serve upon some wild fray, in a quarrel or feud, with which he had personally no concern. The domestic ties were unknown, or little respected. No man could call his life or property, his wife or children, his own.'² Even so partial a writer as Miss Cusack, whose works, 'The Irishman' says, 'have a good wholesome Irish spirit in them,' does not blush at inserting what is really a historical fact. 'It is said that Adamnan was carrying his mother over the plains of Bregia, where they encountered two armies fighting. Ronnat, the mother of Adamnan, perceived that one of the women was dragging another off the field of combat by a reaping-hook which she had fastened into her breast.'² This occurred two centuries after the death of Patrick, and though the barbarous usage is said to have been put a stop to shortly afterwards, what a depth of savageness does it reveal.

It would be out of keeping with the title of this work, which professes to be a history of the early Scottish Church, were we even to give a sketch of the life and labours of the great men of the Irish Church who flourished during the period from the death of St Patrick to the time of St Columba, or detail the churches, universities and schools founded by them. Sufficient it is

¹ Todd's St Patrick, p. 502.

² *Ibid.* p. 505.

³ Miss Cusack's St Columba, p. 27.

to say, the soberest of the historians of the time, make statements, concerning the character and number of saints and institutions in every province of Ireland which stagger our belief. In the crowded centres of population, and in lonely and inaccessible isles of the Atlantic, thousands of eager scholars thronged round learned and holy men from whom they received the words of life. A continuous succession of men like SS. Fiacc, Ailbe, the Kierans, the Brendans, the Finnians and others, paved the way for Columba and Columbanus, while women like SS. Brigida and Modwena must, to a certain extent, have mitigated the piteous state of their sisters, and softened the fierce natures of their savage lords.

Yet a sketch even, of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, would be incomplete without a notice of St Brigida, though her importance and influence has been much over-rated, even by so impartial an historian as Mr Burton. He says, 'the Irish Church had in St Bridget a female saint more powerful than any of Ireland's male saints—even than St Patrick himself. Her influence was so strong in Ireland that it spread itself over all England and Scotland. It may be questioned if any one appearing on earth since the days of the apostles has been so devoutly worshipped. The yearning towards a feminine nature in the conception of the Deity, which took another direction in the ordinary Catholic world, seems here to have concentrated itself on St Bridget, who has been aptly called the "Madonna of the Irish."¹ Miss Cusack, in her *Life of the saint* is, on this point, for once sensible. She says, 'A great deal of unnecessary explanation and apology has been written on the subject of the comparison made by early Irish writers between the Blessed Virgin and St Brigit. After all has been said, they amount simply to this, that the early Irish, in their high veneration for their saint, used very strong expressions and very partial ones; but throughout all, there is not one trace of putting her on a level with the one Immaculate Virgin. The comparison used, that Brigit was the "Mary of the Irish," was simply

¹ Burton's *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 243.

A. D. 523.

a poetical way of expressing that she, of all Irish maidens, most resembled in her life and character the 'Mother of Jesus.'¹ St Brigit, in fact, bore no resemblance to the high type of female character embodied in our idea of the Virgin; and though a well-known saint, her popular character and influence were formed when the Virgin cultus had not found its way into Ireland. She was seized upon by the Irish ecclesiastics, invested with the characteristics of the Virgin, whose throne she shared, though in a nominally subordinate position. Though the Celtic Church is not without female saints, its records, both in Ireland and Scotland, bear no trace of feminine influence. Civilisation was not advanced enough to produce the type needed. They were simply strong-minded women, connected with the higher class, who had been brought under the influence of the new religion, and ruled over communities, like their brethren of the sterner sex. St Brigit is the first, the most prominent, and a fair example. Like most of the saints and prominent ecclesiastics of the Celtic Church, she was of noble birth on both sides, though some Lives say her mother was a slave wife. The village of Faughart, near Dundalk, claims the honour of her birth. Whether she had any personal intercourse with St Patrick is uncertain; in the Tripartite Life of that saint there is an anecdote told of her relating to him a vision, which she understood to presage the dangers and trials, and also the declension of the infant church. In her own Lives it is stated that, moved by inspiration, she, shortly before the death of St Patrick, embroidered with her own hands the shroud in which his corpse was wrapped. The date of Brigit's death is A. D. 523, so that it is not at all improbable that she had the advantage of the teaching and example of the apostle of her country, and paid the last offices to his remains.

Like most great men and women who have found biographers, Brigit was a wonderful and precocious child. Miss Cusack innocently enough throws great doubt on her early incidents: 'Of her early life many incidents

¹ Cusack's Life of Brigit, p. 197.

are recorded, which resemble those which have been related of more modern saints.¹ There is little variety in hagiology, and we have to refer our readers for details of the angels visiting her, and assisting her to set up a little altar, when seven years of age, to the instructive life of her by the Nun of Kenmare. When she approached womanhood, her rare charms of person attracted the attention of numerous admirers; but from her earliest years she had determined to consecrate her virginity to Christ. She repulsed all advances, though pressed upon her by her relations. The incident, as told by Miss Cusack, shows that the lady did not undervalue her beauty, though willing to part with it, if necessary, for her great purpose in life. 'It is said that her father and mother were converted to her desires by a miracle. Her rare beauty had attracted attention, and she now obtained from God the grace of a temporary disfigurement, the miraculous character of which was fully *proved* by its disappearance when the request was granted.'² Along with seven other holy virgins Brigit founded a community, with herself as Superior, and in a short time obtained a grant of lands at Kildare.

Here A.D. 480-490 was erected the celebrated nunnery or institution of the 'Cell of the Oaks,' governed by the foundress as Abbess or Co-Arb, her successors (females in every case³) inheriting her rights, civil and ecclesiastical. Brigit's liberality, humility, and piety were beyond praise, her miracles many, but commonplace, except those of a vulpine character, of which more anon. Her rule is strangely spoken of by her biographer: 'It is very interesting to find that the little devotional practices which are in use at the present day, in so many religious houses, were in use also in the first convent of Irish nuns. We

¹ Cusack's Life, p. 196.

² *Ibid.* p. 203. If Brigit had lived in Wales, her profession would have been of no use. 'As the King, called Sandde, was walking by himself, Lo, a nun met him, and he laid hold of her, and violated her person, who became pregnant.' The offspring was St David.—Rees' Cambro. British Saints, p. 403.

³ Though the institution comprehended both sexes, who were divided from each other in the Cathedral by a partition.

A. D. 523.

have our special devotions for Christmas and Lent, for the sorrows of the Passion and the joys of Easter,¹ and what helps us now heavenward, helped our ancient mothers also.'² Any critical reader of history would unhesitatingly say, that the record of these devotional practices was invented by the modern biographers; the ancient practices would be a deal ruder, and, if possible, more superstitious.

Brigit, though she kept the reins of power in her own hands, had a proper respect for the clergy, though it is perhaps too much to say, like Mr Burton, 'that a bishop or two seem to have hung about her court, whether seeking advancement, or as becoming appendages to the establishment of a person so eminent.'³ The Abbess needed a bishop to perform certain functions, which were, and are supposed to be invalid if performed by any other person; there were plenty of bishops dioceseless, going about, and one was easy enough got when needed; but the Abbess determined not to be under obligation to those itinerant clerics; she would have one all to herself. Miss Cusack says she was *permitted* to choose her own bishop. The way in which she procured him is thoroughly described by Dr Todd, who gives for his authority the earliest biographer of the Saint, Cogitosus, who flourished, according to Petrie, A.D. 800-35.⁴ After speaking in his prologue of the success and extent of 'her monastery,' 'she then reflected that she ought to provide with prudent care, regularly in all things for the souls of her people, as well as for the churches of the many provinces that adhered to her. She therefore came to the conclusion, that she would not be without a high priest to consecrate churches, and to settle the ecclesiastical degrees in them. The result was, that she pitched upon a holy man, a solitary, adorned with all virtues, and by whom God had wrought many miracles. She sent for

¹ Note, on this important festival the Celtic Church was heretical.

² Cusack's Life, p. 206.

³ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. p. 243.

⁴ The reader will judge from this date the value of the incidents related.

him from the desert, and went herself to meet him. He agreed to her proposals, and she *engaged him to govern the church with her* in episcopal dignity, that nothing of sacerdotal order should be wanting in *her churches*.¹ There is nothing said here of permission being asked or granted; the lady engages her bishop, just as a vicar would engage a curate, or a parish clergyman in Scotland an assistant. Conclæd, the choice of the Abbess, was possessed of qualifications not often found in a saint; in addition to being her bishop, he is said to have been 'Brigit's principal artist.' The word denotes an artificer in gold, silver, and other metals, and the beautiful specimens still preserved are a testimony to the artistic skill of the Irish ecclesiastics of early times, and in whose ranks we may place Brigit's bishop and artist.² Though a solitary, he had previously spent some time on the Continent, enlarging his religious feelings and æsthetic tastes. From thence he had brought some ecclesiastical vestments, and after he had been for some time with his mistress, he intimated his intention to visit Rome, probably to procure other paraphernalia, which he thought desirable for the service of the church, perhaps, like most modern clergymen of a lower class than bishops, he thought he needed change, and a trip to the Continent then, as now, seemed the most desirable. His arbitrary mistress forbade him to leave, under the penalty of being devoured by wolves. Undeterred by the warning, Conclæd set out, 'and wild dogs (wolves) devoured him, who followed Conclæd by the side of Liamhan, in the plain of Leinster.'³

Wolves seem to have had an attraction for Brigit. In one of the lives in the Bollandist Collection, the following story appears:—A king had a wolf for a pet and companion, which a retainer killed. On hearing of this, the exasperated monarch vowed dire vengeance on the perpetrator of the deed, who, fully aware of his danger, fled to, and claimed the protection of, St Brigida. She calmed the fears of the fugitive, and at once set out in her chariot to call on the offended king. On the way an enormous

¹ Todd's St Patrick, p. 12.² *Ibid.* p. 24.³ *Ibid.* p. 25.

A. D. 523.

wolf sprang up beside her, and in vulpine fashion paid his respects. The saint at once perceived the miracle. She proceeded on her way, with her novel companion, and arrived at her destination. She descended from her carriage, leaving the wolf there, and paid her respects to the king. She sympathised with his loss, and asked, after some parley, if he would spare the life of the man who had destroyed his favourite, if she could produce another like it. The king, sceptical enough no doubt, replied, Certainly. St Brigit retired, brought forward the wolf so strangely introduced to her. It seemed in every way equal to the former favourite, whose place it at once assumed and worthily filled; the man was pardoned; the lady left the court; all parties were satisfied and, we should think, edified.

All that really can be said of St Brigit is, that she founded a monastic institution at Kildare, which was eminently successful; that for thirty or forty years she ruled it right royally in the best sense of the word—a nursing father and mother combined; that she was on terms of equality with the best of the land, kings, saints, and bishops alike; and that she would brook no superior in what she considered her own rights—viz., the supervision of the institution, its appurtenances and inmates, from bishop to day labourer.

There was certainly in the fifth century and later, superstition enough to have received a female deity, either St Brigit or the Virgin, but there were absolutely wanting those gentle and refined feelings which, in Rome and Constantinople, evoked the cultus. The character of the Celts, saints and warriors alike, shows that the influence of women on the refinement of manners was absolutely wanting. Apart from the few female saints, of whom we have no trustworthy traits recorded, women were looked upon by saints as pernicious emissaries of the devil, by the laity as ministers to passion or useful drudges. The deification of the Virgin was barely established during the pontificate of Gregory the Great. When it penetrated to Ireland is uncertain; undoubtedly not till centuries later. When it did, the beauty and purity,

the love and tenderness embodied in the ideal Virgin, were transferred to the great Irish female saint, and Mary and Brigit became the medium by which the prayers of the sons and daughters of Erin were carried on their way heavenward—

A. D. 523.

‘ Like her no other saint was found
But Jesu’s mother blest ;
Her virtues and her wondrous fame
Can never be expressed.’¹

The sanctity of these holy men and women may be taken for granted, though their actions occasionally do not come up to even our low standard ; but their learning seems to be over-rated, the remains of it are as scanty as they are valueless. What literature was taught must have been chiefly procured from Britain (Gildas is said to have taught at Armagh), and if Roman culture ever travelled so far as Wales, by this time it was well nigh extinct. And even though we grant, what can by no means be proved, that communication with Gaul was frequent, and that friendly relations were kept up with the Gallic Church, yet the ignorance there, was about as profound as it was in Hibernia—rapine, cruelty, and lust as rife, though perpetrated by one central despot in place of a multitude of petty tyrants. A few of the classics, and some scraps of the Old and New Testaments would be the only hand-books the teachers had. St Jerome’s Vulgate must have been unknown, when the copying by Columba of Finnian’s gospel was the cause of an intestine war.² But all honour to the talents of these men ; they probably found the Irish a spoken language only, they made it a written one. ‘It became a literary language earlier than any of the Teutonic tongues ; devotional books and histories were written in it, and it spread the Bible, and even classic authors, in translations.’³ One thing seems to be certain, a high degree of excellence was early attained in caligraphy ; so early indeed that it would almost induce us to think that the art was no new one, but had been in existence before the introduction of Christi-

¹ Cusack’s Brigit, p. 199.² Page 151.³ Burton’s History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 206.

A. D. 500-700

anity. The few manuscripts preserved are richly illuminated, and the covers are high specimens of art. There is little doubt that a large amount of mechanical skill was expended on these, and on church vestments, ornaments, and utensils.

The religion, we have seen, is acknowledged to have been a mixture of Paganism and Christianity, and the form one which tended to monasticism and asceticism. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Patrick instituted any form of episcopal government, yet, at the same time, there is as little doubt that he ordained bishops. Though in his Confession he uses the word clerics, it must be admitted that these clerics had, or assumed a rank above those in training, and very likely were priests and bishops of the orthodox thirty years of age. Superstitious veneration for the rank of a Christian minister was rifer then than now, though a bishop is still a very august personage, and the parish minister is still a man not without privileges, and one to be looked up to. Yet things are changed; the feelings of the clergy are unaltered, but, alas, those of the flock are. Even suppose that Patrick allowed the so-called bishops no higher rank in God's heritage than simple presbyters, they would soon assume it, and the title was no new one; there were plenty of bishops in Britain from the earliest times. Why they never attained the rank in the Celtic Irish Church which they attained elsewhere, was simply because they were not permitted to take it. Heads of religious establishments, male and female, being possessed of the temporalities, kept the diocesan power in their own hands, and while paying every respect to the bishop as the correct medium by which certain rites and ceremonies could be administered, kept to themselves the rest of the privileges and appurtenances we reckon essential to the office of a bishop.

The true character of the Gadhelic Church in Ireland and in Scotland is tersely brought before us in a document first published by Usher, which seems to be reckoned authoritative by Romanists and Protestants alike, Lanigan, Todd, and Skene, not to speak of others, accept it.

‘The FIRST ORDER of Catholic saints was in the time of Patrick; and then they were all bishops, famous and holy, and full of the Holy Ghost, 350 in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ; and one chief, Patrick. They observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox; and what was excommunicated by one church, all excommunicated. They rejected not the services or society of women, because, founded on the Rock Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This order of saints continued for four reigns, A.D. 432-538. All these bishops were sprung from the Romans and Franks, and Britons and Scots. A.D. 500-700.

‘The SECOND ORDER was of CATHOLIC PRESBYTERS, for in this order there were few bishops and many presbyters, in number 300. They had one head, our Lord; they celebrated different masses, and had different rules, one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the equinox, one tonsure from ear to ear; they refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries. This order has hitherto lasted for four reigns, 538-594. They received a mass from Bishop David, and Gildas, and Docus the Britons.

‘The THIRD ORDER of saints was of this sort. They were holy presbyters and a few bishops, 100 in number, who dwelt in desert places, and lived on herbs and water, and the [alms of the faithful]; they shunned private property; and they had different rules and masses, and different tonsures, and a different Paschal festival. . . . These lived during four reigns, 594-666. . . .

‘The First Order was most holy (sanctissimus), the Second Order very holy (sanctior), the Third Order holy (sanctus). The first burns like the sun, the second like the moon, the third like the stars.’¹

If, as the historian of St Patrick observes, ‘this statement be worthy of credit, it would seem that the more rigid monastic system was introduced by the second order of saints, and not by those who adopted the dis-

¹ Todd’s St Patrick, pp. 88, 89; Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 12.

A D. 500-700. cipline of St Patrick.¹ But it would be too much to conclude that there were neither monasteries nor monks in the time of the saint; the tendency of the age, or rather of those who embraced Christianity, was towards an ascetic life, that to obey the law of Christ was to mortify the flesh. In the first period the saints were evidently free to come and go when and where they liked, and they did not shun the society or reject the services of women. This to a non-Romanist mind would be ample proof that the celibacy of the clergy was a thing unknown. But by a strange perversity, the authors of the document say that the admission of women was a proof of the superior holiness of these saints; they boldly faced the fascinations of the fair sex and resisted them. 'Quia super petram, Christum, fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant.' A controversy more curious than edifying has sprung up; why the second order of saints dispensed with the society of women. Dr Lanigan contemptuously says, that 'this regulation was considered advisable and necessary after the monasteries or colleges became crowded with young students.' Dr Todd seems to think that the regulation meant something more; in short, that it was too much for the second order of saints; they had to flee temptation, not resist it, and he gives an abridgment of the legend, which informs us of the practice, and the severe treatment of the flesh it gave rise to. We trust our readers will not be more prudish than those to whom Dr Todd addresses himself: 'Scuthinus, ut praelium sibi majus fiat, duas pulcherrimas virgines, lecti sui participes omnibus noctibus fecit. De qua re quaestio fecit, et venit Brendanus ad inquirendum utram contra leges pudicitiae aliquid committeretur. Scuthinus ait. Hac nocte lectuli mei Brendanus periculum faciat. Consentiens Brendanus lectum ascendit. Virgines in lectum sese Brendani introducunt. Ille autem tali contubernio inflammatus, dormire non potuit.' His companions scoff at him, advising him to cast himself into a tub of water, which they admit Scuthin was often compelled to do. Brendan retired, admitting Scuthin's su-

¹ Todd's Patrick, p. 90.

perior sanctity.¹ It is needless to say, that neither of the saints was guilty of the slightest violation of morality in this or other trials of a similar nature. A. D. 500-700.

For both reasons stated perhaps, the second order of saints became celibates, as indeed might have been expected; they became heads of, or teachers in institutions without the same inducement to family ties, as the previous saints who were scattered singly all over the country in charge of their several districts; as it was in most parts of Europe for centuries later, there would be the celibate regulars and the married seculars.

The THIRD ORDER was the inevitable outcome of enthusiasts in the Church, who found that even religious association could not satisfy their aspirations of a perfect 'imitatio Christi,' or rather their idea of this. Incidentally they civilised and Christianised the inhabitants of the savage and lonely spots they retired to. But the race did not continue long in our own country, as elsewhere; the desire is common to all earnest and thoughtful minds, but like the Psalmist who cries, 'Oh that I had wings like the dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo! then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness'—a life of active exertion is the fitting sequel to the faint-hearted aspiration.

¹ Todd's Patrick, p. 91.

CHAPTER IV.

SAINT COLUMBA.

Saint Columba—His Life by Adamnan—Other Lives—Birth of St Columba—His early Life—Embraces a Religious Life—Founds the Church of Derry—Monastery of Durrow—Kells—Other Foundations—State of Ireland, Civil and Religious—Battle of Coldreim—Columba leaves Ireland for Alba—Poems—Farewell to Aran—Arrives at Hy—His Mission to the Picts—His Miracles and Success—Columbian-foundations—Returns to Hy—Visits to Ireland—His Death—His Remains—His Reliques—His Prophetic Revelations—Miraculous Powers—Visions of Angels.

A D. 521-597. FROM the state of society in Ireland we have indicated, a state in which the highest ideal of a Christian life is found part of the nature of men otherwise savages, emerged two men who displayed both characteristics, and yet have left their mark on the world's history, their influence was for centuries profound, it is not yet extinct, SS. Columba and Columbanus. The first alone finds a place in our sketch, and forms a prominent feature in Scottish history; and he is the apostle of the Picts, the father and founder of the Gadhelic Church (we might almost include the State) in Scotland, a church which was all powerful in that country for five hundred years, which penetrated far south into England, and whose beneficent sway extended for no inconsiderable period from the Humber to the Orkneys. St Columba claims attention, first from priority in time, but chiefly from his being the principal character in this work; we shall see that the history of the illustrious Irishman and the institution which he founded, is all that remains of the history of the Church in Scotland previous to the Roman revival; what is told us previous to his mission is myth, after his death there is nothing to tell, history is a blank, the Church and

Christianity survive; that is all or nearly all that can ^{A D 521-597.} be said.

The authorities for the Life of St Columba as detailed by Dr Reeves are :—

1st. That by his successor at Hy, Adamnan, given to the world about one hundred years after his death. With regard to the historical value of the work, Innes says that 'it is the most authentic voucher now remaining of several other important particulars of the sacred and civil history of the Scot and Picts;' and Pinkerton, a writer not over-given to eulogy, pronounces it to be 'the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of,¹ not only at so early a period, but even through all the middle ages.' The authenticity of the work has never been doubted, and its value may be judged from the fact of its being the earliest document bearing on Scottish history; Adamnan is, with the exception of Bede, the only high to contemporary historian of those early times. The edition of the work by Dr Reeves is beyond all praise; if the life is the most complete piece of biography ever written, the editing of it is the most complete work ever undertaken; his accuracy of research, and unrivalled wealth of illustration in his notes, place this beyond question. Even the Nun of Kenmare would be satisfied with the work of a Protestant if he would but swallow the miracles. Dr Reeves says, 'Our author is indeed as free from the defects of hagiology, as any ancient writer in this department of literature, but it must ever be a subject of regret that he chose an individual instead of a society for his subject, and reckoned the history of his church, a secondary consideration to the reputation of his Patron. If Bede had contented himself with being the biographer of St Cuthbert, instead of the historian of England, would he now be *par excellence* the Venerable.— If Adamnan had extended to history the style and power of description which appears in his tract in the Holy Places, with the experience, the feeling, and the piety, which characterise his Life of St Columba, the voice of Christendom would have borrowed the word from his

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, Scottish Historians, vol. vi. p. xx.

A D. 521 597. countryman, and irreversibly have coupled his name with the title of Admirable.'¹ The language is not overstrained, the work obtained in early times a European celebrity, has retained it, and with Bede is the *sole authority* for the times of which they wrote.

St Adamnan had before him the account of Columba by Cummene the Fair, whom he cites by name, and whose entire narrative he has transferred to his own compilation. He was also near enough to the fountain-head to draw from authentic sources, for in his boyhood he might have conversed with those who had seen and spoken with St Columba, and he wrote on the very spot hallowed by the saint. He has given in the Life more marvels than history, more pious reflections than incidents of life and manners. Dr Reeves has, with wonderful industry and acumen in his introduction and notes, picked out those interesting, but to the author unedifying parts, and is the source from which this *resumé* is made. Besides the seven manuscripts which furnish the readings of Dr Reeves' edition of the work, there are reported to be in existence five others; of the twelve, three only are preserved in this country, the remainder are in Continental libraries.

There are also, II., a life by Colgan; III., by John of Tinmouth, pirated by Capgrave, and reprinted by Colgan with notes; IV., Notice in the Aberdeen Breviary; V., an abridgement by Benedict Gonon; VI., an ancient Irish Memoir, a composition of the tenth century, originally compiled as a discourse on the festival of St Columba from the text, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee;' there are four manuscripts of this in existence. VII. is the most copious collection of the acts of the saint, and was compiled by Manus O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell; it professes to be, and is a digest of all the records and legends concerning the patron of his family, St Columba; it is written in the Gadhelic, which the chief who compiled it, considered

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. xx.

easy to be understood, not archaic, and was indited A.D. 521-597. 1532; the manuscript is in the Bodleian Library, and a copious extract has been published by Colgan. The value of the work as an historical tract is pithily put by Dr Reeves: 'It would be quite possible for a good scholar and patient investigator, endowed with an *inventive* wit, and a copious style, to compile from materials existing in the year of grace 1856, a narrative to the full, as circumstantial, as *diffuse*, and as marvellous, as that contained in the great volume of O'Donnell, and much more correct.¹ It would, however, labour under one great defect—the Irish would not be so good.'² This work exists in its original dimensions, beauty and material excellence, but was certainly not appreciated by Irish patriots two centuries later, as it was purchased by Mr Rawlinson at the sale of the Chandos Collection (1777⁶/₇) for twenty-three shillings, and by him presented to the Bodleian Library.

This last and all the other lives are of no value, except to show the wonderful fertility of imagination of pious and patriotic hagiologists, and incidentally to solve some antiquarian difficulties. The real life is that by Adamnan, according to Dr Reeves and all competent critics, 'an inestimable relic of the Irish Church; perhaps with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time.'³ Dr Reeves aptly closes his preface: 'To Adamnan is, indeed, owing to the historic precision, and the intelligible operation, which characterise the second stage of the ancient Irish Church. In the absence of his Memoir, the life of St Columba would degenerate into the foggy, unreal spirit of narrative which belongs to the lives of his contemporaries,⁴ and we should be entirely in the

¹ Miss Cusack has done so but in English in the year 1877 so far as the marvellous is concerned; the wit, however, has been left out.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. xxix.

³ *Ibid.* p. xxx.

⁴ Roman Catholic authors of the present century, have striven hard to obscure the character of St Columba, and to make him a commonplace, miracle-working saint; in confirmation of this statement read Cusack's Life of Columba.

A. D. 52-597. dark on many points of discipline and belief, concerning which we have now a considerable amount of satisfactory information.¹

St Columba was born at Gartan, a wild district in the county of Donegal, on 7th December 518-523; the day seems to be fixed, the year uncertain, but calculation from Adamnan's data gives A.D. 521 as that most likely to be the true period. His father Fedhlimidh was what is called king of the district, and connected with the reigning families of Ireland and British Dalriada. His mother, Eithne, was of Leinster extraction, and descended from an illustrious provincial king. Both parents were Christian; his grandfather Fergus, was one of the converts of St Patrick, who, 'if we are to believe the Tripartite, foretold the birth and extraordinary sanctity of the great Columba, who was to descend from Fergus.'² Royal on both sides of the house therefore was the saint, and right royally, in the best sense of the word, did he pass through life, barring a few infirmities of temper, and a sort of love for a fight,—both special characteristics of kings and Irishmen.

He was baptised at Temple Douglas³ by the presbyter Cruithnechan, under the name Colum, with the addition of 'Cille' of the church, which was afterwards made, in reference to his diligent attendance at the church of his youthful sojourn; he is frequently mentioned under the name of Columkille. There is still at Temple Douglas a roofless cemetery, within the enclosure of which, there is a square elevated space, which tradition connects with the memory of the saint, and where he is generally supposed to have spent his boyish days, a second Samuel, a child of the sanctuary.

When arrived at sufficient age, the youth proceeded to Moville, at the head of Strangford Lough, where he was placed under the care of Bishop Findbarr (the famous St Finnian), by whom he was ordained deacon. Here he performed his first miracle: the wine running short at

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 31.

² Lanigan, vol. i. p. 262; and note viii. p. 263.

³ Modern names are used as a rule.

the celebration of the eucharist, Columba procured some pure spring water, and blessing it in faith, it was turned into wine and partaken of. But the holy youth was modest; he ascribed the miracle not to himself but to the Bishop.¹ Desirous, however, of further instruction, he proceeded south, and placed himself under the care of an aged bard named Gemman, who had embraced the Christian faith. Perhaps Columba wished to add to his accomplishments something of the gentle art, in which he was no mean proficient, as his poetical compositions amply testify.

A. D. 521-563.

While here an incident is related to have taken place depicting the state of society: 'It happened one day that an unfeeling and pitiless oppressor of the innocent was pursuing a young girl who fled before him on a level plain. Observing the aged teacher she fled to him for protection; he called on Columba, who was at a little distance, to assist him; but the pursuer of the fugitive came up, and without any regard to their presence, stabbed the girl with his lance under their very cloaks, and leaving her lying dead at their feet, turned to go away back.' Gemman horrified, exclaimed, 'How long, holy youth Columba, shall God the just judge, allow this horrid crime and this insult to us to go unpunished.' Then the saint at once pronounced this sentence on the perpetrator of the deed: 'At the very instant, the soul of this girl whom he hath murdered ascendeth into heaven, shall the soul of the murderer go down into hell.' Scarcely were the words pronounced when the savage ruffian fell dead at their feet.² Adamnan says that this sudden and terrible vengeance spread abroad the wonderful fame of the holy deacon. He does not say it produced a reformation in manners, and acted as a warning; in fact, he almost seems to think that the *insult* to the two holy men was the most serious part of the crime.

Leaving his second instructor, Columba entered the monastic seminary of Clonard, over which another teacher of the name of St Finnian, its founder, presided. He is

¹ Life, p. 38.² *Ibid.* p. 54.

A. D. 521-563

said to have been numbered there with a class of students who afterwards obtained great celebrity, they were reckoned the special fathers of the Irish Church. At this time he was admitted into priest's (or presbyter's orders, which ever the reader pleases), but he had to go to Clonfad for that purpose, a Bishop of the name of Etchen resident there permanently or otherwise, performed the ceremony. Finnian, though a celebrated saint, seems not to have been a bishop, illustrating what has already been said on the peculiar constitution of the Irish Church.

Restless, or having exhausted the teaching at Clonard, St Columba left that seat of learning, and entered the monastery of Glasnevin near Dublin, which consisted of a group of huts or cells, and an oratory. Here he was joined by his companions SS. Comgall, Ciaran, and Cainnech, but the brotherhood did not continue long; a violent distemper broke up the establishment, and Columba, now twenty-five years of age, returned to the north. He had finished his novitiate, and at once entered on his career of work, the pupil became the teacher, the modest and retiring youth, the bold and ardent leader of men.

In A. D. 547, he founded the Church of Derry. The original church was called 'the Black Church,' to which there is reference in the ancient lines cited by Tighernac—

‘Three years without light was
Colum in his Black Church,
He passed to angels from his body
After seven years and seventy.’

The remains existed in A. D. 1520; its round tower was standing in the seventeenth century; but the only record of its existence now remaining is the name of the lane which leads to its site, *the Long Steeple*.¹ The grant of the site was obtained from Aedh, the son of the King of Erin, who added the adjoining territory, and in addition to the central institution Columba planted several

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. xxxv., l., 278-9.

churches. It may be stated that there are what appear ^{A.D. 511-563.} formidable chronological objections to this early date for the foundation of Derry, but Dr Lanigan summarily disposes of them under the epithet of 'such trash.'¹

About A.D. 553 was founded the monastery of Durrow, the principal seat of Columba in Ireland during his lifetime, and of the Columbian Church for years afterwards. It is well-known in history. Bede thus refers to it: 'Before he (Columba) passed over into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great number of oaks, is in the Scottish tongue called Dearn-ach, the "Field of Oaks,"² the name used by Adamnan is Dair-mag. Durrow was situated in King's county, and with the adjoining territory was granted in the same manner as Derry, by a chieftain of the name of Brendan. The notice of it in Dr Reeves' introduction is specially interesting: 'Durrow was among the earliest and most important, but not the most enduring of St Columba's foundations in Ireland. The old Irish Life calls it "reclis" Abbey Church, and mentions the name of Colman Mor, the second son of King Diarmait, in connection with it. A sculptured cross called Columkille's Cross, stands in the churchyard, and near it is Columkille's well. The most interesting relic of the Abbey is the beautiful Evangelium known as the Book of Durrow, a manuscript approaching, if not reaching, the Columbian age, and now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. An ancient Irish poem remains, professing to be the composition of St Columba, on the occasion of his departure from Dearnagh for the last time. In reference to the early administration of it we give the following lines:—

Beloved the excellent seven,
Whom Christ has chosen to His kingdom
To whom I leave, for their purity,
The constant care of this my church.

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 122.

² Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 114.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, p. xciii., for description and history of the relic.

A. D. 521-563

Three of whom are here at this side,
Cormac, son of Dima, and Ængus,
And Collan of pure heart,
Who has joined himself to them.

Libren, Senan, comely Conrach,
The son of Ua Chein, and his brother,
Are the four beside the others,
Who shall arrive at this place.

They are the seven pillars,
And they are the seven chiefs,
Whom God has surely commanded
To dwell in the same abode.¹

Kells, as well-known a foundation as Derry or Dearmagh, is of a later date, but whether it was founded by Columba is an open question. The authority for it being so, is the 'Old Irish Life,' which says, that 'Colum-cille marked out the city in extent as it now is, and blessed it all.' O'Donnell says, it was granted to him by the territorial chief Diarmait, 'in amends for injuries done him.' St Columba then was in the full vigour of manhood, had been for some years a spiritual chief, and, as will be seen, was seldom out of some broil, it is therefore not unlikely that he obtained the grant for injuries real or fancied. If a church was founded by him, it must have been considerable during his lifetime and for long afterwards; Kells only attained importance when the community of Hy, in the beginning of the ninth century, found an asylum there. It was then assigned them: 'Kells was given without battle to St Columkille the harmonious, in this year A.D. 804.' It afterwards became the chief seat of the Columbian brotherhood. There are several indications of the ancient importance of the place still remaining, the Round Tower, about ninety feet high, the curious Oratory called St Columkille's House, three crosses covered with historical representations from Scripture, and, above all, the 'Book of Kells,' now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.²

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. xlix.-l.² *Ibid.* pp. lii.-xciv.

The other foundations in Ireland ascribed to St Columba are thirty-seven, the date of their origin it is impossible to ascertain with certainty, probably from A.D. 546 to 562. They are situated chiefly in the north, west, and centre of Ireland, in lonely isles, in savage fastnesses, as well as in the centres of population, they testify to the restless energy and devoted life of the Christian missionary and his associates.

What we have chronicled of St Columba, and we have omitted the usual angelic visitations and miracles of his youth and childhood, differs little from the saints of the time, or indeed of any other time; there is a strong family likeness in all biographies of this class. Had we no other data to go on, had we not a picture of him in his civil relations told by other than pious enthusiasts, he would not assume the commanding position in which he appears; he would be but a lay figure dressed up in orthodox saints' garments. His character indeed is but a reflex of the times in which, and the people among whom he lived, and it is difficult to throw ourselves back to the state of society then; almost in the same page of the old chronicles, we read of atrocious and saintly deeds; sinners and saints mix as in a Walpurgis revel. An attraction towards a religious life, unknown now, existed in Ireland at the time; the sphere of influence in the Church seemed as attractive as in the State, the scions of the reigning families chose either indifferently. There was no strict law of primogeniture, and the best, or the most popular man of the sept, took, or was raised to, the position of Ri or chief. Sometimes he declined this, and made choice of the spiritual headship the church, but it by no means prevented him from taking part in politics and war, and in the latter he brought to the field, not only his vassals, but the brethren over whom he presided; it was not until the year A.D. 804 that in Ireland the functions of the soldier were made incompatible with those of the ecclesiastic.¹ In addition, sad to relate, many of the great Irish saints were very short in the temper, impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injuries. Though denied the relief so

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 409-10.

A.D. 563-597. grateful to a man, of a 'goot swore at lairge,' they made up for it in excommunications, fastings, and cursings against the parties who had incurred their displeasure; even rival saints occasionally had a kind of duel; whose cursing was the most powerful. The fasting has died out in modern times, but the other two religious exercises are still practised in a mild sort of way.

St Columba himself was no specimen of the meek saint. Adamnan tells us that he pursued a plunderer with curses, following the retiring boat into the sea till the water reached his knees.¹ He also cursed a miser who refused the rites of hospitality;² on another occasion he excommunicated 'some destroyers of the churches,' one of them a year afterwards 'was slain with a dart, shot, it is said, in the name of St Columba.'³ Taking into consideration these characteristics, and the historical events about to be related, the remarks of Mr O'Donovan seem singularly apposite: 'The bards and lay writers have represented Columkille as warlike, which they regarded as praiseworthy, for it implied that he possessed the characteristics of his great ancestors, Niall Naighiallach and Conall Galban; and these in their rude simplicity have left us more materials for forming a true estimate of his character than are supplied by the more artful descriptions of his miracles and visions by Cumian and Adamnan.'⁴

In A.D. 561 was fought the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, in A.D. 563 St Columba left for Dalriada in Scotland. The general belief is, that he was in a manner compelled to do so on account of his share in this action, but whether the motive was disapprobation of the clergy at one of their number mixing himself up in a civil war, or simply that he and his friends had the worst of it, and his absence for the time seemed desirable, is problematical; both may have had their share. His biographer treats the matter very tenderly: 'For indeed after the lapse of many years, when St Columba was excommunicated by a certain synod for some pardonable and very trifling reasons, and indeed unjustly, as it afterwards appeared at the end, he

¹ Life, p. 52.

² *Ibid.* p. 50.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 53-4.

⁴ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 194.

came to the same meeting convened against himself.'¹ The majority concurred in the verdict (*in passim* there is no mention of an appeal to the Archbishop of Armagh or the Pope), but he was so strongly supported by SS. Brendan and Finnian of Moville, that the synod 'paused in their dread work,' and Adamnan says, that after the remarks of the first-mentioned father, 'they desisted, and so far from daring to hold the saint any longer excommunicated, they even treated him with the greatest respect and reverence.'² He significantly, however, adds, in the next chapter after describing an angelic visitation: 'About that time the holy man, with his twelve disciples, and fellow-soldiers, sailed across to Britain.'²

A.D. 563-597.

The event which led to the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, is very singular, and testifies to the saint's abilities as a scribe, and perhaps his desire for propagating the Holy Scriptures. St Finnian had a copy of the Gospels, or Psalms,³ which St Columba surreptitiously copied; on hearing of this, St Finnian at once demanded possession of the copy made. 'Finnian said that it was to himself belonged the son-book (copy) which was written from his book;' the dispute as to ownership was high, and both claimants selected King Diarmuid as judge between them. 'This is the decision that Diarmuid made; 'that to every book belongs its son-book, as to every cow belongs her calf.' St Columba was naturally enough dissatisfied, and enlisting his own friends on his side, he had no difficulty in fomenting a strife which issued in the battle previously named. We have had since many actions for breach of copyright, but never a stricken field. Strange to say, it is not mentioned whether Columba retained his book or had to give it up. The manuscript, which not improbably is in the handwriting of the saint in its silver case, is termed the Cathach, and is still preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.⁴

This is undoubtedly the most interesting account of why this famous battle was fought, and there can not be

¹ Life, p. 79.² *Ibid.* p. 80.³ Reeves' Adamnan, p. xlii.⁴ See Reeves' Life, pp. lxxxv.-vii.

A.D. 563-597. the slightest doubt that St Columba was in some way the occasion of it, and that rightly or wrongly he had fallen under the ban of public opinion on account of his quarrelsome disposition. Not to mince words, 'his withdrawal to North Britain was a sort of penance, which was, with his own consent, imposed upon him in consequence of his having fomented domestic feuds that resulted in sanguinary engagements.'¹

Several causes are told by Keating, which we give in the translation by Dr Reeves: 'Now this is the cause why Molaise sentenced Columcille to go into Alba, because it came of him to occasion three battles in Erin, viz., the battle of Cul Dreimhne, the battle of Rathán, and the battle of Cuil Feadha. The cause of the battle of Cul-Feadha, according to the old book called the *Leabhar Uidhre* of Ciarán, Diarmuid, son of Fergus Cerbhoil, King of Ireland, made the feast of Tara, and a noble man was killed at that feast by Curnán, son of Aodh, son of Eochuidh Tiorm-carna, wherefore Diarmuid killed him in revenge for that, because he committed murder at the feast of Tara, against law and the sanctuary of the feast; and before Curnán was put to death he fled to the protection of Columcille, and notwithstanding the protection of Columcille he was killed by Diarmuid. And from that it arose that Columcille mustered the Clanna Neill of the North, because his own protection, and the protection of the sons of Earc was violated; whereupon the battle of Cuil-Dreimhne was gained over Diarmuid, and over the Connaughtmen, so that they were defeated through the prayers of Columcille. The Black Book of Molaga assigns another cause (that given previously).²

'This was the cause which brought Columcille to be induced to fight the battle of Cuil-Rathán against the Dal-nr-Araidhe, and against the Ultonians, viz., in consequence of the controversy that took place between Colum and Comgall, because they took part against Colum in that controversy.

'This was the cause that occasioned the fighting of the battle of Cul-Feadha against Colmán Mac Diarmada,

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. xli.

² *Ante*, p. 151.

viz., in revenge for his having been outraged in the case of Baodan, son of Ninnéadh (King of Erin), who was killed by Cuimin, son of Colman, at Leim-an-eich, in violation of the sanctuary of Colum.'¹ A. D. 562-597.

In justice to the character of so distinguished a saint, we give the opinion of Dr Lanigan on the circumstances detailed: 'Who does not see, that this is not history but poetry, and that there is scarcely a word of truth in it, except that such a battle was fought, and that it is very probable that St Columba, without having been at all concerned in bringing it about, prayed for the protection of his kinsmen and their subjects against the fury of Diermit, who was bent on exterminating them. No one of common sense will admit the fable of the quarrel about the book, the ground-work of this ludicrous drama. And as to any dispute between Columba and Finnian, it is evident from Adamnan, that it did not occur, and that these two saints retained their mutual friendship and esteem to the last. Equally groundless is his having been ordered to do penance for what occurred in that war, and to subject himself to perpetual exile.'² The criticism of the historian of the Irish Church is too destructive; had he pursued it further, he would have been disowned by church and country.

The greatness of the work accomplished by St Columba in the later portion of his life, alone can justify the length at which we have dwelt on his earlier career. Even the panegyric by Adamnan is not without light and shade; the reader between the lines will readily trace the irascible and overbearing nature of the man; the saintly envelop drapes, does not conceal the rugged form. Unless we use the peculiar argument of Dr Lanigan, that anything derogatory to the ecclesiastical standing of a saint, 'is poetry, and scarcely a word of truth in it.' St Columba was a thorough man of the

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. xli-iii. Keating's Irish seems a puzzle to scholars, the account in O'Connor's translation, vol. ii. p. 50, differs from the above, but Dr Reeves must be the true one, as it has the imprimatur of Miss Cusack, who, however, borrows it without acknowledgment. Cusack's Columba, p. 75.

² Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 148.

A. D. 563-597.

times, immersed in secular, as well as sacred affairs, prompt to take umbrage, and as prompt to punish, in the readiest manner that came to hand. That he left Ireland of his own free will is certain, it is as certain that he was under no ecclesiastical ban, to which he attached any weight, for the simple reason, that there was neither association nor head in the country to issue such a decree.

What may be safely gathered from the conflicting opinions is, that a certain amount of odium became attached to the saint on account of his belligerent proclivities, that his friends got the worst of it in his quarrels, and that he, fully alive to both of these considerations, thought a temporary withdrawal from the scene of these events not undesirable.

He needed a change, and felt he might be as well out of the way of his detractors; in Alba was a new and interesting field of labour, there, to make a name and spread the cause of Christ. The country was new and the inhabitants heathens, but not altogether so, for his kinsmen had a strong and respectable footing on the borders of the Pictish kingdom. As for the dangerous nature of the enterprise, St Columba never feared the face of man, the elements, or the wild beasts of the forest; hardship and toil he had chosen for his lot, privation was the spiritual regimen of the age. When he departed he severed no ties, he surrendered no jurisdiction, he returned repeatedly, and took part in civil and religious transactions; his great monastery of Durrow, on the borders of the territory of his bitter enemy, was never disturbed. Indeed he was far from losing his warlike reputation, for two of the battles alluded to, have been antedated¹ in order to envelop his later career in a halo of sanctity. He was the same man to the end, ardent, pious, irascible, endued with, and displaying the strongest passions of his age and country, war, and religion.

In A. D. 563 Columba, now in his forty-second year, passed over to Scottish Dalriada, accompanied by twelve

¹ See Reeves' Adamnan, pp. xlvii.-iii.

disciples, or attendants,¹ whether by special invitation A. D. 563-597. from his relatives or no, is uncertain.

Romance, for by no other name can it be called, has invested the departure of St Columba with singular pathos, and is embodied in a very beautiful poem, said to have been composed by the saint, 'St Columba's Farewell to Aran.' Dr Reeves is very sceptical whether any of the poems attributed to him are genuine, and later writers have brought nothing forward to support their claims to authenticity.

As to the authenticity of, and the details mentioned in this poem, we have to say that we have been unable to discover whether St Columba ever was in Arran; it is not among his foundations in the list given by Dr Reeves.² Even granting it was a Columbian foundation, yet taking into consideration the busy life of the saint, it is very improbable that he should have spent so much time, as to be so passionately attached to the locality and the society there as the poem would indicate. Besides, it is distinctly stated that St Columba departed on his mission from Derry. But such is the glamour which surrounds saints, that even a historian like Mr Froude, accepts the romance, and makes the poem the subject of a most eloquent passage; (poor Queen Mary's antecedents were subjected to a more searching criticism :) 'Columba was a hermit in Arran, a rocky island in the Atlantic, outside Galway Bay, from which he was summoned, we do not know how, but in a manner which appeared to him to be a divine call, to go away and be Bishop³ of Iona.' The poem is 'a Farewell to Aran,' which he wrote on leaving it, and he lets us see something of a hermit's life there. 'Farewell,' he begins (we are obliged to quote from memory), 'a long farewell to thee, Aran of my heart, Paradise is with thee; the garden of God within the sound of bells. The angels love Aran. Each day

¹ The number is arbitrary, and is but an exemplification of the desire which prevailed in the early ages of Christianity, to imitate even the accidental features of the apostolic system. See numerous examples illustrating this in Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. lxxi.-vi.

² *Ibid.* pp. xlix.-lx.

³ A rank he never attained.

A. D. 563-597. an angel comes there to join in its services.' And then he goes on to describe his 'dear cell,' and the holy, happy hours he had spent there, 'with the wind whistling through the loose stones, and the sea spray hanging on his hair.' Arran is no better than a wild rock. It is strewed over with the ruins, which may still be seen, of the old hermitages; and at their best they could have been but such places as sheep would huddle under in a storm, and shiver in the cold and wet, which would pierce through the chinks of the walls.¹ This is very touching, but it is no true picture of St Columba and his associates; it is simply a highly-coloured picture of later times—the hermit monks of the third order of Irish saints.

The poem is interesting as a relic of what may be called the Columbian age, though even this is doubtful, and being in no accessible work to the general public, we give it in full.

St Columba's Farewel to Aran.²

Literally Translated.

On this Farewel we make no other comment, but that it proves the creed of Colum Kill, as a Christian divine, beyond possibility of doubt; and next direct the Scottish antiquity to compare it with Deirdri's Lamentation, to endeavour an ascertainment of its date. The Farewel is undoubtedly Colum Kill's composition, and it is universally admitted as historic fact that he flourished in the sixth century. It is in the identical stile and metre of Deirdri's Lamentation.

COLUM KILL SUNG.

Farewel from me to Aran,
A sad farewel to my feeling;
I am sent eastward to Hy,
And it separated since the flood!

¹ Short Studies on Great Subjects, vol. ii. pp. 215-6, ed. 1867.

² Extracted from the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, vol. i. pp. 179-189. 1808.

- 5 Farewel from me to Aran ;—
It is it anguishes my heart,
Not to be westward at her waves,
Amidst groupes of the Saints of Heaven !
- 9 Farewel from me to Aran ;
It has vanquished my heart of faith,
It is the farewel lasting ;—
Oh ! not of my will is the separation !
- 13 Farewel from me to Aran ;—
It is the farewel sad ;
And she filled of angels fair ;—
I without an attendant in my cot !
- 17 O ! Modan great, son of Merseng,
Fair prosperity to thee what I say,
I being sent a far ;—
You established in Aran !
- 21 Alas ! its far ;—alas ! its far,¹
I have been sent from Aran west,
Towards the population of Mona east,
To visit the Albanachs ! (*men of Alba.*)
- 25 Son of the living God—O ! Son of the living God ;
It is He sent me to Hy ;
It was He gave, great the benefit,
Ara as the habitation of PENITENTS !
- 29 Aran, thou Sun,—Oh ! Aran, thou Sun,²
My affection is buried in her westward ;
Alike to be under her earth pure,
As under earth of Peter and Paul !
- 33 Aran, thou Sun,—O ! Aran, thou Sun,
My love lies in it west,
If within the sound of its bell,
Alike is it from any one as to be in happiness.
- 37 Aran, thou Sun,—O ! Aran, thou Sun,
My love is buried in it west ;
Each who goes under her earth pure,
Him sees not eye of Devil.

¹ From this forward to the end, the metre is changed from *alternate* to *direct*.

² The poet here compares Aran to the *setting sun*, from its western situation ; or, because from being the most frequented by penitents, and from the eminent sanctity of its monks, it shone as a luminary among the other islands sacred to heavenly contemplation.

A. D. 563-597.

- 41 O ! Aran blessed,—O ! Aran blessed,
Woe to him who is inimical to it also ;
For to him is given for it
Shortness of life and Hell.
- 45 O ! Aran blessed,—O ! Aran blessed,
Woe to those who are inimical to it also ;
Their children and their cattle waste,
They themselves at *the other side*¹ will be in bad condition.
- 49 O ! Aran blessed,—O ! Aran blessed,
Woe to him at once who is her enemy ;
And that Angels come from on high
To visit it every day in the week.
- 53 Gabriel on every Sunday comes,
For it is Christ so ordered ;
Fifty angels (not weak the cause),
Sanctifying her masses.
- 57 On every Monday,—Oh ! on every Monday,
Cometh Michael, great the advantage,
Thirty Angels, propitious their practice,
To bless her churches.
- 61 On every Tuesday,—Oh ! on every Tuesday,
Cometh Raphael, of mysterious power,
To bless her mansion there,
To maintain the piety of Aran.
- 65 Wednesday hard,—Oh ! Wednesday hard,
Cometh Uriel, great the advantage ;
Thrice to bless
Her churches high, angelic.
- 69 Every Thursday,—Oh ! every Thursday,
Cometh Sariel, great the treasure,
Dispensing God's benefits from Heaven
On bare stones that day.
- 73 On Friday,—Oh ! on Friday,
Cometh Ramael and his host,
So that every eye is satiated by him,
Of angels fair, truly bright.
- 77 From Garman's (*Wrexford*) coast hither,
To Leinster's stream of Leighlin,
-

¹ Meaning *the other side* of the grave.

81 Cometh Mary, Mother of the Son of God,
And her charge along with her.
Angels are in the groupe;
They bless it on Saturday.

A. D. 563-597.

85 Tho' there should be no existing life,
But hearing of the Angels of Aran,
Better than any life under Heaven,
To hear their Hymns of praise.

St Columba, with his twelve companions, left Derry in a curach or wherry, made of wicker work, and covered with hides. Tradition says, perhaps without any authority, that they landed at Colonsay, and because Ireland was still in sight, pushed on till the green hills were lost to view; they *may* have touched at this island for some reason or other, but their chief knew well his destination Iona. It is said in Scottish tradition, that approaching this island, the saint exclaimed, 'Chi mi i.' I see it, whence the island derived its name of I or Hy, by which alone it is called in the Gaelic language.¹ The name by which it is generally known, seems to be a corruption of Ioua, with the addition of insula. Adamnan's practice, with regard to the names of islands, is to put them in the adjective form agreeing with insula, and thus he deals with Hy in the sixty occasions where he makes mention of it.² In Codex A the reading is Ioua insula, in the later codices B and D Ioua, a corruption evidently, which has been generally adopted. 'Still, however, the old forms Icolmkill, Ycolmkill, and Ecolmkill, were almost universally employed in legal documents! while in vernacular E-choluim-chille has from time immemorial, been the only recognised name of the island among the Gaelic population,³ we shall use the word Hy, it being the term used previously in the Life of St Kentigern, other early authorities, and by Dr Reeves.

We proceed with the narrative, reserving notice of the island and the institution there.

¹ MacLauchlan's Early Scottish Church, p. 152.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxvii.

³ *Ibid.* p. cxxx., etc.

A. D. 563-597.

The brethren who accompanied St Columba were all his blood relations, and looked to him as their chief. He was a king invading a hostile country at the head of a small but devoted army. We need not say that he had then no higher rank than presbyter or priest; and that he never sought higher; the great promoters of the conventual system desired no higher rank in the church, than what would enable them consistently with their views of humility, to administer the sacraments, and conduct the ordinary devotions of their fraternity. The abbatial office gave them all the jurisdiction of the episcopate, without its responsibilities, and little more was left to the bishop, than the dignity and personal reverence due to the office. There was during the whole Columbian period little episcopacy, no subservience to the Pope or any foreign potentate, but the system was very far removed from Presbyterianism; as far as the voter of the present day who exercises his suffrage is removed from the clansman who was bound to follow his chief to the field whenever and wherever summoned.

Adamnan describes Columba: 'For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate prudence; he lived a soldier of Christ during thirty-four years in an island. He never could spend the space of even one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of each of those austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still in all these he was beloved by all, for a holy joy ever beaming on his face revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul.'¹

Adamnan and the Irish Annals state that Hy was a donation from Conall the Dalriadic monarch, a relative of St Columba, and with whom he had an interview during the previous year. Bede's statement, however, is that 'he received of Bridius, the powerful king of the Pictish nation, the aforesaid island for a monastery.'

¹ Adamnan, p. 3.

Both may have a foundation in fact; the island was on the confines of the two monarchies, and the probability is, that the King of the Picts confirmed the grant of the Dalriadic chief; its tenure was in a manner subject to the consent of either, and it was a most convenient centre for religious intercourse with both. In addition Hy was in proximity to Ireland, from whence it received numerous accessions and visitors. The Angles were not a naval power, the Norsemen were still in their fiords, and a more secure, and at the same time suitable refuge could not be found, where enthusiastic and pious men could be trained for the conversion of the heathen Picts. Columba undoubtedly had these considerations in view when he established himself with his community at Hy, but what period elapsed between his landing and the prosecution of his missionary labours is unknown; dates are a weak point in hagiography. It is very probable that he lost no time.

A.D. 563-597.

The Venerable Bede's short but succinct account is perhaps the only one which embraces the *historical facts* and no more: 'Columba came into Britain in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius, who was the son of Meilochon (elsewhere called Mailcuin), and the powerful King of the Pictish nation, and he converted that nation to the faith of Christ, by his preaching and example, whereupon he also received of them the aforesaid island for a monastery, for it is not very large, but contains about five families, according to the English computation. His successors hold the island to this day; he was also buried therein, having died at the age of seventy-seven, about thirty-two years after he came into Britain to preach.'¹ The further particulars are but amplifications or inventions of Cummian, Adamnan, and later writers.

St Columba accompanied, as some say, by SS. Comgall and Cainnech, set out to visit the Pictish monarch at his capital near Inverness; Dr Reeves thinks it was situate at the vitrified fort on the summit of Craig Phadraig, a rocky elevation which forms one of the peaks of the romantic range of hills stretching along the north

¹ Bede, p. 114.

A. D. 563-597. side of the river Ness, westward from the town. The journey was, in those days, no ordinary one, even if undertaken at a favourable period of the year. Traveling in the Highlands, until the enterprise of David Hutcheson made it a pleasure, was a most arduous undertaking.¹ The roads for which 'we hold up our hands and bless General Wade,' were not yet formed, and the grandeur of the scenery would compensate little for the fatigue and danger inseparable from the route. 'In proceeding on his journey St Columba and his party would have to cross the Sound of Iona, where, unless on exceptionally fine days, a wild and broken sea runs; (though this and other sea voyages may not count for much, as on many occasions a favourable wind and a calm sea were granted to prayer) landing in Mull they had a journey of fifty miles before them, then another ferry of four miles brought them to Oban.' This is the route Mr Maclauchlan sketches, but we see no reason why the saint should not have taken the route of the *Pioneer*, in his own well found and seaworthy curach; as we have seen, the Irish upper class at that time had well-appointed, even luxurious vessels; besides, the sea had no terror for Celtic saints then or later on. The remainder of the journey on foot, through a barbarous country, over mountain, loch, and arms of the sea, involved both hardship and danger. The route must be wholly imaginary, but Adamnan states that he crossed 'trans dorsum Britanniae,' this could hardly be the summit of the Grampians, but rather the low level between the east and west coasts; this level is found between Loch Oich and Loch Lochy, and here lies a place called 'Acha-drom,' *Ager dorsii*, or the field of the ridge, which may be what is meant. The route is further identified by a

¹ These Hielands of ours, as we ca' them, are but a wild kind of warld by themsells, full of heichts and howes, woods, caverns, lochs, rivers, and mountains, that it wad tire the very deevil's wings to flee to the tap o' them—it's ill speaking o' Hielanmen sae near the line. I hae ken'd mony an honest man wadna hae ventured this length without he had made his last will and testament. Mattie had ill-will to see me set awa' on this ride, and grat awee, the sillie tawpie.—Rob Roy, chaps. xxvi., xxvii.

statement of Adamnan, who relates that travelling near Loch Ness he came to a district called Airchart-dan, Gaelic 'Urchudain,' where he converted a dying man with his whole household. This district is the beautiful Glen Urquhart of the present day, embosomed in hills on the west side of Loch Ness; Glen-arochdan is the local pronunciation of the name.¹ A.D. 563-597.

On approaching the royal fortress of Pictland it is narrated, 'When the saint made his first journey to King Brude, it happened that the king, elated by the pride of royalty, acted haughtily, and would not open his gates to the blessed man.' But he had a king to do with, not a suppliant. 'When the man of God observed this, he approached the folding-doors with his companions, and having first formed upon them the sign of the cross of our Lord, he then knocked at, and laid his hand upon the gate, which instantly flew open of its own accord, the bolts having been driven back with great force. The saint and his companions then passed through the gate thus speedily opened. And when the king learned what had occurred, he and his councillors were filled with alarm, and immediately setting out from the palace, he advanced to meet, with due respect, the blessed man, whom he addressed in the most conciliating and respectful language. And ever after from that day, so long as he lived, the king held this holy and reverend man in very great honour, as was due.'² The occurrence is substantially the same in the Irish Life, with the addition, that the king's son and his druid contended, by the aid of magic, against the saint, but died suddenly by the prayers of Columcille.³ It is interesting to compare Augustine's reception farther south a few years later; in both cases the visits of the missionaries were not unexpected, and they seem to have inspired a wholesome terror, which needed, however, not a few miracles to preserve. Augustine notified his arrival to King Ethelbert, who hesitated whether he should receive him, and ordered him to remain where

¹ MacLauchlan's Early Scottish Church, p. 156; Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 87, 291.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.* p. 277.

A. D. 563-597. he had landed—in the Isle of Thanet. On consideration, unlike King Brude, he civilly requested a conference, but in the open air: ‘For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him.’¹ The Italian missionary had a milder way than the Celtic, or perhaps he did not possess the same miraculous powers, for Bede says, ‘They came furnished with divine, not magic virtue, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and singing the litany, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were now come.’² This well got up spectacle, assisted by subsequent interviews, had a better effect even than Columba’s forcible entrance—the king was baptised in the Medway along with ten thousand of his subjects.

That St Columba planted the seeds of Christianity in Pictland while on this visit is an incontestable fact, that he did more cannot be proved; there is no record of King Brude or any considerable number of his subjects making their public profession. Though Brude was always friendly to the missionary, his attachment seems one more of fear than conviction; the minister of the new religion appeared to him a more powerful magician than those of the old. Even this wholesome fear was not to be attained without a struggle, which seems a kind of travestie of that detailed in the Book of Exodus. Columba is a second Moses, who beats the magicians with their own weapons; the victorious faith in both cases credits its miracles to a power from on high; those of the defeated party are relegated to a lower source.³

Adamnan’s Life is no consecutive narrative; but the

¹ Bede, p. 37.

² *Ibid.* p. 38.

³ Miss Cusack is of opinion that it was no *travestie*, and that a genuine parallel may be drawn. Can she have readers who do not smile when she says, ‘There is no doubt that pagan priests had astounding powers, and that the conversion of a nation was fought out on other than earthly battle grounds. As the *magi* of the Egyptians opposed Moses, so, for the same part, have the false prophets of

following circumstance seems the commencement of the duel between Columba and the Druids: 'When the saint himself was chanting the evening hymns with a few of the brethren, as usual, outside the king's fortifications, some Druids, coming near to them, did all they could to prevent God's praises being sung in the midst of a pagan nation. On seeing this the saint began to sing the 44th Psalm, and at the same moment so wonderfully loud, like pealing thunder, did his voice become, that king and people were struck with terror and amazement.'¹ The voice had a peculiarity which *powerful* singers seldom have. In the same chapter Adamnan informs us that, 'When singing in the church with the brethren, he raised his voice so wonderfully, that it was sometimes heard four furlongs off, and sometimes eight. But what is stranger still, to those who were with him in church, his voice did not sound louder than that of others, and yet at the same time persons more than a mile away heard it so distinctly that they could mark each syllable of the verses he was singing, for his voice sounded the same whether far or near.'¹ The patriarch Judah, according to equally good authority, had a much more powerful voice, but we are not informed whether he had the latter peculiarity mentioned: 'Then Joseph ordered Benjamin to be chained. And when Judah saw this he roared like a lion, and his voice was so piercing that Cuschim, the son of Dan, who was in Canaan, heard him, and began to roar also. And he roared again, and all the walls of Memphis rocked, and the earth shook, and Pharaoh was shaken off his throne and fell on his face, and the roar of Judah was heard four hundred miles off.'²

all pagan peoples opposed the entrance of the Gospel of Light. The demoniacal arts which the powers of darkness were permitted to exercise, were often of a surprising character, and were ever used for man's temporal or spiritual hurt.—Cusack's *St Columba*, p. 138. Dr Lanigan, who wrote before the *revival of the faith in miracles* among educated Romanists, very sensibly says next to nothing on these astounding events.—Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 155.

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 28.

² Baring Gould's *Old Testament Legends*, vol. ii. p. 44, where authorities are cited.

A.D. 563-597.

The saint's most inveterate enemy among the magi or Druids was one named Broichan. Brude seems to have patronised ministers of both religions, for Broichan was about the person of the king. St Columba, from motives of humanity and kinship, besought the Druid to liberate a female Scotie slave in his possession; on his refusal the saint spoke to him to the following effect: 'Know, O Broichan, and be assured that if thou refuse to set this captive free, as I desire thee, that thou shalt die suddenly before I take my departure again from this province.' Having said this in presence of Brude, the king, he departed from the royal palace, and proceeded to the river Ness; from this stream he took a white pebble, and showing it to his companions, said to them: 'Behold this white pebble, by which God will effect the cure of many diseases among this heathen nation.' Having thus spoken, he instantly added, 'Broichan is chastened grievously at this moment. . . .' While he was yet speaking messengers in hot haste arrived from the court saying, 'The king and his friends have sent us to thee to request that thou wouldst cure his foster-father Broichan, who lieth in a dying state.' Columba answered, 'If Broichan shall first promise to set the maiden free, then at once immerse this little stone in water, and let him drink from it, and he shall be instantly cured; but if he break his vow and refuse to liberate her, he shall die that instant.' The messengers returned. Broichan at once complied with the terms, obeyed the instructions, and instantly returning from the verge of death, recovered perfect health and soundness of body. This remarkable pebble, which was afterwards preserved among the treasures of the king, through the mercy of God effected the cure of sundry diseases among the people, while it in the same manner floated when dipped in water. And what is very wonderful, when this same stone was sought for by those sick persons whose term of life had arrived, it could not be found. Thus, on the very day on which King Brude died, though it was sought for, yet it could not be found in the place where it had been previously laid.¹

¹ Adamnan, pp. 59, 60.

There is a fine touch of conscious or unconscious humour here; the custodiers of the stone could gauge the illness, and it could not be found when the diagnosis was unfavourable.¹ A.D. 563-597.

Broichan, one would think, if not converted by this miracle, would have refrained from acts of hostility against Columba, but the reverse was the case, his heart was hardened, and he even measured his magical powers against those of the holy man derived from a higher source. Why, can be told only by a believer in the story; sister Mary Frances Clare says: 'But the Druid was not yet converted—a proof that fear may compel submission when it does not effect conversion; that miracles may be seen and recognised, and yet have no effect on the hardened soul. Indeed, when the miracles of our Divine Lord failed to convert some who witnessed them, the miracles of His disciples could not be more efficacious.'¹ Broichan asked Columba, 'When dost thou purpose to set sail?' his reply was, 'After three days from this time.' Broichan said, 'On the contrary, thou shalt not be able, for I can make the winds unfavourable to thy voyage, and cause a great darkness to envelop you in its shade.' Upon this the saint observed: 'The almighty power of God ruleth all things, and in His name and under His guiding providence all our movements are directed.' What more need I say. That some day, the saint, accompanied by a large number of followers went to the long lake of the river Nesa (Loch Ness), as he had determined. Then the Druids began to exult, seeing that it had become very dark, and that the wind was very violent and contrary. Adamnan *does* say a little more before he narrates the sequel, for he brings to the recollection a miracle performed by St Germanus under similar circumstances, while he was crossing the channel. 'Our Columba, therefore, seeing that the sea was violently agitated, and that the wind was most unfavourable for his voyage, called on Christ the Lord, and

¹ Miss Cusack takes it all in A.D. 1877, and caps it with a similar one. 'A similar miracle is related by St Basil, who says that St Thecla appeared to Alypius and gave him a round stone, by the touch of which he was cured of a long and dangerous sickness.—Cusack's Columba, p. 137.

A. D. 563-597. embarked in his small boat ; and whilst the sailors hesitated, he the more confidently ordered them to raise their sails against the wind. No sooner was this order executed, while the whole crowd was looking on, than the vessel ran against the wind with extraordinary speed, and after a short time the wind, which hitherto had been against them, veered round to help them on their voyage, to the intense astonishment of all. And thus throughout the remainder of that day the light breeze continued most favourable, and the skiff of the blessed man was carried safely to the wished-for haven.¹ The biographer unnecessarily piles up the agony here ; there was no use of changing the wind when a contrary one had the same effect.

So ended St Columba's first missionary visit to Pictland, and the little we know of it should make us, not only tolerate, but be thankful for the loquacity of our missionaries in their magazine communications. Had St Columba, instead of writing poetry, kept a journal, had he told us what he ate and drank, when his sheets were damp, or that none had been provided, how courteous King Brude had been, how the Queen and her ladies sent for him, and loaded him with favours ; had he told us what the arguments of Broichan were, and how triumphantly he had refuted them, and, best of all, had he needed padding for an article, had he filled it up with descriptions of the scenery and people he had seen, contrasting the green fields of Derry with the rugged mountains he had passed, the pious and civilised Scoti with the pagan and barbarous Picts, how invaluable would the information be? But we have no account of his labours from his own pen, and gossipy, though pious biographers, cared little for these trifling particulars, or perhaps thought people knew all about them.

It is more than probable that on his first visit Columba was under the necessity of employing an interpreter, indeed, it is so stated twice in the Life.² But setting aside the so-called affinity between the Gadhelic and Pictish tongue, which no one can prove or disprove, it is more than likely that he would acquire a knowledge sufficient to make himself understood on future occasions. Though

¹ Adamnan, p. 61.

² *Ibid.* pp. 25-28.

Miss Cusack says : ' he had not the gift of tongues,' he has the credit of being an accomplished linguist. MacFirbis (Geneal. MS. p. 407) cites the following stanzas from the Amhra of Columkille in proof of this :—

A.D. 565-577.

'The people of Alba to the Ictian Sea (British Channel),
The Gaedhill, Cruithneans, Saxons, Saxo-Brits ;
Best of men was the man who went to them
Thirty years did he preach to them.'¹

There can be no doubt that the apostle of the Picts paid several visits to the capital, and to other parts of the country, and also that he was confronted stoutly by the native priesthood, if they ever existed ; paganism, as a religion, did not collapse as in Ireland. We should also imagine that he left labourers to continue his work and build up the infant church, but this is all imagination, there is no record to go by. Adamnan has preserved but four names of churches founded by St Columba, and all in the Western Islands. Whether he personally founded any in the land of the Picts can not be ascertained. Dr Lanigan's remarks seem most judicious and exhaustive : ' It will readily be admitted that a church existed, from an early time of St Columba's mission, at the King's residence ; but, although we find a great number of religious establishments, both in that country and in other parts of Scotland, called by his name, or those of his disciples, yet the precise period at which the more ancient of them were formed, cannot, as far as I know, be ascertained.'²

An impartial judgment will rest the fame of St Columba as the founder of a monastic institution, for the training of missionaries and the promotion of Christianity and culture, not as a preacher like St Patrick and others, who swayed the hearts of men, and compelled them to enter into the gospel-fold. For years, for centuries even, after his death, Pictland was pagan, for the victory of the king of the Picts at Nechtansmere in the end of the seventh century was the death-blow to St Cuthbert, Columba's worthiest successor, to him the success of the Picts seemed the ruin of his loved Columbian Church.

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, notes p 276. ² Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 161.

A. D. 563-597.

The Columbian foundations are numerous, showing the great respect in which the saint was held. Among the Scots they number thirty-two.¹ They are distributed over the mainland and the islands, in Rothesay, Largs, Kilmalcolm, Kirkcolm in Wigtoun, at Caerlaverock in Dumfrireshire, on the east side of the mouth of the Nith, 'a little below Glencaple Key, close by the shore was a cell or chapel dedicated to St Columba, near this is a well of which no person was permitted to drink, without leaving a portion of victuals, or a piece of money, as an alms to the inhabitants of the cell.' The greater part, however, are to be found in the Western Islands, Skye, Mull, Tiree, Oransay, Lewis, and others.

The Columbian foundations among the Picts number twenty-one; they extend from Kincardineshire to the Orkneys, but also at Inchcolm, an island in the Forth, at Kincardine-on-Forth, and at Drymen in Stirlingshire, Dunkeld stands on the same footing as the others. 'It has been stated on respectable authority, that a Columba, circa 640, was first bishop of this church. But on maturer consideration the writer (Dr Reeves) has come to the conclusion that the founder of Hy was the only Columba whose name was ever prominently associated with Dunkeld.'²

The Irish Church foundations, of which Columba was styled pater et fundator, number thirty-seven, for a notice of which we have to refer our readers to Dr Reeves' preface to the Life by Adamnan.

We can not of course tell, but St Columba's life must have been no idle one, organising and superintending his great monastery at Hy, numerous journeys by sea and land, overseeing the churches he had founded in North Britain and Ireland, besides important diplomatic relations with the reigning monarchs and chiefs of both countries. He visited his flock in Ireland several times; his last was subsequent to June 585, when from Durrow he proceeded westward to Clonmacnois where he was received with the warmest tokens of affection and respect. In the course of this visit he is said to have made an amicable settlement of some dispute between the King of

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, Int. pp. xlix.-lxxi.² *Ibid.* p. lxix.

British Dalriada and the monarch of all Ireland. A personal interview took place between him and this august personage, when, after having satisfactorily arranged diplomatic affairs, the saint was the means of doing immense service to Ireland and literature. The King of Ireland had evidently no poetical tastes, for he was on the point of suppressing and even banishing the whole of the privileged order of antiquaries and poets, on account of their intolerable impertinence and veniality. Columba, with the fellow-feeling of one who was himself no tyro in the gentle art, counselled reformation not extirpation. This was agreed to, the number of literary men was reduced, their privileges curtailed,¹ and thus future ages were saved from a calamity which is too frightful to contemplate.

In 574 his commanding influence was shown by his settling, to his own satisfaction, the Dalriadic succession, and establishing it as an independent kingdom.²

Out of the useless and even absurd matter contained in the 'Prophecies,' relieved, however, by passages not without beauty and even humour, we gather: That Columba was interested in the succession spoken of, that he was on friendly terms with the King of the Picts and with Roderic-Rhyderech, who held his court at the Rock of Dumbarton. That he prophesied or *knew* of most of the battles and civil broils in Ireland, even of a bloody duel in Monaghan, fatal to both parties engaged in it. Nothing seems to have been too high or too low for the saint; his prophecies concern kings, saints, bishops, gardeners, peasants and robbers. There is a pretty story of a crane he desired to be fed on its arrival at Hy, that it might make its voyage to Ireland with renewed strength.

In 593 St Columba seems to have been visited with sickness, and brought nigh to death. Such at least may be gathered from chap. xxiii. bk. iii., where an account is given 'of a vision of angels, whom the Saint saw coming to meet his soul, as if to show that it was about to leave the body.' They were not allowed to approach him 'from the prayers of the churches, and four years were added to him to abide in the flesh.'

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii. pp. 237-40. ² *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 205-7.

A.D. 597.

At length, however, the heavenly messengers came on their final errand, and just after midnight on Sunday, 9th June 597, while on his knees at the altar, his spirit gently took flight. The account is very touching, we give a few extracts from it: ¹ 'In the end, then, of this same week—that is, on the day of the Sabbath, the venerable man and his pious attendant Diormit, went to bless the barn, which was near at hand.' Having done so, he congratulated his beloved monks on having sufficient corn for the current year, as it would be his last with them. Sadly Diormit asked him to explain, when he was thus addressed by his master: 'This day, in the holy Scriptures, is called the Sabbath,² which means rest. And this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my present laborious life, and in it I rest after the fatigues of my labours; and this night, at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day, I shall, according to the sayings of Scripture, go the way of our fathers. For already my Lord Jesus Christ designeth to invite me; and to Him I say, in the middle of the night shall I depart, at His invitation; for so it hath been revealed to me by the Lord himself.' The attendant wept bitterly. They left the barn to return to the monastery, and half-way the saint sat down to rest. While seated there came up to him a white pack-horse, the same as that used as a willing servant, to carry the milk-vessels from the cow-shed to the monastery. It came up to the saint, and, strange to say, laid its head on his bosom, and began to utter plaintive cries. The attendant would have driven it off, but the old man forbade him, saying, 'Let it alone, as it is so fond of me; let it pour out its bitter grief into my bosom.' And saying this he blessed his dumb friend, which turned away from him in sadness. After these words he descended the hill, and having returned to the monastery, sat in his hut transcribing the Psalter, and coming to that verse of the 33rd Psalm (English version, Psalm 34), where it is written: 'They that seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.' 'Here,' said he, 'at the end of the page I

¹ Adamnan, chap, xxiv. book iii.

² Were both institutions observed?

must stop ; and what follows let Baithene write : ' He went to the nocturnal vigils. So soon as they were over he returned to his chamber and spent the remainder of the evening in bed. Then, as soon as the bell tolled at midnight, he rose hastily, and went to the church, out-running the rest. He entered it alone, and knelt down beside the altar. A heavenly light illumined the building in the direction of the saint, which quickly disappeared. Diormit felt his way in the darkness, crying out, "Where art thou, father?" He found the saint lying at the altar, and raising him up a little, he sat down beside him, and laid his holy head on his bosom. The monks crowded round the dying man, unable to speak. By the help of Diormit, Columba raised his right hand that he might bless the brethren. In this, the attitude of benediction, with a heavenly joy illuminating his face, the venerable father passed quietly away.' Meanwhile the whole church resounded with loud lamentations of grief. 'After his holy soul had departed, and the matin hymns were finished, his sacred body was carried by the brethren, chanting psalms from the church back to his chamber, from which, a little before, he had come alive ; and his obsequies were celebrated with all due honour and reverence for three days and as many nights. And when these sweet praises of God were ended, the venerable body of our holy and blessed patron was wrapped in a clean shroud of fine linen, and, being placed in the coffin prepared for it, was buried with all due veneration, to rise again with lustrous and eternal brightness.'

The remains of St Columba were permitted to lie undisturbed for a century or more. Bede speaks of them resting there in his time : 'The monastery in which the body lies.'¹ 'In the course of the eighth century it is probable that his bones were disinterred, and deposited in a shrine or shrines ; and once enshrined, they were not likely to be restored to the earth, because every passing year would increase the veneration which led to the first exposure.'² The claimants for the sacred relics are—

¹ Bede's Ecc. History, p. 114.

² Reeves' Adamnan, pp. lxxix.-lxxx.

A.D. 597.

Downpatrick, the neighbouring church of Saul, Skreen in Meath, Dunkeld and Durham. Dr Reeves' summary as to these claims is both interesting and instructive: The rational statement is this:—'The *grave* of St Columba is in Hy, where his remains were suffered to lie till a century had passed. Meanwhile his dust had mingled with the earth, and dust with dust continues there to this day: but where that grave is, there is no satisfactory evidence to show; and tradition, which claims for the island the custody of the body, fails, as might be expected, to point out the spot where it lies. It was the custom in the eighth century, particularly in the Irish Church, to disinter and enshrine the tangible remains of the founders of religious houses. There are explicit records of the very years when such processes took place, and that St Columba's remains were dealt with in like manner is *a priori* to be expected, and in fact proved. The shrine in which these bones were deposited subsequently became the title-deed of the Columbian community, and was from time to time taken over to Ireland as the warrant for levying religious contributions. But it soon became exposed to fresh danger, for the costliness of the shrine, which veneration for the founder's memory had suggested, excited the cupidity of the roving Northmen, and Ireland became the permanent asylum of those reliques, until it in turn suffered from the same scourge, and even its midland remoteness proved no security against the restless Danes. It is possible that during these constant removals of the shrine, the compulsion of power, or the inducements of patronage, have been shared with other churches. Thus probably Kenneth MacAlpin came by his share, and thus too, the Irish *Screens* by their name. But the gold and silver, which affection had lavished on the original shrine, contributed to defeat its own object in the end, and subjected the shrine to the fate from which its fellow, the Great Gospel of Kells, had so narrow an escape—the shell abstracted, and the substance thrown away.'¹

There were in all eighteen reliques of Columba preserved and in existence for many centuries after his

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. lxxxiii.-iv.

death, some to this day—1. THE GREAT CROSS, described in the preface to the hymn ascribed to him, Altus Pro-sator; 2. THE CATHACH, the manuscript copied from St Finnian's Book, now in the possession of Sir R. A. O'Donnell; 3. THE COCHALL; 4. THE CUILEBADH, both Irish forms of the ecclesiastical Latin word cucullus—a hood, cowl, or perhaps including the monastic habit:—

' There was a sod of the earth of Alba under his feet;
There was a cere-cloth over his eyes;
There was his woolen-cap drawn over that;
There was his *hood*, and his cowl, over these outside.'¹

5. DELG AIDECHTA, a brooch said to have been given him by Pope Gregory, on his supposed visit to Rome; 6. HIS PASTORAL STAFF, confided to the Prince of Ossory, on the occasion of his liberation after the convention of Drumceatt; 7. THE PASTORAL STAFF OF ST KENTIGERN, given in exchange; 8. THE GOSPEL OF ST MARTIN, said to have been taken from his grave at Tours by Columba—a most unlikely circumstance, as there is no reason to suppose that he ever travelled beyond the British Isles; it shows, however, the intimate connexion between the Irish and Gallic Church;² 9. THE BOOK OF DURROW; 12, 13, 14, THREE BELLS; 15, 16, A RED AND A BLACK STONE, wherewith he banished the demons;³ 17, BRECBANNOCH, a banner, probably like St Cuthbert's, showed and carried in the abbey on festival and principal daies, and also presented and carried to any battle as occasion should serve.' With it in 1204-1211 were granted by William the Lion to the monks of Arbroath, the lands of Forglen; in 1314 the convent granted them to Malcolm of Monymusk; in 1388 they passed to the Urrys, and the Frasers; in 1420 they were conferred on Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, the last account of them is in 1494, when Alexander Irvine served himself heir to his father in the lands of Forglen, with the advowson of the church. In every case the reliquary passed, as the title-deed giving validity to the transfer;⁴ 18, CATH-BHUAIDH, or BATTLE-VICTORY. His crosier, which was

¹ Reeves' Adamnan; see pp. 87-9.

³ *Ibid.* p. 99.

² *Ibid.* 90-92.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 97-8.

A. D. 597.

long borne in the front of the fight by the men of Alba : 'And this is a befitting name for it, for they have often gained victory in battle by it, when they placed their trust in Columbkille.'¹

A sketch of the life of Columba would be far from satisfactory without a notice of his 'Prophetic Revelations,' 'Miraculous Powers,' and 'Visions of Angels.' The Life by Adamnan is divided into three books under these heads, what we have given of his history is merely incidental to these more important points in his biography. We now give what may further illustrate the localities visited, the manners and mode of life of the saint, his companions, and the people they came in contact with.

While at Hy he prophesied of the danger St Columbanus was in passing Corryvreckan : 'He is in great danger in the rolling tides of Breacan's whirlpool ; he is sitting at the prow and raising both his hands to heaven ; he is also blessing that angry and dreadful sea :'² 'It was there to, that Breacan, son of Maine, son of Niall of the nine hostages, with fifty curachs, was engulfed, while on a trading expedition ; when they were all drowned, and nothing of them survived but the tale of their destruction.' 'A long time after, Columcille was passing through it, when the sea rose up in front, and discovered to him the bones of Breacan. Upon which Columcille said, That is friendly of thee, O aged Breacan.'³ A later legend makes the saint in passing rescue Breacan from the pains of purgatory, and translate him to the joys of heaven. The first is the likelier and the best, displaying as it does the grim humour and the daring insouciance of the sailor monk.

Colca, evidently a well-connected man, was a visitor at Hy. Columba asked him as to the character of his mother. He replied, blameless. Go back to Ireland, said the questioner, interrogate her as to a grievous secret sin, she will confess, let her do penance, and she will be the better of it. All this was done, mother and son wondering much how the saint knew all about their affairs. 'Colca, however, returned to the saint, and remained with

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, xcix. ² Life, p. 11. ³ *Ibid.* notes, p. 252.

him for some days, and then asking about the end of his own days, received this answer from the saint:—In thine own beloved country thou shalt be head of a church for many years, and when at any time thou happenest to see thy butler making merry with a company of his friends at supper, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, know then that in a short time thou shalt die.' What more need I say? This same prophecy of the blessed man was exactly fulfilled, as it was foretold to Colca.¹ It looks very like an admonition to Colca to look after the convivial habits of his family, and see that the monks did not 'troll the bonny brown bowl' at untimeous hours.

He prophesied of a great whale appearing between Hy and Tíree, which did occur, frightening brother Baithene very much; but after cutting a flourish with its tail, the monster plunged under the waves, nobody the worse.²

Further on is told 'the prophecy of the holy man regarding the Roman city, burnt by a sulphurous fire which fell from heaven.' His words proved true, for a few months afterwards St Columba and a friend were at Kintyre, and the captain of a bark there conveyed to them the news. The story is identified in the overthrow by an earthquake at that time of a town in Istria; whatever may be our opinion of the *prophecy*, it shows communication between Campbeltown and the Adriatic at that early period.³ The luxury of the Irish clergy and their loose living is shown in the prophecy 'concerning a rich man named Lugud Clodus.' While the Saint was in Ireland he saw a cleric mounted on a chariot, and driving pleasantly along the plain of Breg in Meath. On inquiring who this was, he was told 'this is Lugud Clodus, who is rich and much respected by the people.' The Saint immediately answered, 'He does not seem so to me, but a poor wretched creature, who on the day of his death shall have within his own walled enclosure three of his neighbour's cattle which have strayed on to his property. The best of the strayed cows he shall order to be killed

¹ Life, p. 16. ² *Ibid.* p. 17. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 21, 22; notes, p. 256.

A. D. 597.

for his own use, and a part of the meat he shall direct to be cooked and served up to him at the very time that he is lying on the same couch with a prostitute (*cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti*), but by the first morsel that he eats he shall be choked and die immediately.¹ Everything turned out as predicted. Perhaps the cleric was a married man, though Adamnan, a celibate himself, uses an ugly word, but he evidently lived well, and was not very particular as to the means by which he procured his luxuries.

Another prophetic story speaks highly for the Saint. A certain robber was in the habit of stealthily visiting the little island where the monks reared their seals; these he killed and bore away in his boat. Columba despatched two of the brethren to arrest the thief, acquainting them with the hiding-place where he would be found. The brethren surprised the robber, and brought him before their chief, who looking at him said, 'Why dost thou transgress the commandment of God so often, by stealing the property of others? If thou art in want at any time, come to us, and thy needs will be supplied.' At the same time he ordered some wethers to be killed and given to the wretched thief in place of the seals, that he might not return empty. The Saint's kindness did not end here; shortly after he sent a fat sheep and six pecks of corn, but the man had died suddenly, and the present was used at his burial.²

We could willingly linger on the prophecies, but pass to the miraculous powers. A peasant from whose land the monks had taken a freight load of twigs, for the purpose of building, naturally enough complained of his loss to the Superior. He, in answer, sent twice three measures of barley, with instructions to sow it in his arable land; the man was thankful, but asked, 'What good can any corn do, which is sown after midsummer, against the nature of the soil?' But his wife had the faith he lacked, she advised him to obey the Saint's orders. He did, and was rewarded in August by a plentiful harvest—to the admiration of all his neighbours.³

¹ Life, pp. 28, 29.² *Ibid.* p. 30.³ *Ibid.* pp. 39, 40

A youth was drowned with a leathern satchel containing a number of books; twenty days afterwards the body was recovered; all the books were destroyed, except a volume written by the sacred fingers of Columba, which was dry and wholly uninjured. Another miracle of a similar nature is recorded while the Saint was in Leinster.¹ Milk and cattle were bewitched in those days, as they were till within a short time ago, in outlying districts; we read 'of the driving out of a demon that lurked in a milk pail,' and 'concerning a vessel which a sorcerer, named Silnan, had filled with milk taken from a bull,' Columba at once exposed the artifice, the liquid bearing the appearance of milk turned to blood,' and the bull which, in the space of an hour had wasted and pined away, was sprinkled with water which had been blessed by the Saint, and recovered with astonishing rapidity.² While in Skye he was attacked by a large wild boar, but he had only to raise his hand, invoke the name of God in fervent prayer, and utter these words, 'Thou shalt proceed no further in this direction, perish on the spot which thou hast now reached.' At the sound of these words the terrible brute fell dead before his face.³

The next miracle brings him on one of his journeys to Inverness. While crossing the river, he saw some people burying a man who, in swimming had been so severely bitten by an aquatic monster that he died from the injuries. The blessed man, though aware of this, directed one of his companions to swim over the Ness and bring a coble from the other side. Lugne Mocumin did so; while on his way, the monster thinking he had got another chance for a meal, made to seize him, but Columba making the saving sign of the cross in the air, cried, 'Thou shalt go no further; nor touch the man, go back with all speed.' The monster fled terrified, and the people gave glory to God and the blessed man.⁴

Like St Patrick he destroyed the venom of snakes in Hy, though it is not said he banished them, and he coupled his benefit with a proviso, 'so long as the inhabitants

¹ Life, p. 43

³ *Ibid.* pp. 55.

² *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 55, 56.

A D. 597.

shall continue to observe the commandments of Christ.¹ To enumerate all the recorded miracles of St Columba would be tedious, in no sense was he behind the chiefest of wonder-working saints. His first miracle was changing water into wine,² about his last was raising from the dead a young man.³ He changed the bitter fruit of a tree into sweet,⁴ he turned a poisonous into a health bestowing fountain;⁵ he drew water from the flinty rock; he provided fishes;⁶ he, on two different occasions increased at one birth five heifers to one hundred and five;⁷ he repeatedly calmed the raging sea, and changed contrary into favourable winds;⁸ he cured all manner of diseases;⁹ his enemies were cut off by fearful deaths.¹⁰ Yet nothing was beneath his notice, he blessed a knife for killing cattle,¹¹ he supplied the loss of the linch-pin of a chariot;¹² he reconciled a woman to her husband whom she hated on account of his deformity;¹³ he relieved and hastened a painful delivery of a certain little woman who, as a daughter of Eve, was enduring the great and extremely dangerous pains of childbirth.¹⁴ Whatever credence we may give to the marvels wrought by St Columba, he must have been through life a busy, and what is more, a kindly man.

The third Book of the Life by Adamnan is almost entirely the composition of Cummian Albus, seventh Abbot of Hy, 657-669, incorporated verbatim. It gives an account of 'the visions of angels' with which Columba was favoured, and is interesting only as showing the strong sense the Saint had in the supernatural, and the corresponding belief in his own and succeeding ages. Even when 'excommunicated by a certain synod' on account of his share in the battle of Cul-Dreihme, St Brendan said, 'I have seen a most brilliant pillar wreathed with fiery tresses preceding this man of God, whom you treat with contempt; I have also seen holy angels accom-

¹ *Life*, p. 56.⁴ *Ibid.* p. 39.⁷ *Ibid.* p. 51.¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 51-54.¹³ *Ibid.* p.² *Ibid.* p. 38.⁵ *Ibid.* p. 45.⁸ *Ibid.* p. 45.¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 57.¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 69.³ *Ibid.* p. 58.⁶ *Ibid.* p. 49.⁹ *Ibid.* p. 42.¹² *Ibid.* p. 73.

A. D. 597.

panying him on his journey through the plain.’¹ In Ireland, in Hy, on the shores of Loch Ness, on his journeys through the rugged passes of the Highlands, in his curach braving the fierce tempests of the wild Atlantic, the angels of God were ever present. When sickness came on him in old age, the message came direct from heaven, and when the end came the white-stoled messengers of peace were hovering over his departing spirit, ready to bear in their arms the soul of the loved one to its heavenly home. Let no one say that the imaginative faculties can find no place in the mind of the busy worker, that the wrapt enthusiast must be a day dreamer, that the man who lives in heavenly society cannot work on earth, St Columba and the founders of monasticism prove the reverse; St Jerome had his visions, but he gave us the Vulgate; the visionary St Benedict and St Francis composed and saw carried into practice, minute codes of laws, which had men been able to observe them, monasteries would still be the homes of learning and piety.

The office of St Columba occupies a distinguished place in the Aberdeen Breviary, but the Lection being simply details of his history, and the devotional part of the same type as the office of St Kentigern, we give no more than one of the three hymns contained in it—a *resumé* of the life and labours of the saint :

‘ Beneath night’s sable shroud
 Let us with voices loud
 St Colum’s feast celebrate.
 St Colum the good and great,
 Who sprang of royal blood,
 From childhood lust withstood,
 All earthly things despising
 And always heavenward rising.
 He many a wonder wrought,
 Health to the sick he brought.
 The unknown future read
 And life gave to the dead.

¹ Life, p. 80.

A. D. 597.

He hushed wild war's affray,
He saw heaven's bright array,
And what in words he taught
His life to action brought.
For seven years he guided
Those isles where he presided.
Supreme in either sphere,
Both king and clergy here,
Of monks the holiest,
Defend and give us peace,
When this vex'd life shall cease.

CHAPTER V.

THE INSTITUTION AT HY (IONA).

The Institution at Hy (Iona)—The Site—Buildings on the Island, their History and Remains—Constitution—The Abbot—Discipline and Ritual—The Original Building and Appurtenances—Jurisdiction claimed by Hy—Saint Explorers and Voyagers—Cormac—Maelrubha—Donnan—Character of Columba—Character of the Institution at Hy—The Columbian Church purely Monastic.

IF the labours of St Columba had been confined to his missionary efforts among the Picts, varied by the supervision of the churches under his charge in Ireland, he would be one of the most striking figures in the early history of the British Isles, with an individuality all his own; but he would not be in the list of those devoted men who, as teachers of Christianity have left their mark on all succeeding ages. His great work at Hy places him among men like Benedict, Columbanus, Gregory the Great, St Francis, Ignatius Loyola. The foundation of the institution there was *the* work of St Columba's life. It was unique of its kind, for it is difficult to say whether the principal object of its founder and his disciples was to save their own souls by study, labour, and asceticism, or to save the souls of others. The institution was both a monastery and a training-school for missionaries. Its very situation adds much to the interest with which it is regarded; far away from what we should consider a suitable locality, for days and weeks cut off from the world, it seems a striking exemplification of that form of Christianity which trained its teachers by isolation. Yet we are apt to over-rate this. At the time Hy was by no means the inaccessible lonely spot it was for centuries, indeed, until lately. It was, if not the centre, an important outpost of the Dalriadic monarchy in Scotland, as it were a resting-place between its old and its new home

A. D. 563-597.

A.D. 563-597. In a former part of our work we have attempted to show that the Scoti (the Dalriads) both in Ireland and the Western Islands of Scotland, at this time were in many respects the leading race in Great Britain. The contrast in the present day is striking. The Scoti in the sixth and seventh centuries, indeed up till the time of the Danish invasions, were a people who exercised a commanding influence on the other races. They were colonisers, civilisers, missionaries of our holy religion. Now in the land of their adoption, as in the land of their birth, they are looked down upon as an alien, an ignorant, lazy and turbulent sept, cordially reciprocating the hatred and distrust. But the Western Isles during the Columbian period were peopled by learned and pious ascetics, who formed communities and planted civilisation. There, in these lonely eyries of the sea-bird, men, feeling their sins and sinfulness with an acute sense we are ignorant of, retired to mortify their members which are in the flesh; there, in the sharp crystals of the rock, a path was formed by their bleeding feet; in the bare wilderness, with the howl of the wind and the savage roar of the angry ocean in their ears, they attempted to conquer the world, the flesh, and the devil. Demons assaulted them, were put to flight by the power of the Spirit, and the angels of God spread their white wings around the sorely harassed, but victorious penitent.

Iona was the centre and spring of this young and vigorous life, influencing the religion and politics of the people who first colonised the island state, extending from the Butt of Lewis to the Mull of Cantyre, known as Dalriada.

Iona or Hy¹ lies off the Ross of Mull to the south-west, separated by a channel about a mile broad; the island is about three miles long, and varies in width from a mile to a mile and a half. The superficial extent is about two thousand imperial acres, six hundred of which are under cultivation. The surface is very uneven, and consists of small green patches, alternating with rocky projections in the northern part; in the southern por-

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxxi., *et seq.*

A.D. 598-597.

tion, where the level is higher, the ground is more continuous, and presents to the eye an undulating expanse of grey barren waste: 'The object which first marks the island in the distance is Dunii; its highest ground, a round hill in the northern part, which has an elevation of three hundred and thirty feet. There are several other eminences, but none of them attain to two hundred feet. The population in 1842 was about five hundred, but the consequences of the potato blight have of late greatly reduced its number. The people are chiefly collected into a little village on the eastern side, and any dwellings which are detached are in the arable portions of the northern half, for the southern district is uninhabited. Previous to the Reformation, the island formed a distinct parish, the church of which, called Tempul-Ronaig, stood within the precincts of the nunnery. Subsequently it was annexed to the great union of Kilfinichen and Kilviceuen, in the adjacent part of Mull, and so continues.' There is now a parish church (*quoad sacra*), and the necessary accompaniment, a Free Church place of worship. It is almost needless to say that the ruins, which attract so many strangers who take a hurried survey—

'To each voyager
Some ragged child holds up for sale a store
Of wave-worn pebbles,
But rather spend a day or more and think
How sad a welcome!
Where once came monk and nun with gentle stir,
Blessings to give, news ask, or suit prefer.

'Think, proud philosopher,
Fallen though she be, this Glory of the West
Still on her sons the beams of mercy shine;
And hopes, perhaps more heavenly bright than thine,
A grace by thee unsought, and unpossessed,
A faith more fixed, a rapture more divine,
Shall glid their passage to eternal rest,'

—Wordsworth.

are of a comparatively modern date; the oldest is referable to the close of the eleventh century. Nor is this to be wondered at; the buildings during the Columbian period were of the slightest construction—wood and wattles—but, in any case, they were destroyed by the

A.D. 563-597. Norsemen, and it was not till their piratical incursions ceased that the buildings were erected, the ruins of which are now to be seen.

The remains of churches in the island are nine in number. Dr Johnson and Mr Boswell, in 1773, state that St Oran's Chapel and four others were then standing, while three more were remembered. There are now to be found—1. St Oran's Chapel, situate in the principal cemetery, the oldest structure remaining, and probably belonging to the close of the eleventh century. The chief object of interest is the Romanesque circular-headed west door, decorated with what is called the beak-head ornament. This building was probably the '*larger Columcille chapel*,' and the result of Queen Margaret's liberality. 2. St Mary's Church, commonly called the Cathedral. It is an edifice of the early part of the thirteenth century, consisting of nave, transepts, and choir, with sacristy on north side of the latter, and side chapels on the south. Adjoining the cathedral on the north are the ruins of the conventual buildings, of which the portion called the chapter-house is the most ancient and remarkable. Over it is said to have been the Library. 3. The Nunnery, a venerable pile, much dilapidated, but still retaining the evidence of former elegance. When it was founded is uncertain. Fordun alludes to it, and the Macdonald MS. states that Beatrix, daughter of Sommerled, who died 1164, was Princess of Icollumkill. There are also remains of four other chapels, and a remarkable valley called the Glen of the Church, walled in by a well-defined range of hills, but no ecclesiastical remains.¹

There are, or rather were, nine cemeteries. One particularly interesting, Reilig Odhrain, the ancient burial-place of the monastery. The saint whose name it bears, a relation of St Columba, was the first interred there: 'Here it is said were buried the Scottish Kings down to Malcolm Canmore; here Ecgrið, the Northumbrian King, was buried in 684; hither were removed the remains of King Godred in 1188, and of Haco Ospac in 1228. Of these kings no monuments remain, and the

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxxii.-iv.

chief part of the interesting tomb-stones that are found there belong to the Clanns Finnguine, Gilla-Eoin, and Guaire, since known as the M'Kinnons, M'Leans, and M'Quarries, whose pedigrees, still preserved, attest their noble extraction from the House of Loarn,¹ whose pedigree from the accomplished Feniusa Farsa is unfortunately not preserved. The others do not attract notice, with perhaps the exception of the "Burial-place of the Druids," near the Free Church. These mysterious personages seemingly possess a charm to the islanders, and on their planting some potatoes on the spot, and some bones being turned up, it was at once concluded these were the bones of the Druids.'²

Dr Reeves' article on the Crosses of Hy is so racy, that it will not bear compression: 'Their number was so great, indeed, if the anonymous writer of 1693 be deserving of credit:—"In this ile was a great many crosses, to the number of 360, which vas all destroyed by one provinciall assembly, holden on the place a little after the Reformation. Ther fundations is yett etant; and two notable ons of a considerable height and excellent work untouched" (New Stat. Act vii. pt. ii. p. 314). Sacheverel, as cited by Pennant, states that "the synod ordered 60 crosses to be thrown into the sea" (iii. p. 251). It is also alleged that multitudes of them were carried away to different parts of western Scotland, and among them the two beautiful crosses of Inveraray and Campbeltown. This is all very irrational; it only wants a 5 instead of the cypher in the total, 360, to complete its absurdity. There probably never were more than two dozen real crosses standing at any one time; and if every tombstone in the cemeteries which ever had a cross of any form inscribed on it were included, the number 360 would not be arrived at. If some were thrown into the sea, why *any* left standing? If the rest were deported, who, at that moment, unlocked the shores of Hy, or created an appetite not hitherto felt abroad? Or, if there were no fine crosses previously to 1560 elsewhere, how came

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxxv.

² Old Stat. Acct., vol. xiv. p. 199.

A. D. 563-597.

Hy to have created an art unknown in other places, or, if known, to monopolise its development? Mr David Laing justly observes, that there are grounds "for believing that the statements so frequently and confidently repeated by later writers, from the time of Sacheverel in 1688, of the number of 360 stone crosses having existed in the island, should be considered as very apocryphal, and their alleged destruction by the Reformers as, at best a vague tradition" (Letter to Lord Murray, 1854, p. 12).¹ Whether the crosses which, before the Reformation, certainly existed in Hy were of the Columbian period is very uncertain. The cross was very early an object of superstitious veneration, and Celtic soil was thoroughly suited for the cultivation; but whether, if erected previous to the Danish invasions, they survived is very doubtful. The most notable now remaining is called St Martin's Cross, in honour of the Bishop of Tours; it is a noble monument, fourteen feet high. The only other in its original form is by "a vulgar misnomer" called Maclean's Cross; the shaft is ten feet four inches high. There are remains of five more, mostly fragments. There are drawings of all in Graham's Iona, and photos of them are to be purchased on the island; indeed, of every ruin or point to be seen.'

Mounds and Cairns. Dr Reeves describes six of these. One embankment is called by Graham, the *Bishop's Walk*. Another mound is called *Sithean Mor*, or 'Great Fairy Mount.' This is Adamnan's Colliculus Angelorum. It has claims to having been the place where Columba had a conference with these celestial beings soon after his arrival; to be evidently druidical; and to be the haunt of the good people; all equally likely or unlikely. The description of Port-an-Churaich by the editor of the *Life* in his introduction is interesting: 'It derives its name from a long low mound running across the bay, near high water mark.' It has long been an object of curiosity to travellers. Martin says of it:— 'The dock which was dug out of Port Churich, is on the shoar, to preserve Columbus's boat called Curich' (p. 263).

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. cxxxvii.-viii.

A writer of 1701 observes:—‘This harbour is called A.D. 563-597. Port-a-Churrich, from the ship that Calimkill and his associates came upon from Ireland to that place. The length of the curuchan or ship is obvious to any one who goes to the place, it being marked up at the head of the harbour upon the grass, between two little pillars of stons, set up to show forth y^e samain, between which pillars there is three score of foots in length, which was the exact length of the curuchan or ship’ (New Stat. Acct., vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 316). This bay is exposed to the western swell of the Atlantic, and is very dangerous except in fine weather (*ib.*).¹ The other mounds may have been sepulchral.’

There are also remains of Houses, of what period is uncertain. The traces of the oldest buildings on the island are to be found at a small bay, lying west of Port-a-Churaich, which derives its name from several circles of stone foundations scattered over it. Perhaps they may have been Danish round towers, as one is thirty yards in circumference, the smaller are similar to the round beehive huts found in Ireland, and were probably introduced by the original settlers.

Connected with Hy as dependant islands were—1. Eilean na m Ban, ‘Island of the Women,’ so-called from the tradition, as Martin states, ‘that Columbus suffered no women to stay in the isle (Hy) except the Nuns, and that all the tradesmen who wrought in it, were obliged to keep their wives and daughters in the opposite little isles, called on that account *Women’s Isle* (p. 64). A few years ago the trace of a building called the Nunnery were distinguishable there. 2. Soay, due south of Hy; 3. Moroan, due north; 4. Reringe, not identified; 5. Inch Kenneth; the roofless walls of the church, measuring 60 feet by 30 feet, are still standing, and the cemetery continues to be used; 6. Eorsa; 7. Halmin Island; 8. Erraid Isle, where Columba’s seals used to breed, and formerly alluded to.² Besides these, allusions are made, as it Columba or his associates under his direction had

¹ See Reeves’ Adamnan cxi.; Petrie’s Round Towers, pp. 130, 131, etc.

² Life, p. 30.

A. D. 563-577. visited and formed ecclesiastical societies on the islands of Barra, Benbecula, Coll, Colonsay, Eig, Islay, Kerrara, Mull, Oransay, Sky, Sanda, St Kilda, and others, in short the *Clansman* would have to call at many more places than are in her way-bill had she St Columba's missionaries to carry to their destinations.

To show that the institution at Hy was not a monastery like those in England and the Continent, is a favourite topic of Presbyterian and other writers, who think the Romish Church at all times and in all its institutions the mystery of iniquity and the nursery of ignorance and vice. That in all particulars it resembled the great mediæval monasteries is manifestly far from the truth; that in all essentials it was one with the great monasteries in Ireland and Wales, is as manifest. The only difference was that *a Columba* was the founder, and that he had a biographer like Adamnan. We postpone further inquiry until we have placed before our readers, on the lines adopted by Dr Reeves, mostly in his words, the Constitution, Discipline, and Economy of the Institution itself, drawn from the life of its founder, and the scanty references in Bede.

I. CONSTITUTION.—Whether St Columba or any of his contemporaries composed and promulgated a systematic rule like St Benedict, is very doubtful. Wilfred, speaking at the synod 664 says, ‘Concerning your Father Columba and his followers, whose rules and precepts (*regula ac præcepta*) you observe;’¹ this from the context may mean a great deal or very little, but no distinct code with any authoritative claim to genuineness has been preserved. An ancient Irish Life speaks of eight different rules having been instituted by the fathers of the Church, beginning with St Patrick: ‘But the recital of these is evidently arbitrary (if they even existed), for St Adamnan (who appears in the list), instead of being the author of a new rule, was unable to induce the society of which he was ninth Abbot to accept the reformed Paschal canon.’² Some ancient rules have been preserved in the Brussels MS., but they are quite insufficient to convey any idea

¹ Bede, p. 159.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. cii.

of the peculiarities of the system ; if genuine, Colgan attached no importance to these rules, which he had seen, as he did not print them among St Columba's supposed compositions.¹ St Columbanus' Rule and Penitentials are the only remains of Irish monastic discipline which can be said to be genuine, and these have probably been much modified by the peculiar institutions of the countries in which they were observed. We must then take our scheme from the Life by Adamnan, in Dr Reeves' judgment the true and only rule to be found.

Conventual Life was considered a special *Militia Christi*² (Christian warfare), and they who adopted it were looked upon as *Christi milites*³ (Christ's soldiers), in reference to their leader, and *commilitones*⁴ (fellow soldiers), as regarded their leader. Each one professed his readiness *Deo exhibere hostiam*⁵ (to present himself a sacrifice to God), by withdrawing himself from the cares of the world, and a willingness to enter it only as an *athleta Christi*, in the propagation of the Gospel. The society termed *coenobialis coetus*⁶ (an assembly of those who lived and took food with one another at a common table), or by Bede⁷ *Collegium monachorum*, consisted essentially of an Abbott and Family.

The Abbott, called *abbot* or *pater*, or *sanctus pater*, or *sanctus senior*, and in the founder's case *paotrnus*,⁸ had his seat at the *matrix ecclesia*,⁹ which was situated in Hy, the *insula primaria*.¹⁰ But he had equal authority over the affiliated churches, which either he or his disciples had provided in Scotland and Ireland, and which he at times visited and regulated as superior in all things.¹¹ In ecclesiastical rank the Abbot was a Presbyter ;¹² hence he was emphatically styled *Abbas et Presbyter* ; the founder St Columba was of the second order of Irish saints when these were '*pauci episcopi et multi presbyteri*. But this

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. 102.

² Life, pp. 133-159.

³ Life, pp. 116-215.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 139-171, 173-176.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 111.

⁷ Bede, p. 116.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 113, 106, 213, 115, 137, 107, 191, 211, 214, 216.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 119.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 211.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 116, 143, 147, 182, 132, 135, 173, 116, 147, 127, 187.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 142-201, 205-211.

A. D. 563-597.

observance, which had its origin in choice, and its continuance in precedent, according to so temperate a churchman as Dr Reeves, by no means implied disregard of the episcopal office. To a non-clerical mind it is a matter of supreme indifference who ruled, or should rule the body of men calling themselves the church, so long as they rule well, and are acceptable to their constituents; different times and different countries, need different hierarchies. But it is a vital part of belief to cleric and layman alike, who attach value to a system of government initiated in apostolic, carried out in early Christian times, it is to them everything—which was first, bishop or presbyter. All who have treated on this age, and who do not believe in the episcopal order, maintain that in the early church in Ireland and Scotland there were no bishops in the accepted sense of the term, that the men called by that name were assigned no dioceses, and exercised no supervision over the inferior clergy, and also that they did not *claim* the right to ordain priests, in other words presbyters. That the so-called bishops were dioceseless is next to certain, and that they exercised no supervision may also be proved, and for a most satisfactory reason. St Columba, his contemporaries, and their successors would not permit them, they grasped all the power and jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual, the Church was essentially monastic. That bishops were resident at Hy and other dependent churches is proved from the Life, and also that they were under the Abbot's jurisdiction, and rendered him conventual obedience. But it cannot be denied that at the time Bishops were not a novelty even in Ireland and Scotland, and Dr Reeves is probably right when he says, 'Still the essential function of the episcopal office was scrupulously maintained; when a presbyter was to be ordained, the bishop was called in; when a distant province was to be brought within the Christian pale, a bishop was consecrated for the creation of a local ministry, and successors to him ordained and sent forth from time to time, and when an accredited candidate came even from Ireland to Hy, he in like manner was invested with the highest ecclesiastical orders.

The great founder set the example of veneration for the episcopate, and disclaimed all pretensions to equality with one of episcopal rank, he instituted a feast in memory of a bishop who was *carus amicus*, his own institution was frequented by bishops from Ireland for communion and edification.¹ Though perhaps we speak irreverently, it may be concluded that Columba believed in the episcopal order, that he had every respect for bishops, and considered them both useful and ornamental, but they must keep their own place, and bow before the King and Abbot of Hy; his successors imitated him as best they might. At the same time there is not the faintest reference to the Pope, the bishop of Rome; if the presbyter Abbots believed in episcopacy, they took the succession as they found it, whether it was apostolical or no does not seem to have troubled them.

'The abbot was wont on extraordinary occasions to summon the brethren even in the dead of night, and address them from the altar (*altarium*), and solicit their prayers.'² 'Occasionally he instituted a festival, published a holiday, and enjoined the celebration of the Eucharist as occasion offered; he dispensed with a fast, relaxed penitential discipline, or regulated its intensity.³ He was saluted by prostration.⁴ He gave license of departure, which he signified by his benediction.⁵ He forbade, at pleasure, admission to the island.⁶ When he thought fit, he despatched a chosen brother on a distant mission, or for monastic purposes.⁷ He had the control of the temporalities.⁸ When at home he was attended, except when he signified his wish to be alone.⁹ When abroad, he was accompanied by a party,¹⁰ *virii sociales*, and he preached or baptised as occasion offered.¹¹ St Columba inaugurated the first independent King of

¹ Life, p. 105.

² *Ibid.* pp. 120, 127, 187, 202.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 201, 202, 129, 130, 127, 180.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 115.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 116, 119, 125, 126, 133, 143, 155.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 125, 132, 139, 154, 156, 179.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 140, 153, 180.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 203, 208, 209, 204, 206, 208.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 131, 134, 160, 174, 171, 191, 203.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 134, 159, 173, 203.

A. D. 563-597. Scotch Dalriada in Hy,¹ and the ceremony was probably continued as an honorary function of the Abbot.² The founder named his own successor,³ afterwards he was elected, preference being given to one of the kin of the founder. The surrender of the old Easter and Tonsure broke down family prescription, and henceforward the abbacy became an open appointment; the genealogical table in Dr Reeves' book demonstrates the existence of clanship, even in a religious community.

The Family, vernacularly called *muintir*, in Latin *familia*, consisted of *fratres*, or *commembres*, whom the founder styled *mei familiares monachi*, or *mei electi monachi*, and endearingly addressed as *filioli*.⁴ They were at first twelve in number, and natives of Ireland; but their society soon increased, and included Britons and Saxons.⁵ The brethren of tried devotedness, were called *seniores*; those who were strong for labour, *operarii fratres*, and those who were under instruction, *juniores*, *alumni*, or *pueri familiares*.⁶ Besides the congregation or *collectio* of professed members, there were generally present *peregrini*, called also *proselyti* or *pœnitentes*, or *hospites*, whose sojourn was of varied length.⁷

II. DISCIPLINE.—The principle of Obedience embodied in the working of the monastic church, Roman or not, was the cardinal point in the Institution at Hy. Implicit obedience to the Superior. *Qui vos audit me audit*, the measure *obedientia sine mora, usque ad mortem*, a distant journey, a hazardous voyage, outdoor or menial work, in sickness, in health, the only rule to the frater was *obey*, the examples as detailed in the Life are too numerous to quote.⁸ 'Obedience, however, had its limit to things lawful; for Adamnan, when abbot, was unable to effect a change in the observance of Easter.'⁸ This remark is hardly justi-

¹ Life, p. 197.

² *Ibid.* p. 213.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 115, 213.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 112, 155, 208, 187, 211, 212, 216, 183, 171, 207, 213, 216.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 196, 198, 201, 209.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 188, 200, 210, 116, 208, 117.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 200, 133, 143, 198, 129, 132, 133, 142, 129, 131, 180, 118, 123, 124.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. cviii.

fied, it only shows that the brethren at Hy placed the example of their first abbot above the reigning one, even though backed by the authority of the Roman Church. A.D. 563-597.

The members had all things common. Personal property was disclaimed, according to the injunction in Columba's heremital rule; *Innochta do gres do sechem ar Christ ocus ar na soscela*, 'Be always naked in imitation of Christ, and (in obedience to) the precepts of the Gospel.' Similar to this was the precept of Columbanus, 'Nuditas et facultatum contemptus prima perfectio est monachorum,' after this precept, 'si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum.'¹ Though St Columba was undoubtedly desirous to promote conjugal happiness (as may be seen in his life), by kindly acts and words, celibacy was strictly enjoined in his community, a monk must be *virgo corpore et virgo mente*. We find monks at Hy milking the cows, an office generally performed by women when they are of the household. This, of course, is only negative proof, but the total absence of anything like hereditary succession in the abbacy is something very like positive. Marriage, and perhaps recognised irregular connections existed among the secular clergy, but the regulars disapproved of it, and looked down upon their brethren from a superior height of sanctity. And this may give a different colour to the story of St Comgall's preceptor. 'Quadam nocte cum clericus ille cum muliere dormisset,' or to the narrative in Adamnan of the rich and honourable clergyman who ended his days in such suspicious company.² The words *mulier* and *meretrix* in the regular's mind, would mean *uxor* to us, centuries later the wives of Luther and Knox were freely called by the ugly name.

Reserve was specially enjoined, 'cum cautela et ratione loquendum est.' Humility was strongly insisted on (a virtue which the founder seems rather deficient in); it was to be exemplified both in demeanour towards superiors and in dejection after sin, prostrate and weeping before God and the superior.³ It does not appear

¹ Life, p. cviii.

² *Ibid.* p. 108, 138.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 115, 132, 137, 198.

A.D. 563-597.

from the scant records, that the virtue was to be practised by Superiors or Brethren in their worldly intercourse.

Hospitality, so leading a feature in ancient monasticism, was developed in Hy in all the fulness of national generosity. All were welcomed (even the poor heron¹), housed and fed, one would say even feted; if the day was a fast it was relaxed in their favour. Like St Kentigern, who, when on a journey or when dining with a friend relaxed his teetotal and vegetarian principles, making up afterwards by fasting and penance, there is little doubt the kindly abbot and monks would join the stranger in the welcome feast and social cup, though it were to be followed by maceration and flagellation. The abbot and brethren went out to meet and welcome the stranger; he was conducted to the oratory, and thanks returned for his safety; he was then conveyed to a lodging, and water brought to wash his feet, afterwards the refectory supplied his wants.² Almsgiving was inculcated; Columba, on many occasions, befriended the poor,³ but his natural shrewdness always appears; itinerant (professional) beggars who went about with a wallet were looked upon with suspicion. In cursing a miser he speaks very slightly of the beggar who goes from house to house with a half-empty wallet, and whose unhappy fate 'is to be slain by a rival beggar with an axe, in the pit of a threshing floor.'⁴ The monks cured bodies as well as souls, for we read that the monastery was resorted to for medical relief; grievous transgressors were however excluded.⁵

As to divine worship, the days of the year were ordinary and solemn.⁶ There was the usual service on the ordinary days, the *cursus* or *synaxis* at the canonical hours; the brethren employed on the farm were not required to attend, and it is likely were not called to the nocturnal vigils, which we have seen were frequent and trying.⁷ The *dies solemnes* were the *dies Dominicæ* and *Sanctorum natales*, Sundays and saints' days; on these

¹ Life, p. 145.

² *Ibid.* pp. 115, 117, 118, 129, 130, 132, 133, 143, 177, 186.

³ *Ibid.* 164, 166, 178.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 128, 130.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 152, 202.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 120, 136, 187, 202, 214.

in addition to the usual service there was rest from labour, the use of better food,¹ and the celebration of the Eucharist. The service commenced with vespers on the previous day, matins in the morning, and four other services, prime, tierce, sext, and none. The chief service, *missarum solemnna*, was at prime, or sext, at which the singers chanted the wonted office, in the course of which there was a commemoration of certain saints. In the *sacra Eucharistica ministeria*, or *obsequia*, the priest before the altar consecrated the elements; when a bishop officiated he broke the bread; the brethren then approached and partook of the Eucharist. Much has been written to prove that there was no adoration of the Host, and that the elements were partaken of by all who happened to be present, layman and cleric, and that all were genuine Protestants, with not a shadow of belief in transubstantiation. This would be far from the truth; the monks at Hy and the lay worshippers with them, were not a whit more advanced than the rest of the Christian world with whom the belief of a kind in the Real Presence existed from the earliest times. Milman with his usual felicity, tells how the general belief was transmuted into a dogma. 'The sacrament of the Lord's Supper imperceptibly acquired the solemnity, the appellation, of a sacrifice. The poetry of devotional language kindled into the most vivid and realising expressions of awe and adoration. No imagery could be too bold, no words too glowing, to impress the soul more profoundly with the sufferings, the divinity, the intimate union of the Redeemer with His disciples. The invisible presence of the Lord, which the devout felt within the whole church, but more particularly in its more holy and secluded part, was gradually concentrated, as it were, upon the altar. The mysterious identification of the Redeemer with the consecrated elements was first felt by the mind, till, at a later period, a material and corpo-

A. D. 563-697.

¹ The substitution of the name Sabbath, for Lord's Day, came in a thousand years later; the cold meat and scanty fare which sanctified the day, not altogether out of the remembrance of this generation, are of even a later date.

A. D. 563-597. real transmutation began to be asserted ; that which the earlier Fathers, in their boldest figure called a bloodless sacrifice, became an actual oblation of the body and blood of Christ. But all these fine and subtle distinctions belong to a later theology. In the dim vagueness, in the ineffable and inexplicable mystery, consisted much of its impressiveness on the believer, the awe and dread of the uninitiate.¹ From the time that an altar existed in a Christian church, and the rite of the Lord's Supper became more than a memorial feast, the doctrine of the Real Presence was held consciously or unconsciously. It was not the absurdity of the change as a physical impossibility, that destroyed the belief in the first stages of the Reformation, it was the shameless lives of the men who performed the ceremony of turning bread and wine into the flesh and blood of our Saviour which staggered the mind and conscience. The best educated and the holiest of the saints and fathers had no doubt on the subject ; it was certainly a mystery, but so much the better, the greater the faith required, the more meritorious the exercise of the faith. The people, king and peasant alike, adored the host, believing it to be the body of Christ, the priests elevating shared the belief. It still exists in a modified way among many who nominally reject the doctrine of transubstantiation as impious, unconscious superstition seems yet to be an integral portion of the rite.

The sacrament of Baptism was administered to adult converts after due instruction in the faith, sometimes by the abbot in his missionary travels to a whole family, sometimes (as in the case of the Emperor Constantine), to an individual a little before death.² There is no mention made of the white robe of the neophyte (climate and custom may have something to do with this), nor is there any record of the wholesale baptisms so common in the south of England, Ireland, and the Continent.

Fasting was diligently practised by the founder of Hy. Every Wednesday and Friday, except in the interval be-

¹ Milman's History of Christianity, vol. iii. pp. 317, 318.

² Life, pp. 134, 173, 203.

tween Easter and Whitsunday, was a fast day, and no food was taken till the *nona*, unless where the prior claims of hospitality demanded an exception to the rule. Lent was strictly kept; and during this season the fast was prolonged every day except Sunday, till evening, when a light meal, consisting of such food as bread, diluted milk and eggs, was taken.¹

‘Holy Orders were conferred by a bishop only.’ Young men were admitted to the Diaconate while students, and part of their duty was to wait upon the ministers of the altar. Priests’ orders were conferred by the bishop, but the previous imposition of the abbot’s right hand was required as the bishop’s warrant for his interference.² This statement by Dr Reeves has been freely controverted, but the balance of evidence seems to be in its favour.

Persons retiring from the world were received as associates, and might be received into communion at once by the abbot, or he might extend the probation over as long a period as seven years. At the appointed time the candidate was conducted to the oratory, where, on bended knees he repeated after the abbot the *monachium votum*, the solemn asseveration being *per nomen excelsi Dei*. The head was then shaved after the eastern fashion, introduced by, or existing in, St Patrick’s time, adopted by St Columba, and continued as the *mode* until 718, when the present tonsure was adopted by the society.³

After the commission of an offence, the penitent was required *coram omnibus peccantiam suam confiteri*, publicly and at once to confess all his sins, generally on his knees, and thus promising amendment, *pœnitentiam agere*, do penance. In such case the abbot either absolved him on the spot, or enjoined a more lengthened discipline, sometimes extended to an abode of seven years at a prescribed station, sometimes even to twelve years, occasionally accompanied by self-mortification to perpetual exile from fatherland.⁴

¹ Life, pp. 108, 129, 130, 181.

² *Ibid.* pp. 133, 135, 142, 180, 183.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 128, 132, 139, 147, 180.

² *Ibid.* pp. 169, 152, 135.

A. D. 563-597.

The sign of the cross was generally employed as *signum salutare*, before milking and before tools were used. It was also a sign of power. Columba made use of it in most of his miracles. Even at sea the cruciform relation of the masts and yards was regarded as conducive to a favourable voyage.¹

In Columba's lifetime, and long afterwards, there was an extensive use of *charms*, objects which he had blessed, bread, water, salt, a pine branch, a pebble, and other things; after his death anything he had worn or even touched had a supernatural power.² The belief in such charms was not peculiar to the age or nation, it existed from the earliest dawn of religious impression, certainly from the time that the woman thought she might be cured 'if she could but touch the hem of His garment.' Later on, 'when they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, at the least, the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.'

'The Burial of the Dead was a religious office, which involved a regard to the future as well as the present. The lively faith in a personal Resurrection rendered it a consideration of importance to be buried among the honoured members of the society, and, as the day of dissolution was regarded as *the* natal day, so the object in the choice of a burial place was *ubi resurge*. The body of the deceased was laid out in the cell wrapped in linen clothes, where it remained during the *exequiæ*, which lasted for three days and nights, in the course of which the praises of God were sung. The body was then borne to the grave in solemn procession, and buried with due reverence.'³ We may safely take for proved by this and the absence of all reference to purgatory, that it was yet unknown in Ireland and Hy. Milman says that the belief in the middle state grew with St Augustine and Pope Gregory, it must, therefore, have been in its infancy, and had not penetrated to this Ultima Thule of the Church. The doctrine was the natural sequence of penance, but

¹ Life, pp. 162, 163, 170, 171, 172, 172, 176, 190.

² *Ibid.* pp. 154, 156, 157, 168, 172, 175, 178, 113, 155, 158, 188.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 183, 190, 201, 216, cxv.

a penance of torture, the penitents of Hy were sent as a discipline on dangerous and hard missions when it would have been superfluous to have enjoined physical austerities. If we take John Scotus Erigena as a fair specimen of the Scotie Church, purgatory could not have been entertained, for he boldly maintained, to the horror of all pious Catholics, that the fire of hell was not material.

The primary object of study was the Holy Scriptures, *sapientia sacræ Scripturæ, lectio sacræ Scripturæ*. In what language is of course uncertain, some suppose from the fact that as a knowledge of Greek lingered longer in Ireland than in other parts of Western Europe, that the Septuagint was used, but it is much more probable that the Ante-Hieronymian version, in Latin, both of the Old and New Testaments, was the one generally used. It is also not at all unlikely that the Psalms and the Gospels were the parts most in use, and that there was not a complete copy of the Bible in Great Britain and Ireland at the time. Clerical writers in all times make copious extracts from all portions of Holy Writ indiscriminately; Gildas, a contemporary, is an example; Cummine and Adamnan confine their extracts to the parts mentioned, the inference is but fair, that they were in possession of these parts only. That any portion of the Bible or other religious treatises were translated into the vernacular of the country is out of the question, it cannot be proved that the Gadhelic was then a written language, it became one solely through intercourse with a higher culture. The services at any rate among the brethren, and possibly, as with Romanists yet, on all occasions, would be conducted in Latin, not considered then as a sacred language, but as the only medium fitted for educated men. All hagiology and history of that time and for many centuries after was written in Latin; Adamnan's is that of the mediæval period, written freely as the familiar expression of every day speech, but lacking in classical style. It would impart modern thought, put new wine into old bottles, were we to think that the fathers of our religion attached much importance to what version of Scripture they used, our Lord and His apostles used the Septuagint, one would think it would be good

A.D. 563-597. enough for their successors, but most modern clergymen thrust it aside, holding that it often colours and perverts the true meaning. In early times no particular text was a fetish to conjure by, and whatever version was used, the Scriptures, or portions of them, were well-known and freely used in the Scotie Church. Ulphilas, the Arian apostle of the Huns, excised the fighting portions of the Old Testament, our orthodox apostle may have preached from those very parts. The committing of the Psalms to memory was a special study incumbent on all.¹ Besides the Holy Scriptures, the course of study included the Latin and Greek languages, ecclesiastical history and other writings. For collective reading they were furnished with the lives of the saints; Adamnan mentions Severus' Life of St Martin, and Constantine's Life of St Germanus; the life of the founder would have a prominent place; strange no mention is made of St Patrick's Confession, though it was in existence then, and one would think copies of it plentiful.

Writing was, as may be conceived, a most important part of monastic work. St Columba, we have seen, was no mean adept, and many of his books were preserved, proving his skill and excellence in caligraphy. Besides the copies of the Scriptures, whole or in part, and the service books required at Hy and the mission stations, which were probably written without embellishment, great labour was bestowed on the ornamentation of manuscripts.² A chronicle of events, principally obits, was kept in the monastery, from which the Irish Annals may have derived the few particular events at Hy, noted there.³

The principal labour, as among the Benedictines, was agriculture; but, in addition, fishing, the preparing of food, and the manufacture of the various articles required for personal or domestic use.⁴

The ordinary refectio was very simple—bread, sometimes made of barley, milk, fish, eggs, and probably the flesh of the seal. On Sundays and holidays beef and mutton were added. The number of meals in the day,

¹ Life, pp. 169, 208; *ante* p. 201.

² *Ante*, p. 151.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 158, 172, 188, 203, 135.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 153, 188, 136, 130, 137, 201, 162, 131, 153, 204, 123, 155, 132, 183.

and the stated hours, can only be conjectured; as no mention is made of wine, beer, or other stimulants, it may be concluded that they formed no part of the ordinary fare of the brethren.¹ A. D. 563-597.

The usual garments were two: 1. the *cuculia*, an upper garment, consisting of a body and a hood of coarse texture, made of wool, and of the natural colour of the material; 2. the *tunica*, an under garment, which was occasionally white. When the weather required it, a warmer garment called *amphibalus*, was allowed. When working or walking, sandals were worn which were removed when sitting down to meat; it is to be hoped that to the aged and delicate brethren, and to all in the depth of winter, slippers were provided.²

In severe weather, or after hard labour, the Superior allowed the labourers (*otiani*) to rest. The monks slept on *lectuli*, beds or couches, which were distributed through the several cells. Each bed was provided with a pallet of straw and a pillow of the same material. What the coverlets were is not recorded, but few, probably, were required, as the monks slept in their ordinary clothes.³

Following Dr Reeves' order, we now come to the ECONOMY of the Institution.

The remains, as we have stated, can give us no clue to the space occupied, or even to the nature of the buildings during the time of St Columba and his successors, properly so called; the perishable nature of the structure, and the ravages of the Northmen, sufficiently account for this. The Life is the only guide. The buildings were composed of wood and wattles; all was surrounded by a rampart and fosse called a *vallum*, which, in Irish monasteries, was of a circular form, and was intended more for the restraint of the inmates than defence, though Columba, in case of attack, would undoubtedly have manned the ramparts, and made use of more than spiritual weapons.⁴

¹ Life, pp. 127, 153, 154, 155, 162, 179, 212, 104, 215, 202, 127, 140, 172.

² *Ibid.* pp. 168, 170, 188, 117, 157, 160, 201.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 131, 172, 199, 112, 213.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 167, 180, 213.

A. D. 563-577.

The most important structure was the *sacra domus*, called indifferently *ecclesia* and *oratorium*; it was provided with an altar (*altarium*), also with vessels, viz., the *discus* and *calix*; on extraordinary occasions reliquaries were placed there. Communicating was the sacristy, where was kept the *docca*, bell for summoning the congregation to the sacred offices.¹ There was also the refectory and the kitchen; in very cold weather the fireplace in the latter was resorted to for study.²

Though not mentioned, there was probably a chamber for the preservation of the books and other literary apparatus, the *tabulæ*, or waxed tablets; the *graphia*, or styles; the *calami*, or pens; the *cornicula atramenti*, or ink-horns, etc. The books, at least those which were intended for carriage, were suspended in *pelliceis sacculis*, leather cases or satchels, from the walls. Among these were the *sacra volumina* of *utraque canon*, possibly in the form of a Bible, ecclesiastical writings, and profane authors.³

Within the enclosure were the lodgings of the brethren, constructed of the rudest material. Adamnan makes frequent mention of the abbot's *domus* (house); it was at some distance from the others, situate on an eminence, built with joists, and furnished with a lock and key. Here the founder sat and wrote or read; he had always one or two attendants, who, as occasion required, performed also their duties. When a member died, he was laid out and waked in his lodging.⁴

There were besides a smithy and carpenter's shop, and likely a yard for boat-building, for large beams of timber in their rough state were sometimes floated from the mainland to the island, and fashioned into curachs.⁵

Outside of the enclosure were the byre with its cows, the barns, the kiln, the mill with pond and mill stream, the stable, the cart shed, and the port with its fleet of

¹ Life, pp. 207, 184, 187, 142, 181, 214, 189, 188, 120, 214.

² *Ibid.* pp. 127, 129.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 135, 172, 129, 157, 206, 212, note 269.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 153, 189, 206, 208, 129, 162, 172, 203, 183, 216.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 189.

small craft.¹ The pasture ground, with its byre, was situated on the east side of the island, at some distance from the monastery; on account of this the milk was conveyed on horseback; the pail had a lid secured by a bar passing through the holes at the side. The kiln was used both for thrashing the corn and for drying. There were several ports, and frequent arrivals and departures; the supply of craft seems to have been large and varied, some formed entirely of wood, others of wicker work covered with hides, large and capacious, furnished with masts, yards, ropes, sails, and oars; the keel, stern, rudder, forecastle, etc., are all described. Most were adapted for both sail and oar, with accommodation for passengers and crew. Besides the larger seagoing craft, there were small portable boats for crossing ferries or inland lochs. All the vessels of the society were provided with *navalia instrumenta*, among which were milk bags or bottles; how it kept sweet in warm weather is a question for investigators; the Celts of the present day would prefer something stronger and easier kept in its natural state. The crew was composed of monks or others not professed, indifferently.

The officers and servants were at first few, but their number soon increased. Those recorded are the Abbot, Prior, Bishop, Scribe, Anchorite, Butler, Baker, Cook, Smith, Attendants, Messengers. In after times were added the Culdees with their President; they had no particular connection with the Columbite order, but the system was admitted into Hy, and the name of their superior occurs in the annals of the institution.

The foregoing is a sketch of the Columbian Institution at Hy, almost entirely taken from the notes to Dr Reeves' edition of the Life of the founder by Adamnan. It remains but to say, that the island itself was but one among many under the jurisdiction of Hy,² where there were stations, all partaking, to some extent, of the character of the parent institution. It is not probable

¹ Life, pp. 212, 211, 130, 143, 128, 132, 160, etc.

² The founder speaks of *marini nostri juris vituli*, and his successor forbids a stay *in nostris insulis*.—Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxvii.

A. D. 565-597.

there were any miniature Hys on the mainland. The spiritual jurisdiction extended much further. Columba and his successors claimed and exercised it over all the monasteries of the order, and the inhabitants of Dalriada, Pictland, Strathclyde, and Bernicia. The parent institution, in its origin, was essentially missionary, but not entirely so; seclusion, in the early monastic sense, was also an integral part. So long as the missionary spirit continued, the influence Hy exercised was very great, though short-lived. So soon as this declined, even its authority was questioned, and became narrowed: 'Much of it was lost when Naiton, King of the Picts, expelled the Columbian clergy from his dominions; and the forfeiture was completed among the Picts when diocesan jurisdiction became defined and established. Even among the Scots, the prestige of Hy declined in proportion as rival influences grew; remote endowments were cut off; and the surviving rights in temporals and spirituals were narrowed to the adjacent islands of Mull, or a few of the Western Isles. Finally, when the Bishops of the Isles made Hy their episcopal seat, the monastic character of the institution merged in diocesan authority.'¹

The reader will be better able to judge, at the close of this work, what progress (if any) was made in Christianity and culture after the death of St Columba and his immediate successors, whether the revival of both was, or was not a revival of life from the dead, and how long the death in life continued. Though anticipating conclusions, it is sad indeed to think that such a glorious sunrise should so soon have been clouded, and that thick darkness should so soon have settled down without a break in the horizon. If we except the mission to Northumbria; the fairest blossom of Celtic enthusiasm and piety withered and died in fitful efforts to found a church in the Western Isles of Scotland, or to find there a refuge where the lonely pilgrim could pour out his soul in penitence and prayer. In addition to this enthusiastic piety, and the desire 'to flee away and be at rest,' there existed also a wild and daring spirit of adventure. Those

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxxvii.

sailor monks of the sixth and seventh centuries have a family likeness to the galaxy of Elizabethan worthies, who, strong in the strength of Him who stilleth the raging sea, and the billows thereof, carried the flag of their country—the flag of civilisation and Christianity—in almost as crazy pinnaces as the Celtic curachs, through storm and iceberg to the wild shores of Labrador. Unlike these bold and God-fearing pioneers of commerce, unlike even the devoted missionaries of the cross, the Jesuits of the same period, ‘it was neither curiosity nor the love of gain, nor even a desire to convert the Pagans, which stimulated Columba’s disciples to dare all the dangers of navigation in one of the most perilous seas of the world ; it was the longing for solitude, the irresistible wish to find a more distant retreat, an asylum still further off than that of Iona, upon some unknown rock, amid the loneliness of the sea, where no one could join them, and from which they never could be brought back. They returned to Iona without having discovered what they were in search of, sad, yet not discouraged, and, after an interval of rest, always took to sea again, to begin once more their anxious search. It was thus that the steep and almost inaccessible island of St Kilda, made famous by the daring of its wild hunters, was first discovered ; then far to the north of the Hebrides and the Orcades, they reached the Shetland Isles, and even, according to some Iceland, where the first Christian Church bore the name of St Columba. Another of their discoveries was the Faroe Islands, where the Norwegians of a later day found traces of the Irish monks, Celtic books, crosses, and bells. Cormac, the boldest of these explorers, made three long, laborious, and dangerous voyages, with the hope, always disappointed, of finding the wilderness of which he dreamed. The first time, on landing at Orkney, he escaped death, with which the savage inhabitants threatened all strangers, only by means of the recommendations which Columba had procured from the Pictish King, himself converted, to the still Pagan King of the northern islanders. On another occasion the south wind drove him, for fourteen succes-

A. D. 563-597. sive days and nights, almost into the depths of the icy ocean, far beyond anything that the imagination of man had dreamed of in those days.’¹ His three voyages are picturesquely told by Adamnan. The sea monsters never before seen, and almost indescribable, the suspense suffered by Columba and the brotherhood, the encouraging prophecies of the saint, the rapturous joy of the return: ‘And Cormac hastened to visit Columba, and in God’s bounty they looked on each other again, face to face, to the extreme joy and wonder of all.’² Cormac was one of the many Irish ecclesiastics whose name became domesticated in Scotland. Connected with his residence in the country, there are, indeed, some remains that may be contemporary with Columba’s mission. A little way off from the shore of South Knapdale, in Argyleshire, opposite to the old Church of Kilmory and its many sculptured monuments, is a small bare island, called Ellan Moir Vic O’Chormoig, which is rendered, the island of the Great Cormac. In the centre of it is an old ecclesiastical building—very old for Scotland. This, however, is not contemporary with the two saints (Cormac and Maelrubha), since it has been built by masons acquainted with the Norman arch, and though it has few distinctive features, can yet be fixed as a work not earlier than the eleventh century. There is a stone in a recess near it, reported by tradition to be the tomb of Cormac, with a recumbent image of a churchman above it; but these things are later than the oldest part of the church. They all go, along with a still more recent addition to the church, to show the veneration in which the saint’s name was held for centuries.’³ Connected with Kilmory is another follower of Columba of the same period, who has lately come forth in remarkable and rather startling light, and who is noticed by Mr Burton in his usual graphic manner: ‘All through Argyleshire there are scattered the sites or remains of ecclesiastical buildings, coming under names which have a generic similarity—as *Kilmory, Kilmory, Kilmorich, Kilmora* or Kilmoray. Near Apple-

¹ Montalembert’s Monks of the West. vol. iii. pp. 223-25.

² Life, p. 73.

³ Burton’s Scotland, vol. i. pp. 260-1.

cross, in Ross-shire, is the beautiful mountain lake called Loch Maree, and one among its many islands, with many ecclesiastical traditions clustering round it, is Eilen Maree.' Local tradition, supplemented by the clergy, associated, not unnaturally, these names with the Virgin, but there lingered obstinate traditions of a celebrated saint, particularly in connection with Applecross and Loch Maree. The connection between the place and a certain Saint Maelrubius, who has his day and appropriate service in the Aberdeen Breviary seemed worthy of investigation—the cue was found. The legend in the commemorative service makes the saint to have been martyred at Applecross, and the church there to have been the place of his sepulture. If this was all that was known of him, little could be made; he was simply one of the early martyrs, round whom traditions had clustered. But Dr Reeves and other Irish antiquaries picked him up identified, 'and out of their old hagiographical literature have drawn an account of St Maelrubha so distinct, both biographically and genealogically, that it would do credit to a modern peerage.' According to these he was the founder of a great monastic house, ruling over several establishments. He selected a better spot than most of his compatriots, for there are few finer districts than Loch Maree, where he lived in the midst of his own people, and escaping the honours of martyrdom, died in a good old age; 'Far more significant, however, than the history of the saint himself, is the traditionary history of his great foundation, and its subsidiary houses. A large group of churches and cells, supposed, from their names as traditionally preserved, to have been dedicated by the Early Scottish Church to the Virgin Mary, are thus taken from her and given to this Maelrubha. Twenty-one different spots, scattered over the west and north of Scotland, have, in some instances, not with complete success, been connected with his name in his capacity of saint.'¹ This is strong corroborative proof that the worship of the Virgin, which, indeed, at the time we speak of, and for centuries later, was little more than a sentiment, had

¹ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. pp. 261-3, where authorities are given; also Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 316, 335, 336.

A. D. 563-597. not found its way into Scotland. The cultus, we have seen, was not required when St Brigit had taken her place.

We only notice another of the fellow-workers with St Columba, St Donnan, called in the Aberdeen Breviary Confessor and Abbot. There are three saints of this name in the Irish hagiology. The friend of Columba is identified by the date of his martyrdom, Sunday, 17th April 617. Little is known of him but his cruel death; but from the numerous foundations bearing his name, it is evident that his labours extended over many parts of Scotland previous to that event: 'He was somewhat junior to Columba, whose friend he was, and in whose company he desired to be enrolled.' He was led to settle, with fifty of his followers, on the island of Eig, probably against the advice of the Abbot of Hy,¹ who to his enthusiastic piety added prudence, and told Donnan to expect martyrdom. His anticipations were fulfilled, the foolhardy missionary, with all his followers, were slaughtered like sheep, at the instance of a wicked woman and by the hands of a marauding party (pirates), possibly Picts from the neighbouring coast—

'With the festival of Peter the deacon
To glorious martyrdom ascended
With his clerics of pure lives,
Donnan of Cold Eig.'

Whether before or through his death the cross was planted on the island, for a successor is recorded to have died about a century later. There was a church there early in the eighteenth century dedicated to the saint. His memory is also preserved at Auchterless in Aberdeenshire; a market, held in April, is called Donnan's Fair. Also in Little Bernera, on the west of Lewis, Kildonan, in south Uist; Kildonen, in the parish of Loch Broom, Ross-shire; Kildonnen in Snizort, Skye. The same name occurs in Kintyre, in the parish of Kilmorie, Arran; in Kirkmaiden parish, Wigtonshire; and

¹ 'This Donnan went to Columcille to make him his soul's friend; upon which Columcille said to him, I shall not be soul's friend to a company (heirs) of red martyrdom, and thy people with thee. And it was so fulfilled.' Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 293-4.

in Colmonell parish, Ayrshire¹—all pointing to the conclusion that he was a most distinguished and laborious missionary, who lost his life in a foolhardy expedition undertaken against the advice of wiser heads. A.D. 563-597.

It were out of place to enter into particulars of the crowd of saint missionaries who adorned the Columbian period, are they not written in the pages of the Bollandists ; nothing tangible is left of them but their names. St Columba himself, thanks to his biographer Adamnan, alone stands out as a living breathing man, with all the virtues and all the defects of his race and times. The Celtic Church and civilisation of the period is a world in itself, unique in the history of our race ; the Apostle of Caledonia is the microcosm. Much of his life and character is shown in the miracles attributed to him. The affectionate character of the austere monk is beautifully depicted in the interest he displays, and the boundless hospitality he exercises to man and bird and beast, the poor crane pursues its journey to Ireland never to forget the friendly shores of Hy, the old white horse nestles his honest head in the kindly bosom. Bolder sailor and better judge of the weather there never has been among our Highland boatmen, the prophecies on this subject seemed messages direct from heaven at the time, but a study of sea and sky, the flight of the wild birds, and the variations of the temperature, no doubt formed a large portion of his prophetic insight. The anecdote quoted of his mien at Corryvreckan, is like a Viking, whose home was on the deck of his ship, whose spirits rose with the wild tumult of waters. But his constant journeys in those wild seas in fragile craft, and in which he took his part in labour at the oar, sufficiently prove his title as the patron saint of the sailors of the west, as Cuthbert was of the east. His love for agriculture and horticulture is seen in many incidents in the Life, his knowledge may be inferred from the miracle of his changing sour fruit into sweet ; grafting has done that before and since. In other industrial pursuits, in irrigation, in pisciculture, in all that could benefit country and people

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 296-7.

A. D. 563-597. he was active and earnest. His devotion to the cause of education, his holiness of life, are apparent in every transaction, even in the political broils in which he was mixed up from his early manhood to his latest years.

In this sketch of his life and labours, we have drawn almost exclusively from Adamnan's Life, but a great and eloquent writer in his sketch makes use of material from other and later sources, his *resumé* seems a fitting pendant to our account of the great Irishman, patriot, statesman, monk, and missionary of the cross. 'We have lingered, perhaps, too long on the grand form of the monk, rising up before us from the midst of the Hebridean sea, who for the third part of a century, spread over those sterile isles, and gloomy distant shores, a pure fertilising light. In a confused age and unknown region he displayed all that is greatest and purest, and it must be added, most easily forgotten in human genius; the gift of ruling souls by ruling himself. To select the most marked and graphic incidents from the general tissue of his life, and those most fit to unfold that which attracts the modern reader—that is, his personal character and influence upon contemporary events—from a world of minute details, having almost exclusive reference to matters supernatural or ascetical, has been no easy task. But when this is done, it becomes comparatively easy to represent to ourselves, the tall old man, with his fine and regular features, his sweet and powerful voice, the Irish tonsure high on his shaven head, and his long locks falling behind, clothed with his monastic cowl, and seated at the prow of his coracle, guiding the steersman through the misty archipelago and narrow lakes of the north of Scotland, and bearing from isle to isle, and from shore to shore, light and justice and truth, the life of the conscience and the soul. One loves above all to study the depths of that soul, and the changes which had taken place in it since its youth. No more than his namesake of Luxeuil, the monastic apostle of Burgundy, was he of the Picts and Scots a *Columba*. Gentleness was of all qualities precisely the one in which he failed the most. At the beginning of his life, the future Abbot of Iona showed himself still

more than the Abbot of Luxeuil to be animated by all the vivacities of his age, associated with all the struggles and discords of his race and country. He was vindictive, passionate, bold, a man of strife, born a soldier rather than a monk, and known, praised, and blamed as a soldier—so that even in his lifetime he was invoked in fight, and continued a soldier, *insulanus miles*, even upon the island rock from which he rushed forth to preach, convert, and enlighten, reconcile, and reprimand both princes and nations, men and women, laymen and clerks. He was at the same time full of contradictions and contrasts—at once tender and irritable, rude and courteous, ironical and compassionate, caressing and imperious, grateful and revengeful—led by pity as well as wrath, ever moved by generous passions, fired to the very end of his life by two which his countrymen understand the best, the love of poetry¹ and the love of country. Little inclined to melancholy, when he had once surmounted the great sorrow of his life, which was his exile; little disposed even save towards the end to contemplation or solitude, but trained by prayer and austerities to triumphs of evangelical exposition; despising rest, untiring in mental and manual toil; born for eloquence and gifted with a voice so penetrating and sonorous, that it was thought afterwards as one of the most miraculous gifts that he had received of God; frank and loyal, original and powerful in his words as in his actions—in cloister and mission, and parliament, on land and on sea, in Ireland as in Scotland, always swayed by the love of God and of his neighbour, whom it was his will and pleasure to serve with an impassioned uprightness. Such was Columba; besides the monk and missionary, there was in him the making of a sailor, a soldier, a poet, an orator. To us, looking back, he appears a personage as singular as he is loveable, in whom through all the mists of the past, and all the crosslights of legend, the man may still be recognised under the saint—a man capable and worthy of the supreme honour of holiness, since he knew how to subdue his inclinations, his weak-

¹ Strange that to the present day they have never produced one, unless Moore be reckoned more than a rhymster.

A.D. 563-597. ness, his instincts, and his passions, and to transform them into docile and invincible weapons for the salvation of souls and the glory of God.'¹

Were we free from what Herbert Spencer calls the 'theological bias,' it would be superfluous to say, let alone attempt to prove, that St Columba's great foundation at Hy and those subsidiary to it, were monasteries in no ways differing from those on the Continent at the time, and afterwards in England and all parts under the Roman system, except so far that the supremacy of the Pope was neither demanded or acknowledged, and that the superstitions then in their infancy, of Purgatory, and the deification of the Virgin, had not found their way so far north. Bishops, we have seen, were reckoned both ornamental and useful; but apostolic succession is never hinted at, the office was subsidiary to the head of a monastery in all points of rule in the Church, he was the superior, obedience *sine mora usque ad mortem* was the cardinal doctrine of the Columbian Church. But such is our *bias* as Protestants, and our detestation of Rome and monasticism, that we believe that the Early Scottish Church was not monastic, or, if forced by hard facts to give up this view, stoutly to maintain that it was a thoroughly different monasticism from that of the Roman system. That a monk and a monastic institution should have introduced Christianity into Scotland, and formed a Church which the Kirk claims as its ancestor, has sorely troubled divines. Though departing from the course of our narrative, our readers may pardon the digression: the subject is both interesting and important, at anyrate to those who think a form of Church government, or even a mode of life, *essentials* of Christianity, which must be canonised by Scripture or the Church, and binding on all men in every age and of every country.

The Rev. Mr MacLauchlan, who claims our respect in his History of the Early Scottish Church, as an impartial annalist and an accomplished scholar and antiquary, would like very much to show that the institution at Hy was not a monastery in the accepted sense of the word, in fact,

¹ Montalembert's Monks of the West, vol. iii. pp. 267-70.

compares it 'to those great educational and mission establishments which the Scottish Churches have planted in India, where a body of earnest, enlightened men are engaged in teaching and preaching the gospel, paying occasional visits to outlying towns and villages, and having occasional interviews with princes, for the purpose of communicating the knowledge of saving truth.'¹ The only answer to this must be, read Adamnan's Life of Columba, and the Missionary Record, with a few extracts from the Indian press. But the reverend historian has to prove that Columba and his associates were missionaries, not monks—monasticism must therefore be proved to be not only unscriptural but unchristian. 'The (monastic) system itself originated in the East, and sprung not from a Christian but from a Heathen source. It has not the shadow of a foundation in the Bible; the Jewish system, as revealed in the Old Testament, had no place for it, and acknowledged none of the principles on which it rests; the New Testament, as containing the teaching of Christ and His apostles, gives not the slightest warrant for it in any part; its source must be sought for among the writings of heathen philosophers; and there no doubt, and especially among those of the Platonic school, will be found the doctrine that human nature may be refined and purified by a certain process of self-denial, with respect to the ordinary cravings of human appetite and human ambition. It would appear to have sprung from a sense natural to the mind of man, that there is need of some means for expiating sin and purifying the heart; and in the absence of those means provided by God himself in the Gospel, men had recourse to such means as they themselves might devise, in ignorance of the real requirements of the case. The remarkable thing is, that such a system should ever have become associated with Christianity, and one can only suppose that it was in circumstances in which the true nature of the Christian faith came to be utterly obscured, that such a system could ever have been appended to it.'² The statement quoted, 'that monasticism sprung not from a

A.D. 563-597.

¹ MacLauchlan's Early Scottish Church, p. 164.

² *Ibid.* pp. 162, 163.

A. D. 563-597. Christian but from a Heathen source,' is indefensible, that 'the Jewish system had no place for it,' is as undeniable. If the reverend author thinks this last helps his argument he is mistaken, the Jewish system, even 'as revealed in the Old Testament,' is lamentably deficient in evoking those higher and holier feelings of our nature which gave rise to the asceticism which culminated in monasticism. The Jewish nation had a religion which professed to reward its votaries with temporal benefits only, they had no idea of self-mortification, self-denial for the good of their neighbours, mission labour was unknown; their religion was, serve Jehovah, and you will have peace and plenty in your borders, extirpate or make tributary your neighbours, but the less you have to do with them the better. The later Prophets and Psalmists had a more spiritual religion; the whole world indeed, from furthest east to Greece and Italy, was yearning for it, and previous to the Christian era, as Mr Lecky observes, 'a movement of asceticism had long been raging like a mental epidemic through the world.' It even penetrated through the thick crust of Judaism: 'Among the Jews—whose law, from the great stress it laid on marriage, the excellence of the rapid multiplication of population, and the hope of being the ancestor of the Messiah, was peculiarly repugnant to monastic conceptions—the Essenes had constituted a complete monastic society, abstaining from marriage, and separating themselves wholly from the world.' The same author says: 'Although the hermit or the monk was unknown in the Church for more than two hundred years after its foundation, we may detect almost from the earliest time a tone of feeling which produces it.'¹ In fact monasticism was the outcome of ancient philosophy, eastern mysticism, and an exaggerated view of the Christian virtues of purity and self-denial. The Platonic, and what is called the Neo-Platonic and Alexandrian philosophy gendered asceticism, as it did many other feelings of the most exalted character, which were incorporated into Christianity. The New Testament in the writings attributed to St John and those of St Paul, con-

¹ Lecky's History of European Morals, vol. ii. p. 108.

clusively show, how near Platonism approached to Christianity, and this is forcibly put by Mr Mackay when he says, 'Religion exists only when it influences the whole mind, when the sentiments adopt that attachment to the good which is love's most exalted form, and attended with its most lasting pleasure. Hence the Platonist as well as the Christian sums up the whole of human duty in the one comprehensive term of *love*, as implying the practical fulfilment of all law, human and divine.' We have said that eastern mysticism had its share in producing Christian asceticism; there were probably before the Christian era Buddhist monks, and they still flourish; how closely Buddhism approximated to Christianity in the minds of some of the early converts is noticed by Max Müller, who quoting from Neander, asserts: 'There was a time when Buddha was identified with Christ. The Manichaeans were actually forced to abjure their belief that Buddha, Christ, and Mani were one and the same person.'¹

A D. 563 597.

It is very probable that there were, what may be called monks and monasteries previous to Christianity, but we shall now attempt to show that the teaching of the New Testament and the example of the early teachers were the grand causes of the development of both. The ideal of the monastic life, and, to be fair, we must take the *ideal*, centred in a life of which the essentials were—voluntary poverty and community of goods, celibacy, mortification of the flesh, and self-sacrifice—can they all not be found in the teaching of the New Testament.

I. VOLUNTARY PROPERTY AND COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

—'And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as

ov/

¹ Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 222, ed. 1867
Neander's Church History, vol. ii. p. 160, and note, ed. Bohn.

A. D. 563-597.

he had need.¹ The hard facts in their daily life, not the teaching of the apostles, soon taught the early converts that community of goods, and a life of fervent devotion, of communistic religious daily service, was quite impracticable; yet it was a beautiful dream, such as Plato in ancient, Sir Thomas More in modern times, have put into words. Perhaps it may come when the vision of the wrapt seer of the Apocalypse will be a reality, when the kingdoms of the world shall have become 'the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.' Many are the perplexing problems to be solved in our times, before this result can take place. They press like a nightmare on the minds of those who *believe* in the triumph of Christianity, the true 'liberty and fraternity.' But the moral enigmas in society now are as nothing compared to what they were before, or rather at the time of the advent of the Regenerator of the world. In ancient civilisations, freedom and equality were unknown. The Jews had no idea of either to any outside the seed of Israel; the Greeks to none but the freeborn citizens of Hellas and its colonies; the Roman centered all in the imperial city. In all, the large class of slaves were treated perhaps better than the Negro was by the European, but only for the convenience or pleasure of his master.² Religion had no influence here, each nation had its own deity or deities, who cared for them only, and subdued their enemies. Christianity put an end to this as a rule of life to all who would accept it. In the first enthusiasm of the new faith, liberty, equality, and fraternity were the watchwords; all men were to the first Christians, brothers, they would have no superfluity, would share with all; to be one in Christ was their aim; their calling was so exalted, that to them Greek and Barbarian, Prince and Mendicant, were alike. Besides, the 'imitatio Christi,' still attractive in theory, but for long shrivelled or sublimated into a meaningless dogma, was, in the early stages of the Church a living reality. Men and women strove to be like Christ in poverty and abnegation of worldly goods, and to be constantly employed,

¹ Acts, chap. iv. vers. 32, 34, 35.

² See Lecky's History of European Morals, vol. i. pp. 318-24.

like Him and His disciples, in devotion and teaching, separating themselves from the world, that they might not be of the world.

II. CELIBACY.—‘Marriage is honourable in all,’ and has the sanction not only of Scripture, but of man’s reason and conscience; yet it is plain, from Early Church History, that, even in the infancy of Christianity, though marriage was freely permitted to the clergy, yet ‘a notion of the impurity of marriage existed, and it was felt that the clergy, as pre-eminently the holy class, should have less license than laymen.’¹ Probably the feeling was much the same which exists in our own time among a rapidly increasing class, that a clergyman should be an abstainer. The low ground on which St Paul approves of marriage,² though soon enough found a sufficient one, tended to the celibate state, while the high ground on which he placed it, as freeing men from all the ties which hindered their warfare as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, tended soon to exalt it to the highest degree of spiritual excellence. The soil was well-fitted to receive such seed. Except during a short period in early Greek and Roman history, impurity was the great blot, the eating canker of ancient society. At what period of time Egypt, Assyria, and India were other than infamously licentious cannot be traced; when the Jews forsook their national religion, their prophets uniformly speak of this as whoredom and adultery, using as imagery the vices most prevalent and familiarly known to their hearers. If the wise king was the author of the Proverbs, he had trodden the streets of Jerusalem at untimeous hours, and knew the haunts of vice there. The command to the prophet, Hosea, shows a very low standard of morality.³ At the time of the advent of Christ the whole of the world was impure; vice had the sanction of deity, the gods had for their ministers panders and prostitutes. Christ and His apostles opened men’s eyes to this hideous state of things, and, as was natural, for many centuries, purity as between the sexes, became the highest type of Christian virtue. The two founders,

¹ Lecky’s *Morals*, vol. ii. p. 32.

² 1 Cor. vii.

³ Hosea, chaps. i.-iii.

A. D. 563-597.

Christ and St Paul, had set the example of celibacy. To be like Christ, earnest minds shrunk from sexual connection as from contamination. The immaculate conception, is the legitimate offspring of this feeling combined with Gnosticism.

III. MORTIFICATION OF THE FLESH AND SELF-SACRIFICE.—Sacrifice of either body or soul, in a Christian sense, was utterly unknown till Christ lived, except perhaps to Sakya Mouni and his followers. For country or for friend, there had been many and noble examples of the virtue, but for mankind, or for its own sake, there had been none. Men served their god or gods, and had, or expected to have, their reward for so doing. To suffer weariness and grief, to be reproached and buffeted, to sink at last into a dishonoured grave, was the life of the founder of Christianity, and this was the life his followers took for their example. If St Paul boasts of his afflictions and infirmities,¹ and desires 'to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the Church,'² is it wonderful that awakened souls should turn from their luxury and lust, and voluntarily endure, nay, bring upon themselves infirmities and afflictions! The ideal of Christianity for many centuries was sacrifice of sense, afflicting the body for the good of the soul. It might be a question with Christians of the present day, whether they afflict body or soul *much*. The ideal is lost in the practical, and we look more with pity than admiration on the iron-belt taken from the body of the gallant but unfortunate James on the fatal field of Flodden.

It may be granted to the Rev. Mr MacLauchlan, and others of his school, that monasticism *per se* is not to be found in the New Testament; but its general tone gives countenance to it, and its authoritativeness might even be proved by the infallible test to Protestants, numerous texts of Scripture. It originated in the true sentiments of Christianity and Humanity, heightened by enthusiasm, and unchecked by experience. These feelings gave birth and being to eastern monasticism, which, however, had

¹ 2 Cor. chaps. xi. -xii.

² Col. chap. i. ver. 24.

little in common with the form it assumed in the west. A.D. 563 597.
In it there was no isolation,¹ but for temporary or exceptional purposes, neither were the austerities so uselessly severe. It has no pillar saints, or rather maniacs; the brethren formed themselves into communities,—labour, mental and bodily, their occupation, as well as devotion—their business in life to convert the heathen, to till the ground and teach others to follow their example. Education followed, and the monks soon became not only the teachers of the religious, but the secular knowledge of Christendom. It is difficult now to realise what monks once were; ignorance, dirt, and debauchery alone are present to our minds, yet to the candid student of history there is irrefragable evidence that to them Europe, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance, owes whatever it had of civilisation and learning—nowhere more than in the British Isles—Montalembert says: ‘Of all the countries in Europe, this (Britain) has been most deeply furrowed by the monastic plough. The monks, and the monks alone, have introduced, saved, and cultivated Christian civilisation in this famous island.’

¹ Except perhaps the Scottish (Irish) saints of the third order.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAMILY OF HY.

The Columbian Church in Scotland—The Family (familia) of Hy—Abbot Baithene—Laisren—Easter Controversy—Fergna Brit-Seghine—Oswald a Refugee at Hy—He recovers Bernicia by Supernatural Aid from Columba—Applies to Hy for an Instructor—Bishop Aidan—His Labours successful—Oswald's Defeat and Death—Penda and Heathenism—Suibhne—Cuimíne Ailbhe—Bernicia—Bishop Finan—Colman—His Debate on Easter with Wilfrid—Celtic Clergy return to Hy—Their Character—Hilda—Caedmon—Cuthbert.

A. D. 597-600.

APART from Hy, little or rather nothing is known of the Columbian Church in Scotland. That there were miniatures of the parent institution in the islands and even the mainland, is not in itself improbable. There are the same grounds for supposing that individual missionaries succeeded in planting Christianity, and formed communities, over which they and their successors presided as pastors; the traditions of early churches may have some foundation in fact. But the previous statement,¹ that there was a third order of Scotie saints succeeding the Columbian period who were recluses and nothing more, decisively proves that much of the power and fervour of the new faith ran to seed, and expended itself in endeavours to purify the individual. We sympathise with the feeling of the Psalmist when he cries, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander afar off, and remain in the wilderness;'² but his active life teaches us that it ought to expire in a burst of passionate sentiment. Had the recluses of this period devoted their piety and talents to others than themselves, the Roman revival in the twelfth century might have been unnecessary. It will thus be seen that the history of the early Scottish Church

¹ *Anti*, p. 139.

² Psalm lv. 6, 7.

is exhausted in the record of the doings of the family at A. D. 597-600 Hy.

On the death of St Columba, he was succeeded by his cousin and confidential friend, Baithene, whom he had previously designated as his successor. His name occurs frequently in Adamnan's Life; he seems to have been cordially accepted in room of his departed master by the brethren; the dependencies in Scotland and Ireland acquiesced in the appointment. Bede tells of the position then held by Hy. 'The monastery (there) was for a long time the chief of almost all those of the northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people.'¹ The same author tells us of the economy, the character of the founder, his successors, and the errors into which they had fallen: 'That island has for its ruler an abbat, who is a priest, to whose direction all the province, and even the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject, according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and monk; of whose life and discourses some writings are said to be preserved by his disciples. But whatsoever he was himself,² this we know for certain, that he left successors renowned for their continency, their love of God, and observance of monastic rules. It is true they followed certain uncertain rules in their observance of the great festival, as having none to bring them the synodal decrees for the observance of Easter, by reason of their being so far away from the rest of the world; wherefore they only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolical writings. This manner of keeping Easter continued among them for the space of 150 years, till the year of our Lord's incarnation 715.'³ Baithene, the first of these chaste and pious abbots, presided with dignity and usefulness over his charge for three years, when, on the same day as his predecessor, 9th June, he was called

¹ Bede, p. 113.

² Bede, with probably Adamnan's Life before him, does not seem to have formed a high opinion of the great Celtic saint; his own ideal of a saint was essentially different.

³ Bede, pp. 114, 115.

A. D. 600-605. to his rest, 600. Nothing eventful is chronicled during his reign or incumbency.

He was succeeded by Laisren, also a cousin of St Columba, who, during the lifetime of the founder, was Abbot of Durrow. During his time the unfortunate Easter controversy made its appearance, and disturbed the consciences of the abbot and the brethren, though, so far as we know, it attained no considerable dimensions during his life. It is pitiable to think that the saintly missionaries of the cross at that time, Roman and Celtic alike, attached such importance to a very trifle. Gross ignorance, rapine, war, and unbridled lust, were everywhere, enough, one would think, to tax the energies of the most devoted servant of Christ; yet but seven years (605) since the time that Augustine set foot on the shore of Britain, we find the Roman Bishop Laurentius inveighing against this dangerous error; the Celtic Bishop Dagan refusing to eat with the conformists to Rome.¹ How much of the Christianity taught in all ages by the clergy of all churches is veriest trifling, let the candid mind of to-day judge. Laisren's tenure of the abbacy lasted from 600 to 605.

A. D. 605-623. Fergna Brit, or the Briton, was the fourth abbot. How he obtained his surname is unknown. Dr Reeves thinks it is a point worth investigation, and 'that more is implied in the epithet than is recorded;' he was of the same stock as St Columba, though not so near a relative as his predecessors. His name is mentioned in the Life as 'a youth of good disposition, and afterwards made by God superior of this church in which I, though unworthy, serve.'² His incumbency lasted from 605 to 623; during this long period he seems to have led a blameless life, exercised a careful supervision over his flock, and encouraged missionary enterprise among the Picts as well as the Scots. In his time (A. D. 617) took place the sad tragedy on the island of Eig, where St Donnan, with fifty-two associates, were inhumanly massacred.³ Another and, as it turned out, a most important event in Fergna's time was the arrival in Scotland of the fugitives from Bernicia, the adherents to the cause of Aedilfrid, whose

¹ Bede, pp. 74, 75. ² Adamnan, p. 91. ³ *Ante*, p. 210.

army had been defeated, and himself slain by the King of Deira. Eanfrid, the eldest son of the late King of Bernicia, found shelter with the King of the Picts. Oswald, the second son, thirteen years of age, with at least twelve companions, betook himself to Hy, or was sent there for instruction and upbringing by the friendly potentate who shielded his brother. They were residents in the island for the long period of seventeen years, 'and were there instructed according to the doctrine of the Scots, and received the grace of baptism.'¹ Oswald doubtless received more than religious education; and it says much for the abbot and the brethren, that the no longer youthful prince left his sanctuary a pious man, but a brave soldier, not a cowed monk. In 623 Fergna Brit died, and was succeeded by Seghene. A.D. 605-623.

The new abbot was a blood relation to the founder, being nephew to his cousin Laisren, the third abbot. 'Seghene was a zealous advocate of the old paschal observance,' and either on account of his advocacy, or that the subject had now assumed its due importance, involving submission and conformity to the Roman See, he was addressed in 634 by Cummian, a learned Irish ecclesiastic who had conformed, and by different Popes of the period.² The proper time when to observe Easter seems then to have involved stupendous issues, and to have formed an integral part of Christianity; even yet it seems a matter of no small consequence to Romanists and Anglicans. What was the dispute is perhaps best told by one who is not an ecclesiastic, Mr Burton, who, however, thinks that few 'have thought fit to study its merits.' 'Before the Council of Nice there were considerable diversities throughout the Christian world in the method of calculating the annual return of Easter. It was the peculiarity of the Eastern Church generally, that they held it on the fourteenth day of the paschal moon, or first Jewish month, whether that day were Sunday or not. The Jewish passover, held on the fourteenth, or full moon, and the Christian commemoration, were

¹ Bede, p. 108.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. cxlviii.; Bede, p. 104.

A. D. 623-652. apt to coincide. The Council of Nice, in 325, established as a rule over the Christian world, that Easter must be celebrated on a Sunday, that the Sunday must be the first after the fourteenth day of the paschal moon, and that the paschal moon is that of which the fourteenth day follows the vernal equinox, fixed on the 21st of March. The regulation might be complicated, but it was distinct, and the church at large was directed to obey it.¹

The Scotch (Irish) ecclesiastics had a method of their own for calculating the day to be observed as Easter: 'That Easter was to be celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon,'² that is, between the fourteenth and twentieth of the moon. We hope our readers may be able from this to make out the Celtic time for the observance of Easter; if not, we can only refer them to the interesting and exhaustive account of the debate on the subject, as detailed by Bede, the ninth to contemporary historian.³ The orthodox, but kindly churchman, further remarks, that through ignorance, and being so far away from the rest of the world, the Scots adhered to their own mode, whatever it was, in defiance of Holy Writ, and the decrees of the Apostolic See—the Church of Rome. The power of this greatest of human organisations was as yet in its infancy, but was rapidly advancing, and the first portion of the Celtic Church to submit to its dictum, was the southern division of the Church in Ireland. 'The Scots, which dwelt in the south of Ireland, had long since, by the admonition of the Apostolic See, learned to observe Easter according to the canonical custom.'⁴

Cummian, previously referred to, despatched to Seghene a long and learned epistle, in which he used many and powerful arguments in favour of the Roman mode, and of the authority which sanctioned it, but all to no effect; the Abbot of Hy was firm; he probably thought the authority of St Columba as good as that of Pope Honorius.

If we could but think it, we should say that Seghene's

¹ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. pp. 267-8.

² Bede, p. 158. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 155, 160. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 112.

thoughts would be more taken up with the success of his friend and pupil Prince Oswald, who almost at the same time set out on his perilous enterprise to recover the throne of his fathers. The details of the campaign, which issued in the decisive battle which restored to the refugee his patrimony, the extent of the material help he received from Pict and Scot, are lost, not so the account of the supernatural aid he received through being a child of the sanctuary at Hy. Prince Oswald, doubtless, left his second home encouraged by the sympathy and fortified by the prayers of the brethren; but other and more direct help was not wanting on the eventful day: 'For as this same King Oswald, after pitching his camp, in readiness for the battle, was sleeping one day on a pillow in his tent, he saw St Columba in a vision, beaming with angelic brightness, and of figure so majestic that his head seemed to touch the clouds. The blessed man having announced his name to the King, stood in the midst of the camp, and covered it all with his brilliant garment, except at one small distant point; and at the same time he uttered those cheering words which the Lord spake to Jesua Ben Nun before the passage of the Jordan, after Moses' death, saying, 'Be strong and of a good courage; behold, I shall be with thee,' etc. Then St Columba having said these words to the King in the vision, added, 'March out this following night from your camp to battle, for on this occasion the Lord has granted to me that your foes shall be put to flight, that your enemy Catlon shall be delivered into your hands, and that after the battle you shall return in triumph and have a happy reign.' The King, awakening at these words, assembled his council, and related the vision, at which they were all encouraged; and so the whole people promised that, after their return from the war, they would believe and be baptised, for up to that time all that Saxon land had been wrapt in the darkness of paganism and ignorance, with the exception of King Oswald and the twelve men who had been baptised with him during his exile among the Scots. What more need I say? 'On the very next night, King Oswald, as he had been directed in the vision,

A. D. 623-652 went forth from his camp to battle, and had a much smaller army than the numerous hosts opposed to him, yet he obtained from the Lord, according to His promise, an easy and decisive victory—for King Catlon was slain, and the conqueror, on his return after the battle, was ever after established by God as the Bretwalda of all Britain. I, Adamnan, had this narrative from the lips of my predecessor, the Abbot Failbe, who solemnly declared that he had himself heard King Oswald relating this same vision to Seghene the abbot.¹ Bede's account is not so dramatic. Oswald, he says, 'erected the sign of the holy cross, and on his knees prayed to God that he would assist his worshippers in their great distress. It is further reported that the cross being made in haste, and the hole dug in which it was to be fixed, the King himself, full of faith, laid hold of it and held it with both his hands, till it was set fast by throwing in the earth; and this done, raising his voice he cried to his army, 'Let us all kneel, and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty, in His mercy, to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy; for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation.'² Providence is not always on the side of the strongest battalions; religion and patriotism have often, as in this case, supplied the lack of numbers.

Bernicia and Deira had seven years previously received the faith of Christ from the Roman missionary Paulinus, but on the death of Aedwin 633, Heathenism re-asserted itself, Paulinus fled to the south, and Christianity became extinct. Oswald had then, to all intents and purposes, virgin soil to operate on. He, in the full vigour of manhood, now thirty years of age, and strong in the faith he had imbibed while at Hy, burned to impart it to his subjects, and naturally turned to his own instructors for that desirable end, ignorant, no doubt, of their heretical views on Easter and the Tonsure. He lost no time.

Bede's account of the transaction is slightly contradictory, he says: 'The same Oswald, as soon as he ascended the throne, being desirous that all his nation

¹ Adamnan, pp. 5, 6.

² Bede, pp. 109-10.

should receive the Christian faith, whereof he had found happy experience in vanquishing the barbarians, sent to the elders of the Scots, among whom himself and his followers, when in banishment, had received the sacrament of baptism, desiring they would send him a bishop, by whose instruction and ministry the English nation which he governed, might be taught the advantages, and receive the sacraments of the Christian faith. Nor were they slow in granting his request; but sent him Bishop Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation; zealous in the cause of God, though not altogether according to knowledge.¹—Easter, etc. The choice of a missionary, however, does not seem to have been so easy, nor the dispatch so prompt. Further on the historian says, ‘It is reported, that when King Oswald had asked a Bishop of the Scots to administer the word of faith to him and his nation, there was first sent to him another man of more austere disposition, who meeting with no success, and being unregarded by the English people, returned home, and in an assembly of the elders reported, that he had not been able to do any good to the nation he had been sent to preach to, because they were uncivilised men, and of a stubborn and barbarous disposition. They, as is testified, in a great council seriously debated what was to be done, being desirous that the nation should receive the salvation it demanded, and grieving that they had not received the preacher sent to them. Then said Aidan, who was also present in the council, to the priest then spoken of, ‘I am of opinion, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and did not at first, conformably to the apostolic rule, gave them the milk of more easy doctrine, till being by degrees nourished with the word of God they should be capable of greater perfection, and be able to practise God’s sublimer precepts.’² The sentiments of the speaker met with the approbation of the brethren, and he was at once chosen to fill the place vacated by the too severe and learned emissary. In deference to the prejudices of their southern friends, or, as Bede says,

A.D. 623-652.

¹ Bede, pp. 111-12.

² *Ibid.* p. 117.

A. D. 623-652. 'because he deserved to be made a bishop,' Aidan was consecrated to that high office, and set out at once on his arduous duties. Apart from his heretical views on the Easter question, Bede is loud in his praises, 'he left the clergy a most salutary example of abstinence or continence; it was the highest commendation of his doctrine, that he taught, no otherwise than he and his followers had lived; for he neither sought nor loved anything of this world, but delighted in distributing immediately among the poor, whatever was given him by the kings or rich men of the world. He was wont to traverse both town and country on foot, never on horseback, unless compelled by some urgent necessity; and wherever in his way he saw any, rich or poor, he invited them, if infidels, to embrace the mystery of the faith, or if they were believers, to strengthen them in the faith, and to stir them up by words and actions to alms and good works.'¹ The writer contrasts Aidan's energy with the slothfulness of his own times, and incidentally tells of the veniality of the rich and the prevalence of slavery. 'He never gave money to the powerful men of the world, but only meat, if he happened to entertain them; and on the contrary, whatsoever gifts of money he received from the rich he distributed to the use of the poor, or bestowed them in ransoming such as had been wrongfully sold for slaves. Moreover, he afterwards made many of those he had ransomed his disciples, and after having taught and instructed them, advanced them to the order of priesthood.'¹ We cannot but endorse Bede's admiration; we see pictured before us the high-born Celt, yet the lowly follower of Christ, mixing on terms of equality, and dispensing his hospitality to kings and princes, yet ever mindful of the poor and the desolate, no leveller of rank, but gladly receiving into the gospel-fold on terms of perfect equality the outcast and the slave. Oswald joyfully received the missionary from Hy, and though Bede says, 'On the arrival of the Bishop, the King appointed him his Episcopal See in the isle of Lindisfarne, as he desired, probably Aidan selected

¹ Bede, p. 116.

the spot, on account of its being an island like Hy and suited for the austerities of the Celtic monks by whom he was accompanied. Though apparently inconvenient as a centre for a missionary bishop, it was in some respects not so, being situated midway between the Tyne and the Tweed, and but a short distance from Bamboro' the capital of Bernicia. A.D. 623-652.

Aidan's labours were eminently successful, either by his amiable character, his tact, or the absence of Roman emissaries; the Easter and Tonsure controversy was laid to sleep, many devoted and learned men were attracted to him, religion and civilisation spread over the whole Northumbrian district. The monastery at Lindisfarne trained and sent forth men under Aidan's supervision, who founded the churches or abbeys of Melrose, Coldingham, Bamboro', and Whitby. In all his labours Aidan was energetically supported by the personal influence of the King himself, 'when the bishop, who was not skilful in the English tongue, preached the gospel, it was most delightful to see the King himself interpreting the word of God to his commanders and ministers, for he had perfectly learned the language of the Scots during his long banishment.'¹

But Aidan and the Church had to bear their cross in the slaughter of Oswald by the terrible Penda in 642, and for thirteen years Northumbria, and indeed most part of England, was under the sway, nominal or real, of the last representative of Teutonic heathenism. But savage and perfidious, though Penda is called by the monkish historians, he was no unworthy representative of the grand faith in Odin and Thor, which is still *the* religion of the Briton when he is on the war-path. An eloquent historian of our own times,² finds in him 'a grand sincerity of nature;' and in his later days Bede says: 'Nor did King Penda obstruct the preaching of the word among his people, the Mercians, if any were willing to hear it, but, on the contrary, he hated and despised those whom he perceived not to perform the works of faith, when they had once received the faith, saying: 'They were con-

¹ Bede, p. 112.

² The late Mr Green.

A.D. 623-652. temptible and wretched who did not obey their God, in whom they believed.¹ Perhaps the grim warrior could not receive the *mystery* of the faith so much insisted on, and could not discover much difference in the practice of the believers in the old and the new faith. Penda probably paid little attention to ecclesiastical affairs,*and the Church lived through the fell warfare and intestine quarrels, which were terminated only by the defeat and death of the King of Mercia.

Oswy, the brother of Oswald, succeeded to the throne of Northumbria, with whom, according to Bede, was associated for some time Oswin, of the race of Edwin. The latter seems to have inherited the piety and the love for the Scots which distinguished the late king and martyr; Aidan found in him a worthy successor to the sainted monarch and friend he had lost. Oswy, on some ground or other, 'could not live at peace with him, and in a detestable manner slew him,' 650. His death was a sad blow to Aidan, who seems to have anticipated his ruin, for a year previously he had predicted Oswin's death. He did not long survive the friend he loved so well. 'Bishop Aidan himself was also taken out of this world, twelve days after the King he loved, on the 31st of August, to receive the eternal reward of his labours from our Lord.'² Bede narrates many miracles which Aidan performed; in no whit was he behind the chiefest of saints; incidentally letting us know his multifarious cares, his laborious journeys, and his tender solicitude for the welfare of the infant church. His biographer can find no fault in him except his erroneous view on Easter and the Tonsure; even this blemish he tries to cover over by saying: 'That in the celebration of his Easter, the object which he had in view in all he said, did, or preached, was the same as ours.'³

Finan was sent as successor by Seghene, who, a year afterwards, paid the debt of nature, 652, and was succeeded by Suibhne, son of Cuirtri, nothing more is known of his extraction, and nothing as to his personal history, he died 657. His successor was Cuimine Ailbhe the Fair, nephew

¹ Bede, p. 144.

² *Ibid.* p. 133.

³ *Ibid.* p. 137.

of Seghene ; he held the abbacy for twelve years, and has come down to posterity as the author of a life of St Columba, from which Adamnan drew his material, and also as the abbot under whose tenure of office the Northumbrian Church was lost to Hy. A.D. 657-669.

Finan succeeded to the care of a suffering flock, for until his death Penda wasted the country with fire and sword, spared neither priest nor layman, burned villages and churches alike, even the sacred edifice where Aidan breathed his last, the post, however, on which the bishop had leaned in his last moments 'could not be consumed by the fire which consumed all about it.'¹

'A.D. 655.—This year King Oswy slew King Penda at Winwidfield, and thirty men of royal race with him—and the Mercians became Christians.'²

The contest was over, but Christianity had no sooner triumphed than the old dissensions laid aside in the furnace of affliction revived, and in the end the Celtic Church, after thirty years leal service in Northumbria, had to retire to its island sanctuary, leaving the field to the grasping corporation which even yet claims the title of the Holy *Catholic* Church.

All the information we have as to the length of Finan's tenure of office is given by Bede, when he says, that 'he continued a considerable time in the bishopric.' Even before the great victory, the observation of Easter was a fruitful cause of controversy. Rome was encroaching, and teachers from the Church of Augustine were finding their way north. James, the deacon, who is said to have introduced the Gregorian chanting, was an earnest supporter of the Roman system in less important matters, and he, with others, found an important ally in the 'Queen Eanfleda, who, with her followers, observed the Catholic mode as she had seen practised in Kent.' At this time, 652, the controversy waxed bitter, James, previously mentioned, and 'Ronan, a Scot by nation, but instructed in ecclesiastical truth either in France or Italy, were zealous advocates of the Roman system, they convinced many, 'but could not prevail upon Finan, but, on the contrary, made

¹ Bede, p. 136.

² Saxon Chronicle, p. 320.

A D. 657-669. him the more inveterate by reproof, and a professed opposer of the truth, being of a hot and violent temper.'¹ The King adhered to his spiritual adviser—his bishop; the Queen to her advisers; the unedifying spectacle was presented of these two august personages celebrating the great Christian festival on two different days. Easter was twice kept in one year.

But after the death of Finan, and the arrival of Colman, who was sent out of Scotland, the controversy assumed larger proportions, everybody was interested in the settlement of such an essential point in our most holy faith. A conference was arranged to be held in the Abbey of Whitby, in presence of the King and his son Alfrid, when both parties were summoned to appear, state their arguments, and abide the decision of the King of Northumbria, 664. Colman was supported by the Abbess Hilda, the venerable Bishop Cedd and a numerous following. Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, was the dignified representative of Rome, and had for his supporters the priests Agatho, Wilfrid, James, and Romanus. The debate was conducted by Colman in person, and Wilfrid the able advocate, was retained for Rome. It cannot be described otherwise than as a solemn palaver; it ended by the Scot citing St Columba as his authority, the Roman the Pope, whom both parties there, he took for granted, acknowledged the legitimate successor of St Peter. The summing up of the arguments by the monarch and his decision can only be told by Bede, whose narrative was probably taken from those who were present at the council: 'When Wilfrid had spoken thus, the King said: "Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord? Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' He answered, 'It is true, O King!' Then says he, 'Can you show any such power given to your Columba.' Colman answered, "None." Then added the King, "Do you both agree that these words were principally directed to Peter, and that the keys of

¹ Bede, p. 154.

heaven were given to him by our Lord?" They both answered, "We do." Then the King concluded: "And I also say unto you, that he is the door-keeper whom I will not contradict, but will, so far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys." The King having said this, all present, both great and small, gave their assent, and renouncing the more imperfect institution, resolved to conform to that which they found to be better.¹

A. D. 657-669.

Colman did not acquiesce in the decision, he would not conform, but left with most of the Celtic brethren and returned to Hy. Tuda, a Scots monk, who *did* conform, was appointed in his place, but held the office for a very short time, and with him ended the line of Celtic bishops, ruling from Lindisfarne the Saxon Church in the north of England and the south of Scotland. The See of York claimed the Primacy, and the Church became a part of the Roman system.

Whatever we may think of the petty quarrel, which drove the monks of Hy from their field of labour, their pure morality and unworldly life must command our warmest admiration. They left no houses on their island-home, but what were barely sufficient for shelter; they had cattle, but no money, for what of the latter they received was at once given to the poor, 'for the whole care of those teachers was to serve God, not the world—to feed the soul, not the belly.' For this reason the religious habit was at that time in great veneration; so that wheresoever any clergyman or monk happened to come, he was joyfully received as God's servant. Great attention was also paid to their exhortations; and on Sundays they flocked eagerly to the church or the monasteries, not to feed their bodies, but to hear the word of God; and if any priest happened to come into a village, the inhabitants flocked together to hear from him the word of life; for the priests and clergymen went into the village on no other account than

¹ Bede, pp. 159, 160.

A.D. 657-669. to preach, baptise, visit the sick, and in few words, to take care of souls;¹ and they were so free from worldly avarice, that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries, unless they were compelled by the temporal authorities; which custom was for some time after observed in all the churches of the Northumbrians.²

It were useless to speculate on what would have been the results to Christianity and civilisation had King Oswy refused the authority of 'the keeper of the keys,' and intrusted the care of the souls of himself and his people to the bishop and monks of Lindisfarne. Those pure and unworldly men would not have continued so long, or they would have been *the* singular exception in the history of religion. Purity and sanctity have as yet, always fallen before reverence for the office of a minister of religion, and worldly prosperity. The Northumbrian Church might have been independent of Rome, but its ministers would have been no better than 'the Monks of Old,' perhaps of to-day, in countries where no Protestant press exercises supervision. At the time, it was in a purely religious point of view, very little matter whether King Oswy acknowledged a Pope at Hy, or at Rome. Education and culture were wanted quite as much as the new faith, and there can be little doubt that the former were likelier to be got from their last resting-place, than from a locality where Roman art and civilisation had never penetrated. Whether freedom and ignorance would have been preferable to spiritual slavery to the mystical Babylon, and what culture was left in the world, is a problem to be solved only by our spiritual guides.

The history of the Northumbrian Church is intensely interesting, and for long the influence of the piety and self-devotedness of its founders are conspicuous in its successors. It produced the saintly and high born Hilda,

¹ Bede's own saintly mind may colour this glowing description, but it is significant to note that baptism is the only sacrament mentioned, the mass and confession are conspicuous by their absence.

² Bede, p. 162.

whose Abbey of Whitby afforded the rich plunder to the Danes and Normans in spite of A.D. 657-669.

‘The very form of Hilda fair,
Hovering upon the sunny air,
And smiling on her votaries’ prayer,’

so powerful,

‘That Whitby’s nuns exulting told,
How to their house three barons bold
Must menial service do.’

Hilda was the grand-niece of King Edwin ; she early devoted herself to the religious life, and shortly after the victory which assured the triumph of the cross to Northumbria, founded and built her great monastery. She received there the King’s daughter Elfleda, whom, in grateful acknowledgment of his victory over Penda, he had dedicated to heaven. Here, with many other noble ladies, she was trained in all holiness and continence. But she had those of meaner degree under her charge who attained to higher rank : both sexes seem to have been under her charge. Bede says, ‘five bishops were taken out of that monastery, and all of them men of singular merit and sanctity.’¹ Among them were the sainted John of Beverley, and the statesman and controversialist Wilfrid, who held different views on the Easter question from Hilda, who was a supporter of the Scotch mode. But more came of Hilda’s monastery than saints and bishops, the earliest poet of the English language there gave vent to his emotions in verse, and in the language of the people ; from him the English language and English poetry date. The story of Caedmon is given in all historians of the period, from Bede to Green. Employed in the menial capacity of taking care of the cattle, the divine afflatus was in him. He had entered the monastic life well advanced in years, and his new profession seemed to have changed his whole nature ; at an entertainment he was asked to sing in his turn, but though great thoughts were big within him, he passed the instrument, rose from table and returned home. Here in the stable where his duties called him, he had

¹ Bede, p. 213.

A.D. 657-669. a vision, 'a person appeared to him in his sleep, and said 'Caedmon, sing some song to me?' He answered, 'I cannot sing,' to which the reply was, 'you shall sing.' 'What shall I sing?' rejoined he. 'Sing the beginning of created beings,' said the other, 'The tongue found vent, and he sang verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard. Awaking from his sleep, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity.'¹ He told his story to the steward his superior, who at once conducted him to the Abbess; from that time to the day of his death, he sung in harmonious verse, the creation of the world, the origin of man, the whole Bible story, the terrors of the day of judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, the delights of heaven. In the song of Caedmon we have the vagueness and daring of the Teutonic imagination, united to enthusiasm for the Christian God of love. But withal, his temperament brings him nearer to the fire and passion of the Hebrew muse, as his times were more akin to the Old Testament times, redolent of fights and massacres, and wanderings. 'The wolves sing their horrid even song, the fowls of war greedy for battle dewy-feathered scream round the hosts of Pharaoh as wolf howled and eagle screamed round the host of Penda.' The father of English poetry was no unworthy ancestor of the stern poet of *Paradise Lost*. We cannot linger over the products of the Celtic Church in its southern home, nor tell of its many sainted and learned men, yet before we leave it we bring before our readers one, who though no Celt, was a true son of the Church of St Columba, and more than any other, illustrated its characteristics of sanctity and self-devotedness to the cause of Christ.

The name of St Cuthbert was more familiarly known to the peasants of Teviotdale and Northumberland, and the hardy fishermen of our north-east coast, than even that of Columkille to those on the west. He must be claimed a Scot, in the modern sense of the word, Cymric or Anglic, for he was born² and bred on the Lammermoor Hills. The Irish Chronicles claim him as a Scot

¹ Bede, Book iv. chap. xxiv.

² Probably A.D. 626.

(Gael), and of high parentage, and that he watched his flocks on horseback, lance in hand, attended by a squire. The monks of Durham are nearer the truth, who say that he was of Saxon (Anglic) parentage, in the middle ranks of life, and tended his father's or neighbours' flocks as a shepherd boy. His memory was dear to the Border peasantry ; but in the course of his journeys he became a bold and daring sailor, he loved the rocky solitude of Lindisfarne and the Farne Islands, where

A. D. 657-669.

‘ St Cuthbert sits and toils to frame
The sea-born beads that bear his name.’

He was handicraftsman as well as saint :

‘ Such tales had Whitby's fishers told,
And said they might his shape behold,
And hear his anvil sound.’

We shall find him to be more than all this ; saint and bishop, abbot, and worker with his own hands, he was also a patriotic and far-seeing statesman.

St Cuthbert, even as a boy, was gifted with poetic sensibilities ; a traveller coming in his white mantle over the hillside, stopped his horse, and dismounting, gave the lad directions how to poultice a tumour on his leg ; the cure was successful, and ‘ he at once perceived that it was an angel who had given him the advice.’¹ While his companions were asleep, he, while engaged in prayer, was ‘ struck by a long stream of light which broke through the darkness of the night, and in the midst of it a company of the heavenly host descended to the earth, and having received among them a spirit of surpassing brightness, returned to their heavenly home. When the morning was come, he found that Aidan, Bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne, a man of exalted piety, had ascended to the heavenly kingdom at the very moment of his vision.’² To the mind of the young enthusiast, the northern meteors flashing in the horizon, had a mean-

¹ Bede's Life of St Cuthbert ; Minor Works, vol. vi. p. 215.

² Bede's St Cuthbert, p. 221.

A.D. 657-669. ing, and the heavenly vision was a call to a new life; he at once 'delivered over the sheep, which he was feeding, to their owners, and determined forthwith to enter a monastery.'¹ Cuthbert was fifteen years of age when he resolved to embrace the religious life, but long before, solemn thoughts and pious aspirations had stirred his soul. Of a powerful and athletic frame, he was, like his countrymen of to-day (in his boyhood at anyrate), passionately devoted to athletic sports, and gaily joined in all the innocent diversions of childhood. 'He took delight in mirth and clamour, and rejoiced to attach himself to the company of other boys, and to share in their sports.'² The monk could hardly ever have destroyed the man. 'For, in jumping, running, wrestling, or any other bodily exercises, he boasted that he could surpass all those who were of the same age, and even some that were older than himself.'² Bede, in the next sentence, has to apologise for his hero not being a preciously good little prig, but unlike modern biographers in a half-hearted manner. When eight years of age, a chance expression from a young companion about three years old, aroused the quick and kindly lad,³ as he grew older he became more thoughtful in the midst of his sports, till at last as we have seen the call from heaven found him ready. Cuthbert now applied for admission to the monastery at Melrose, his appearance at once won the life-long affection of 'Boisil, a monk and priest of surpassing merit,' and prior at the time. He welcomed the young applicant, and on the arrival of Eata the Abbot, who was from home when he arrived, Cuthbert received the tonsure, and was enrolled among the brethren. We shall not follow his passionate admirer, Bede, in his account of his early training, where 'in reading, working, watching, and praying, he fairly outdid them all,' in his miracles and austerities. The latter awakens our pity, and indeed seems singularly out of place with the character of the man, had his 'robust frame and unimpaired strength' not been exhausted by the *religious*

¹ Bede's St Cuthbert, p. 221.

² *Ibid.* p. 209.

³ *Ibid.* 211.

exercises of the age, his days would not have been so soon cut short, and Church and State prematurely deprived of their best and truest friend and adviser. A.D. 657-663.

From his Life we can certainly discover, that in personal appearance, in strength of body, in length of limb, in mingled shrewdness and humour, in hospitality and gallantry he was the type of the Border sheep farmer, so graphically represented by Scott. To these were added, the patience, the holiness, the devoted energy, the unbounded trust in God and faith in His cause which have distinguished the greatest of Christ's servants in ancient or modern times.

Cuthbert soon left Melrose, and on foot, or on horseback, on land or on sea, from the Tyne and the Derwent, to the Forth and the Clyde, everywhere was seen the stalwart form of the Lammermoor shepherd. He needed not to learn a new language like his Irish co-labourers, he spoke his own tongue with the rough Northumbrian burr caught on the banks of the Leader.¹ As one of themselves he entered into the very hearts of the people, we could almost think that in his early days, he would at times cast off the frock of the monk and have a friendly bout with the best. But the message of salvation was never lost sight of, and though we can imagine him tender to the rough sports of a rough but generous people, lenient even to the old Norse superstitions so dear yet to the Border race, yet more than any man of his time Cuthbert brought the gospel of truth and love to the common people 'who heard him gladly.' His trust in God was unbounded, he daily held converse with the Most High. From the time that he had entertained a messenger from heaven, 'he often saw and conversed with angels, and when hungry was fed with unwonted food furnished direct from God.'² On a visit to the land of the Picts, a storm prevented the party from returning, the ground was covered with snow, they were in danger of perishing from hunger. 'Let us importune the Lord with our prayers,' said Cuthbert, 'that He may take pity

¹ Green's Short History of England, p. 25.

² Bede's St Cuthbert, p. 231.

A. D. 657-669. on us in our present distress.'¹ Let not your faith waver, follow me, 'and see what provision He has made for us.' A few steps he led them, and their faith was rewarded. Along with a boy, night found them weary and hungry on a desolate moor; the youth was faint, and spoke of where were they to get some refreshment, the saint answered, 'My son, learn to have faith, and trust in God, who will never suffer to perish with hunger those who trust in Him. Look, see yon eagle, there is our handmaid, run and see what provision God hath sent us.' The boy obeyed, and found a fish which the eagle had just caught, he brought it, it was cooked, the pair made an excellent repast, and resumed their journey.'²

Like other saints his kindness to the lower creation is preserved in miracle. Like St Kentigern, he spent the night in prayer with the water reaching to his neck. When he came out of the sea, 'two otters came up from the sea, and lying down before him on the sand, breathed upon his feet, and wiped them with their hair; after which, having received his blessing, they returned to their native element.'³

Little can be extracted from Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, except his personality, yet his influence in Church and State over a wide district of country must have been very great, extending from the highest to the lowest in the land. He is said to have been for some time Abbot of Melrose, though Bede says 'that after distinguishing himself there by such signs of spiritual excellence, Eata transferred him to the monastery at Lindisfarne under his jurisdiction.'⁴ Here for twelve years was his nominal home, 'teaching the rules of monastic perfection, and illustrating them by his example,' prosecuting his missionary labours heedless of the strife as to the celebration of Easter and the Tonsure. Latterly, however, he became Prior of the small band of monks who adhered to the old form, they dwindled away in spite of the holiness, the patience, and the goodness of their chief. Worn out at last, Cuthbert, a prematurely old man, retired to one of

¹ Bede's St Cuthbert, p. 245.

³ *Ibid.* p. 241.

² *Ibid.* p. 247.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 257.

the group called the Farne islands, where for eight years he spent his time in devotion, and receiving visitors, his home a hut of rough stones, covered with logs and straw. Reverence for his sanctity and respect for his abilities, dragged him back to fill the vacant See of Lindisfarne, 685. His labours were unwearied, but the death of Ecgfrid, with so many of his principal men on the fatal field of Nechtansmere, and the desolation of his diocese by the heathen Picts embittered the two short years of his administration. He seems to have disapproved of the rash expedition which was the ruin of the Bernician kingdom, and is said to have prophesied twelve months previously, that Ecgfrid would live but one year more. He had followed the Queen, who had gone north, and was with her at Carlisle, 'where she was awaiting the result of the war at her sister's monastery.' Viewing the walls he paused near an old Roman fountain, and resting on his staff, seemed disturbed in spirit, and groaned loudly, saying in a low voice, 'Now then the contest is decided.' Being asked to explain he declined; the prophecy or presage proved too true; on the next day but one, a solitary fugitive brought 'the lamentable news that the guards had been slain, and the King cut off by the sword of the enemy, on the very day and hour in which it was revealed to the man of God as he was standing near the well.'¹

A.D. 685.

Dispirited, Cuthbert for a short time continued to discharge his duties, blessing the widowed Queen and his flock by his holy conversation. Worn out at last in body and mind, he 'divested himself of his episcopal duties, and returned to his much-loved solitude. Two months more spent in penitence and prayer, in inculcating brotherly love and holy life, and his hour had come. Bede lovingly and tenderly, if somewhat diffusively, tells of his last hours. 'When his hour of evening-service was come, he received from me the blessed sacrament, and thus strengthened himself for his departure, which he now knew to be at hand, by partaking of the body and blood of Christ; and when he had lifted up his eyes to

¹ Bede's St Cuthbert, chap. xxvii.

A.D. 687.

heaven, and stretched out his hands above him, his soul intent upon heavenly praises, sped his way to the joys of the heavenly kingdom,' A.D. 687. A signal had been agreed on how the sad intelligence should be conveyed to Lindisfarne, two candles were instantly lighted and displayed, the flame anxiously looked for was seen by the watchman on the look-out, he hurried to report to the brethren who were assembled in the church for evening-service. The Psalm for the day was singularly appropriate. 'O God, Thou hast cast us out, and scattered us abroad. Thou hast also been displeased; O turn Thee to us again. Thou hast moved the land and divided it! heal the sores thereof, for it shaketh. Thou hast showed Thy people heavy things; Thou hast given us a drink of deadly wine.'² In the eloquent words of Mr Green, 'the chant was the dirge, not of Cuthbert only, but of his church and his people. Over both hung from that hour the gloom of a seeming failure. Strangers who knew not Iona and Columba entered into the heritage of Aidan and Cuthbert. As the Roman communion folded England again beneath her wing, men forgot that a church which passed utterly away, had battled with Rome for the spiritual headship of Western Christendom, and that English religion had for a hundred years its centre, not at Canterbury, but Lindisfarne.'³

¹ Bede's St Cuthbert, p. 337.

² Psalm lx.

³ Green's Short History of England, p. 34.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY OF HY.

The Family of Hy. Cumine Ailbhe—Failbe—Wilfrid—Adamnan—His birth and early life—His literary attainments—His connection with Bernicia—He conforms to the Catholic mode of Easter and the Tonsure—His visits to Ireland—His death and fame as a Saint—Foundations—Conamhail—Dunchadh—Naitan, King of the Picts—He embraces the Roman style and expels the Columbian Clergy—The family of Hy conform—Paucity of interest in the records—Monastery burnt by the Danes—Massacre of the Brethren—Supremacy of Hy lost in Ireland—In Scotland transferred to Dunkeld—Later History of Hy.

CUIMINE, the seventh Abbot, we have seen, was at the head of affairs during the period of the Great Easter and Tonsure controversy, and we can picture how much it disturbed the minds of the society at Hy, as messenger after messenger arrived with details of the varying issue of the conflict. At last Colman, with his little band of faithful followers arrived to tell them how 'his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised,'¹ how the great name of Columba, whose angelic presence had restored to Oswald his kingdom, had been contemned, and that a foreign power had gained the day. We can also picture the sympathy bestowed on the faithful brethren, and the righteous indignation showered on the ungrateful monarch and the alien priests who had rejected their saint and patron, for the head of a Church in no way superior to their own in sanctity and miraculous gifts. Dr Skene is of opinion that 'the appeal which Colman had made in vain to the authority of Columba as a man whose sanctity was testified by heavenly signs and the working of miracles, probably led to Cuimine's writing the Life of their great saint, which Adamnan calls "the book which he wrote on the virtues of St Columba," in vindication of the assertion.'²

¹ Bede, p. 160.

² Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 168.

A. D. 669-679

Colman did not long remain at Hy, but at once resumed his missionary work; during the short time that he remained in Scotland 'he founded the church of Fearn in Angus, dedicated to Aidan, and the church of Taret, in Easter Ross, with which his own name is connected.'¹ Afterwards, 668, he retired to a small island on the west coast of Ireland, where he bestowed the monks of both nations who had followed him.²

Cuimine died in 669, and Failbe, of the kin of the founder, was appointed his successor. From the little recorded of him he appears to have been an able and energetic administrator, strongly attached to the old Paschal and other observances. He was also forward in missionary labour, specially in the north-west of Scotland and the isles; in connection with these efforts the name of St Maelrubha has come down to us, as the principal agent. He was an Irish monk who came over to Hy in 671,³ in 673 he is said to have founded the church of Applecross 673,³ and to have died there 722, aged eighty.³ The numerous foundations in this district attributed to the saint testify to his unwearied diligence in the work of evangelising an ignorant and barbarous people, Scots and Picts. Superintending these and other operations, with a lengthened visit to Ireland, 673, 676,³ must have fully occupied the time of the Abbot of Hy; but there can be little doubt that the state of the church in Northumbria, would seriously occupy the attention of Failbe, and that there would be frequent bickerings (if such a term is admissible) between him and the successor of Bishop Colman.

Wilfrid, the victorious controversialist at Whitby, had been raised to this dignity, in the same year that Failbe was elected Abbot, and from York administered ecclesiastical affairs in the dominions of King Oswy, which extended over the whole of Scotland south of the Tay. He was an able and energetic administrator, learned and pious, but ambitious and arrogant, only when in adversity did he show the virtues of his calling. From the

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 167.

² Bede Book iv. chap. iv.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, Chronicon Hyense.

beginning to the end of his career his great powers were exercised in the extension of the Roman, and consequent extinction of the Columbian Church. But in this he was only partially successful. Though Colman and others had left their charges, many of the brotherhood remained at Melrose and other stations, and it is impossible to say how far the new regulations were carried out, and what respect was paid to the diocesan authority. The Abbess Hilda sympathised with the Columbian brotherhood, even though she may have conformed, and her sympathy would be shared by many; St Cuthbert was indifferent on the disputed point, but in all else he was a true son of the monastic Scots Church. How the phantom church of St Kentigern in Strathclyde acted in the Easter controversy is unknown, like everything else in its history. Though there is no record, there is thus ample reason to suppose that the Abbot of Hy would be in constant communication with the dissatisfied and nominal adherents to the Roman Church, and the fortunes of Wilfrid would be carefully watched and reported. The career of this able churchman was a chequered one, and forms a most important chapter in ecclesiastical history. It is unnecessary to enter into it further than to say, that after having enjoyed the favour and friendship of Oswy's successor, Ecgfrid, he lost it by the freedom of language he allowed himself to use to the Queen. Feminine arts had more power over the King than ghostly terrors; Wilfrid was deprived of his bishopric, 678; he appealed to Rome, and was successful, but the chains of Papal supremacy were as yet weak, on his return, instead of finding his episcopal palace ready to receive him, he was thrown into prison. Wilfrid was confined for nine months; but was then released on condition that he should never set foot on the dominions of Ecgfrid. He, as we have seen, prevailed on St Cuthbert to accept the vacant charge, but in the same year he was slain with the flower of his army, and Wilfrid's diocesan Trumwine, with his clergy, fled from Abercorn to the south, abandoning all to the victorious Picts; the Church, Roman and Columbian alike in the Scottish portion of Bernicia, was nigh to trampled out by the heathen conquerors.

A. D. 679-704.

Failbe witnessed these proceedings partially, he had the satisfaction, however, of seeing the enemy of his church ousted from his charge, but survived but one year, his death is recorded 679.

Adamnan, so well known as the author of the Life of St Columba, was now advanced to the rule of the Columbian Church, and under him it attained its greatest celebrity and perhaps usefulness. His character was so many-sided, that while his interference in secular affairs (always exercised for the best of ends) bulk largely in his life, we may safely conclude, that missionary work was not neglected, as, indeed, the numerous foundations attributed to him prove.

Adamnan, said to be a diminutive of Adam, was born about 624 in county Donegal. His father was Ronan of the great race of the northern Hy-Neill, his mother Ronnat was of equally high birth. He was thus kin to his patron, whom he resembled in many ways; in his restless energy, his piety, his love of country, his literary tastes, lacking, however, the fierce and ungovernable temper so characteristic of Columba.

No particulars of the early life of St Adamnan have been preserved with the exception of a legend, probably made to account for his intimacy with Finnachta the Festive, King of all Ireland. He received his education at the monastic seminary of Clonard in Meath, where his great predecessor had studied for some time, and where he remained until he attained his twenty-eighth year. He then left and entered the brotherhood of Hy, presided over at the time by Seghene. 'During his incumbency, and that of the three succeeding abbots, Adamnan, no doubt, acquired such a character as rendered him eligible, and such a reputation for learning as recommended him to the presidency of the Columbian order. With the exception of his skill in Latin, his acquaintance with other languages and branches of education is more a subject of inference than of express declaration; there is sufficient evidence, however, to justify Ward in the statement, 'Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Graecam; et quidquid

patriâ linguâ (in quatum pleræque scientiæ et Druydum quæ non fuere damnata dogmata) scriptum esset vel artium, vel legum, vel historiarum.¹ The remarks of Dr Reeves are singularly apposite, and the favourable gloss of Ward does not much mend matters. The literary estimate of St Adamnan tells us what was the extent of the learning and culture of the Columbian Church at its zenith. A fair knowledge of Latin, without classical grace, sufficient for the services of the church, and correspondence, a smattering of Hebrew and Greek, coupled with a little dogmatic theology, and less history of any kind, were the literary stock of the most cultured man of his time. The writings of St Adamnan show no acquaintance with the classical writers, and as little with the Fathers of the church; like all authors before or since, he would not have concealed his acquaintance. If his knowledge extended to no more than this, small indeed would be the literary acquirements of the brethren in aught but mechanical skill in calligraphy, illumination, and kindred accomplishments. Superstition and mechanical piety were lively, but intellectual life was dead, we hear of no Pelagian or other kindred heresy, showing the brain at work, devotion and manual labour would form the routine of the daily life.

Adamnan had attained his fifty-fifth year when he was elevated to the presidency of the brotherhood, and it is remarked by Scottish writers that Bruide, the victor of Dunnichen, preceded him in the throne of Pictland by but one year; the inference may be, that the temporal and spiritual chiefs were on friendly terms, as, indeed, the course of events would seem to indicate. Adamnan's civil connections were not confined to the influential families in Dalriada, Pictland, and Ireland; the connection with Northumbria was close and intimate. Aldfrid, the reputed, though illegitimate, son of King Oswy, had been banished by Ecgfrid, and found a refuge in Ireland, where he formed an intimacy so close with Adamnan, that the Irish termed him the 'alumnus of Adamnan.' The friendship was soon put to the proof, and proved useful to the churchman, and beneficial to the interest

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cl.

A D 579 704. of humanity. Ecgfrid, we have seen, lost his life on the moor of Dunnichen; the Picts followed hard on the heels of his followers; the dependent Dalriadic Scots and the Britons of Strathclyde were freed from the yoke of the Angles in Church and State. The Northumbrians offered the crown to Aldfrid, who accepted it; and, though not inheriting the military talents of his ancestors, earned the respect of his neighbours, the esteem of the learned, and the love of his subjects. Adamnan, in 686, paid a visit to his friend; the principal reason was to procure the restoration of the captives taken by Ecgfrid in his famous marauding expedition into Leinster; but we can also conclude that the care of the flock who still were loyal to Hy and its customs, would not be forgotten. Adamnan procured the restoration of 'the sixty captives,' whom he conducted to Ireland, but whether through Aldfrid's friendship, or by an interesting miracle, performed on the sands of the Solway, 'which struck terror into the Saxons,' is an open question.¹

Whether Adamnan, during this visit, imbibed opinions which subsequently led to his conformity on the disputed points between the Celtic and Roman Churches is uncertain; but his whole after life shows, that he was a large-hearted man, above paltry differences, and anxious to be on friendly terms with what he considered a sister church engaged in the same beneficent ends as his own. Supremacy, in the mediæval and modern sense of the word, does not seem to have crossed the minds of those early Celtic fathers; deference they had, more they had not.

Adamnan having conducted the restored captives to Ireland, did not prolong his stay in Ireland on this occasion, but very probably returned to Hy after receiving the thanks of his friend Finnachta, and the relatives of those whom he had restored to freedom. At this time he caused to be repaired the monastic buildings which had become dilapidated. He himself states that he dispatched 'twelve vessels to the mouth of the river Sale (the Seil in Lorn) for oak trees, for this purpose;² however new-fangled his ideas were on some points, he was

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. cli.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

orthodox in church architecture—wood and wattles, no stone. At this time he was favoured with a visit from Arculf, a French bishop, who, returning from a lengthened tour to the east, was driven upon the western isles. A.D. 679-704.
 ‘After many other accidents, he came to the aforesaid servant of Christ, Adamnan, who, finding him to be learned in the Scriptures, and acquainted with the Holy Places, entertained him zealously, and attentively gave ear to him, insomuch that he presently committed to writing all that Arculf said he had seen remarkable in the Holy Places. Thus he composed a work beneficial to many, and particularly to those who, being far removed from those places where the patriarchs and apostles lived, know more of them than what they learn by reading.’¹
 The work is still extant, and the proofs of its authenticity are unquestionable. Bede, indeed, puts the matter beyond dispute by devoting two chapters to extracts from it.²

Two years afterwards the Abbot of Hypaid a second visit to King Aldfrid, supposed to have been on matters of international policy, to be negotiated by him. These matters were, of course, beneath being committed to writing, as not affecting spiritual concerns. In the record of his visit he alludes only to the great plague which, for years, desolated the continent of Europe and the southern half of Britain, sparing, however, the Picts and Scots: ‘Both in its first attack, and in its second, two years subsequently, the Lord mercifully saved me from danger, though I was living and moving about in the very midst of the plague. The Divine mercy was also extended to my companions, not one of whom died of the plague, or was attacked with any other disease.’³ While in Northumbria, Adamnan was on the most intimate terms, not only with the king, whom he terms ‘my friend,’ but also with what we may call the Romanist clergy, who gladly welcomed the accomplished head of the Columbian brotherhood. We have particulars only of his intercourse with Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, whose letter to the King of the Picts a few years later, had such a dis-

¹ Bede, p. 263.

² *Ibid.* Book v. ch. xvi.-xvii.

³ Reeves’ Adamnan, p. 77.

A. D. 679-704. astrous influence on the Celtic Church. Bede tells us of many and interesting conversations the two ecclesiastics had on the disputed points in the practice of their two churches, and how amicable the discussion was.¹

Ceolfrid speaks of 'the wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion in the words and behaviour of his holy brother.'² The conversations were so satisfactory to the English abbot, that he gives it as his opinion that he had thoroughly convinced Adamnan of the error of his ways, and in any case the folly, if not sin, of differing from the Roman style, 'not to follow the footsteps of the most blessed prince of the apostles.'² As again and again stated, neither the adherents to the Celtic or Roman Church had the slightest idea that in surrendering their right to observe Easter when they pleased, or to shave their heads in their own way, they were bartering the spiritual independence of church and nation. Adamnan and the more advanced and cultured churchmen in Northumbria, Scotland, and Ireland, simply thought, that for the sake of unity, and in deference to so great an authority as the Bishop of Rome, this divergence should cease; the rule of his representative, Archbishop Theodore, was barely felt in Northumbria; it would be less felt in more distant parts. Bede, in his transcription of Ceolfrid's letter, tells the result: 'This, then, I said to Adamnan, who indeed showed how much he had improved upon seeing the statutes of our churches, when, returning into Scotland, he afterwards by preaching brought great numbers of that nation over to the Catholic observance of the Paschal time, though he was not yet able to gain the consent of the monks that lived in the island of Hii, over whom he presided. He would also have been mindful to amend the tonsure, if his authority had extended so far.'³

In 692 Adamnan visited Ireland on matters political as well as ecclesiastical, but not for any lengthened period, as again in 697 we find him returning 'in order to legislate for the people.' On this occasion he was the principal instrument in bringing about a reformation in man-

¹ Bede, Book v. cxxi.

² *Ibid.* p. 287.

³ *Ibid.* p. 288.

ners much needed, and showing a state of society, sunk A. D. 679-704.
 to a depth of barbarism unknown in any people before or since; the legend narrating the incident which prompted Adamnan to the good work, has been previously noticed.¹ 'A synod or assembly, lay and clerical, was convened at Tara, within an enclosure called the Ruthna-Senadh, where the memory of the chief actor was perpetuated in the name Pupall Adhamhnain, or "Pavilion of Adamnan," which was given to a portion of the space; also in the Suidhe Adamhnain, or "Adamnan's chair;" the Dumha Adamhnain, or "Adamnan's Mound;" and the Cros Adamhnain, or "Adamnan's Cross," situated on the east of the Rath.'² This august assemblage, in which the Columbian abbot seems the principal personage, consisted of thirty-nine ecclesiastics, presided over by the Abbot of Armagh, and forty-seven chiefs, at the head of them Loingsech, son of Aengus, monarch of Ireland; last on this list appears Bruide mac Derili, King of the Picts, who is said to have accompanied Adamnan. Adamnan procured a national enactment exempting women from war and expeditions;³ the Act, as in the case of many modern Acts of Parliament, became associated with the name of the propounder, and this and the other enactments of the synod were afterwards called Lex Adamnani, or Cain Adhamhnain, the tribute of Adamnan; like a good churchman he took special care to secure something for his order, when his constituents were in a pious frame of mind—the privilege of him and his successors levying pecuniary contributions under certain conditions. 'It was possibly on the same occasion that the question of Easter was publicly discussed, and the usage advocated by Adamnan adopted. At this time also may have been promulgated those eight canons which bear the name of Adamnan.'⁴ Why this cannot be positively stated, is sarcastically put by Dr Reeves, who, unintentionally no doubt, casts a slur on the high religious tone of the Irishman at all times, and his devo-

¹ *Ante*, p. 128.

² Reeves' Adamnan, p. clvi.

³ The anecdote on which Moore based his ballad, 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore,' might be post-dated till the time this Act took effect.

⁴ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clvi.

A. D. 679-704

tion to the Holy Catholic Church under all circumstances. 'Ecclesiastical considerations, however, if entertained at this meeting, were not of sufficient importance in the eyes of the Irish to merit an entry in a journal; and the absorbing subject seems to have been the civil enactment which afterwards became a source of profit, and for this reason had special claims upon the memory.'

From 697 to the year of his death, Adamnan seems to have remained in Ireland, for, though the social improvement which he effected is despatched in a few words in the annals, we can hardly conceive that so vital a measure was brought about without much exertion and preparatory solicitation.¹ Besides the Paschal change could not have been effected without time and tact among a people conspicuous yet, for their besotted attachment to old ways and customs.

The Abbot of Hy was less successful with his own people, perhaps the brethren there, were, as Presbyterian writers would imply, proto-reformers; much likelier they were simply more ignorant and more bigotted in their love for their own ways, the ways of their patron and founder.

Bede succinctly tells of the last days of Adamnan. 'Returning to his island after having celebrated the canonical Easter in Ireland, he most earnestly inculcated the observance of the Catholic time of Easter in his monastery, yet without being able to prevail; and so it happened that he departed this life before the next year came round, the Divine goodness so ordaining it, that as he was a great lover of peace and unity, he should be taken away to everlasting life before he should be obliged on the return of the time of Easter, to quarrel still more seriously with those that would not follow him in the truth.'²

According to Fordun, 'St Adamnan the Scot was mighty in virtues and *miracles*, but few or none of the latter have been preserved in story. He was, however, famous for his prophecies, and specially for his visions.' These have been embodied in the 'Vis Adhamhnain,' an Irish composition of considerable age, and which is still in existence. Though certainly not the production of

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clviii.

² Ob. Sept. 23, 704.

Adamnan, it lays claim to antiquity, and passed current as his experiences. It tells of his soul having passed from his body, and being carried to heaven and hell, what he saw and what he heard. A second vision, or rather supplement, recounts the wickedness and consequent miseries of Ireland, against all of which it declares prayer and fasting to be the only sure preservative.¹

Pious, accomplished, and energetic, he was not without his spiritual trials (temporal ones were his soul's regimen); he was sorely tempted by the enemy of man who, in human form, made his assaults with knotty diabolical questions. Dr Reeves think this a testimony to the belief of the age in Adamnan's learning and mental ability.² 'Among his many virtues, diligence in his calling is specially prominent, his restless activity is seen in the many journeys he undertook, the numerous friends he made, the conferences he held, and the synods he presided over.' He himself bears honest testimony to the multiplicity of his labours, in the epilogue of his tract on the Holy Places. 'Quae et ego quamlibet inter laboriosus et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticas sollicitudines constitutus, vili quamvis sermone describens declaravi.'²

In Ireland there are ten churches which claim Adamnan as their founder, in Scotland eight: 'Furvie in Aberdeen;' 'Forglen in Banff;' 'Aboyne in Aberdeen;' 'Tannadice, a parish in Forfar;' 'Inchkeith;' 'Sanda;' 'Killeunan in Cantyre;' 'Dalmeny, a parish in Linlithgowshire, near Queensferry, having a fine old Romanesque church.' At Campsie in Perthshire, was a croft of land called *St Adamnan's Acre*.³

From the death of Adamnan may be dated the decline of the monastic church of Columba, and with it Christianity, as a vital influence operating on the warlike and barbarous peoples who then formed the population of Scotland. The causes which led to this were, in the first

¹ Reves' Adamnan, pp. clvii-iii.

² *Ibid.* p. clvi. And this I have set forth, albeit in somewhat homely style, situated as I am in the midst of harassing and almost insupportable anxieties in connection with the church—anxieties growing in dimension all round throughout the whole day.

³ *Ibid.* pp. clvii-ix.

A. D. 704-710. instance, the triumph of the Roman system, but this would have been shortlived, had there not existed in the best and purest men of the order, the tendency to asceticism which has been previously alluded to. In the struggle which ensued between the rival churches, the Celtic was deprived of the services of its best, if not its most talented men, who retired alike from pastoral labour and ecclesiastical strife, to spend their lives in solitude and devotion. The legends of the third order of saints, whose great object was to 'mortify the flesh with the affections and lusts,' not to make themselves useful members of society, amply prove this. From the end of the sixth century well into the ninth, these anchorites, resembling in many respects the mad but holy eremites of Egypt and Syria, spread themselves over the most retired spots in the west of Scotland and Ireland; before the time of Adamnan they jostle men who were more than *saints*, afterwards they are the only names to be found in Celtic ecclesiastical history or legend.

The tenth Abbot of Hy was Conamhail, he was the first in the series who was not of the race of Conal Galban, the family of the founder. He had been but three years in office, when one Dunchadh, of a most illustrious branch of the Conal Galban is found performing the duties of principal of the order. The community seems to have been divided on the burning question of Easter and the Tonsure; the old party succeeded on the death of Adamnan in procuring the election of one of their own party as Abbot, but either from his age, lack of vigour, or from the spread of the new opinions, the party favourable to them succeeded in installing one of their own opinions as joint or rival abbot, which office he held until the decease of Conamhail in 710, when he became sole chief.

But though Hy was fast becoming reconciled to the Roman observance of Easter, it is evident from the course of events to be narrated, that the brethren in the dependent stations in Dalriada and Pictavia were not, they clung tenaciously to the old fashion. That these stations were numerous can not be proved, but the probability is, that the seeds of Christianity were widely spread, and that in the outlying districts then as now, old ways

A.D. 710-717.

had their special charm. We shall see that, as in 1843, the clergy would not obey the Erastian decree; whether their flocks sympathised with them we cannot tell, but the Roman newcomers seem to have had as little success with the natives in the eighth century, as the intruders of the Established Church have had in the nineteenth.

We have anticipated events. In the first year of Dunchadh's undivided tenure of the Abbacy, Naitan, King of the Picts, conformed to the Roman system, and dedicated his kingdom to St Peter, those of his clergy who refused to follow his example, he expelled from his dominions. We have the invaluable guidance of Bede here, who records the transaction in considerable detail: 'At that time, A.D. 710, Naitan, King of the Picts, inhabiting the northern parts of Britain, taught by frequent meditation on the ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error which he and his nation had till then been under, in relation to the observance of Easter, and submitted, together with his people, to observe the Catholic time of our Lord's resurrection.'¹ To obtain more sure information and guidance on so vital a matter, 'he sought assistance from the English, whom he knew to have long since formed their religion after the example of the holy Roman Apostolic Church.'¹ Accordingly he sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, modestly stating that while he was convinced himself on the Easter and Tonsure question, he hoped Ceolfrid would do him the favour of sending him a letter setting forth the arguments in favour of the Roman usage, so that he might confute those who advocated an opposite view. He also applied for architects to build a church after the Roman fashion, promising to dedicate it to St Peter. Ceolfrid at once complied with both requests. The letter (if Bede is a faithful transcriber) is very long, very learned, and very convincing; so much so, that after having been interpreted to Naitan, he knelt on the ground, in presence of his great men who surrounded him, giving thanks to God that he had been found worthy to receive such a present from the English.'² All his previous convictions were confirmed, and he at

¹ Bede, p. 277.² *Ibid.* p. 289.

A D 710:17. once gave judgment: 'Therefore I publicly declare and protest to you that are here present, that I will for ever continually observe this time of Easter, with all my nation; and I do decree that this tonsure, which we have heard is most reasonable, shall be received by all the clergy in my kingdom. All the ministers of the altar and monks had the crown shorn, and the nation thus reformed, rejoiced, as being newly put under the direction of Peter, the most blessed prince of the apostles, and secure under his protection.'¹ Bede tells nothing about the architects sent, whether they were employed or not, nor does he give a hint where the interesting scene took place.

The wish was father to the thought, when the chronicler states that the clergy conformed to this first exercise of the Erastian civil power. Seven years, we should suppose, of alternate conciliation and menace passed before the Church of the Picts was cleansed from heresy on this vital point. All other means having been tried, the Nonconformists, true to their principles, left their charges. An entry in the Annals of Tighernac, the only authority, curtly tells the story: 'Expulsio familie Ie trans dorsum Britannie a Nectono rege.'²

But the persecuted brethren did not find sympathy when they returned to Hy; there, alas, conformity to Rome had asserted itself. Dunchadh, the eleventh abbot, strongly supported the old system; but during his presidency disputes ran so high, that there seems to have been a schism in the community, 'for in 713 and 714 two other members of the order were elected to the *Cathedra Iae* or *Columbæ*; or, it may be that a different office, such as *prior*, or even *bishop*, is denoted by the expression.'³ These rivals to the abbot supported the new style, and the latter of them, Faelcu, appointed to the *chair* in 716, outlived Dunchadh, and succeeded him in the full enjoyment of the abbacy: 'The last occasion on which the old Easter was observed was in 715, after a duration of one hundred and fifty years.'⁴ The change was principally effected through the agency of Egbert, often referred

¹ Bede, p. 289.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 74.

³ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clxxii.

⁴ Bede, p. 115.

to in the pages of Bede ; a man “beloved of God, and worthy to be named with all honour, who coming among them 716, was joyfully and honourably received.”¹ The reverend father had long lived in retirement in Ireland for the sake of Christ ; contemplating a missionary journey to North Germany, he was diverted from his purpose by a vision, in which his former master appeared, and told him he should rather go to instruct the monastery of St Columba. Egbert at once set out on this more urgent claim, and ‘the monks of Hy, by the instruction of Egbert, adopted the Catholic rites, under Abbot Dunchadh, about eighty years after they had sent Aidan to preach to the English nation. This man of God remained thirteen years in the aforesaid island, which he had consecrated again to Christ, by kindling in it a new ray of divine grace, and restoring it to the unity of ecclesiastical discipline.’ Egbert was rewarded for his efforts ; he expired on the canonical Easter, 24th April 729, after having performed the solemnity of the mass. Both he and the brethren recognised the coincidence, ‘and rejoiced in the certain and Catholic knowledge of the time of Easter.’² For some time there were, however, two parties in the monastery, the adherents to the old system occasionally, for a short period, getting the pre-eminence ; but the subject is now devoid of interest. The institution at Hy no longer exercised supremacy over any portion of Scotland, and in a short time the whole controversy went to sleep, and, so far as authentic records can tell us, the more important elements of the Christian religion ; Naitan, and probably some other men high in rank, turned recluses. Their example may have been followed in later times, but other Christianity can not be found until the revival, in the eleventh century.

Dunchadh, the eleventh abbot, died 717. The history of Hy is afterwards but a chronology of the abbots. Flann, the twenty-fourth, who died 891, is the last who is so styled. They then appear under the name of *Co-arbs of Columcille*, and under this designation the line continued down to 1202. The death of the last, Giollacrist, is chronicled in the Irish Annals 1209-1210.

¹ Bede, p. 289.

² *Ibid.* p. 290.

A D. 717-802.

The lives of the brethren passed uneventually, little to break the solitude but their routine of labour and devotion; at anyrate, there are no missionary labours to chronicle, no controversies to report. The connection with Ireland was intimate and frequent; about the middle of the century the Columbian influence in the mother church seems to have been at its height, as may be concluded from the repeated mention of the Lex Columcille, and the frequent visit of the abbot to Ireland, for the purpose of enforcing this impost for their support. The monastery at Hy seems to have maintained its dignity and importance, for we learn that under the presidency of Breasal, 772-801, it acquired celebrity as a place of pilgrimage, from having two Irish Kings enrolled among its members: 'The last connection of the Scots, too, with Dalriada was severed for the time, by the removal of the relics of the three sons of Erc, the founders of the colony, who had been buried in Hy, to the great cemetery of Tailten, in Ireland.'¹

But evil times were swiftly approaching; proscription was mild regimen to what the brethren were to experience. About the end of the century the wild Vikings of the north hoisted the raven flag, and commenced to sweep the coasts of the British Isles. In 795 we have the ominous notice in the Annals: 'Devastation of Hy, and the burning of Rathlin by the Gentiles, and its shrines violated and spoiled.' The destruction of life and property on this occasion does not seem to have been great, but it was quite sufficient to whet the appetite of the Danes, who soon discovered that no richer spoil was to be had than that of religious establishments. In 802 the monastery was burnt by the Danes, and four years later, 806, the whole community, amounting to sixty-eight persons, were slain by the same ruthless marauders. The paucity of the numbers would lead us to suppose that the greater part had deserted their post. The remains of St Columba being deposited in a stone coffin, escaped the ravages of the heathen, or, previous to the outrage, were conveyed to Ireland, and there enshrined.

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 289.

In 802 Cellach was appointed abbot. He also held the same position at Kells, which was fast rising into importance. During his presidency it was that Kells, in the county of Meath, was re-organised on a more extended scale, and made the chief station of the Columbian brotherhood. In 814 he resigned his appointment there and returned to Hy to find his resting place. A.D. 802-825.

Diarmait succeeded Cellach at Kells, and on the death of the latter in 815 at Hy. But the abbot of Hy was no longer the title of honour of the Columbian order. Kells took its place, and the chief began to assume an official rather than a local title; and to be styled Coarb of Columcille.¹ In 818 Diarmait, who had probably up to this time administered the affairs of the brotherhood at Kells, crossed over to Hy and inaugurated a new building of more enduring materials. The brethren had resisted the Roman fashion of building churches of stone, but the stern teaching of the Danes taught them that, under present circumstances, it was preferable to wood and wattles. The site was changed to a more secure position, bounded on the west by rocky heights, capable of defence. Remains of the monastery and of entrenchments and outworks have been identified.² Diarmait brought with him the shrine containing the relics of St Columba, 'which, according to what we have seen was the usage of the time, would be placed on the right or south side of the altar in the church, so as to be exposed for the veneration of the inmates of the monastery.'³ The resources of the religious communities were lavished on objects such as these, one would think at this time for little purpose than to tempt the cupidity of the sacriligious invaders. In 825, when the abbot was absent in Ireland, and Blaithmac was acting superior, a second massacre of the congregation took place. The account of it has been preserved in a poem written by Walafridus Strabus, who flourished in 823-849. He describes Blaithmac as of kingly birth, heir to a throne, a future king in that rich Ireland which had given him birth.

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clxxiv.

² Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 297-99. ³ *Ibid.* p. 299.

A D. 825-850. These high prospects he cast aside, and devoted himself to a religious life. He attained the rank of abbot over a monastery in his native country, 'agmina multorum rexit veneranda virorum.' Unsatisfied, 'coveting the crown of martyrdom, he betook himself to the island of Eo, whither the Pagan Danes had already, on more than one occasion, come. Expecting their return, he counselled the members of the fraternity to save themselves by flight; whereupon some departed, while others remained with him. The precious shrine, containing St Columba's relics, he deposited in the earth; and when, on the arrival of the plunderers, he refused to make known the place of its concealment (in a not very conciliatory speech in Danish), they slew both him and his companions.'¹

The destruction, partial or complete, of the monastic buildings at Hy at this time, was the final blow which reduced it from its high position, the Metropolitan of the Columbian Irish and Scottish Church. Its situation, so accessible to attack, rendered it an unsafe depository for the shrine of its patron, and even for sepulture. Diarmait paid a visit to his See after the martyrdom of Blaithmac, but remained for a short time only; in 831 he returned to Ireland with the reliques of St Columba. These seemingly were taken back, for, in 840, Innrechtach, his successor, is said to have gone to Ireland with these precious objects. Some of the reliques were, however, left, for Kenneth MacAlpin is said, 'in the seventh year of his reign (850) to have transported the reliques of Saint Columba to the church which he had built.'² So far as we can judge from the scanty record, Kenneth seems to have thus transferred the Primacy to his new monastery at Dunkeld, and to have placed its abbot at the head of the church in his territories. In addition to his rank of Abbot, he is said to have been consecrated Bishop, and was invested with diocesan powers. In 865 is recorded the death of Tuathal mac Artguso, Abbot of Dunkeld, and first Bishop of Fortrenn,³ the name

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clxxiv; Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 300-2.

² Chronicles of the Scots and Picts, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* p. 361.

by which the kingdom acquired by Kenneth was now called.

A.D.
850-1203.

Hy, shorn of its importance, rose from its ruins, and the relics, in part in any case, must have been restored, for again, in 878, they are restored to Ireland for safety. Nothing but tales of woe for centuries would reach the ears of the brethren ; how the Norsemen had plundered their churches, and slain their priests with the sword. The light of Christianity was extinguished in the Western Isles in fire and blood ; Has it ever been rekindled ? But Hy was still the holy place of Scotland : ‘ Fordun (Bowar) relates that I-Columkill was the burial-place of all the kings of Pictland and Scotland until the time of Malcolm, the husband of St Margaret. The Registry of St Andrews goes further, and makes it not only the place of his interment, but the resting-place of Duncan’s bones. The Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, however, was the true recipient of the mortal remains, both of Malcolm and his wife, and thenceforward Hy ceased to be a royal cemetery. But Queen Margaret, previously to 1093, had erected in Hy a monument of her piety, and the chapel in Reilig Oran, the oldest edifice in the island, probably dates its origin from the exhibition of her liberality, recorded by Ordericus Vitalis. It was only four years after her death when Magnus, King of Norway, “ opened the smaller church of Kollum-Killa,” probably a chapel built over St Columba’s reputed tomb, on the occasion of his visiting the Holy Island.’¹ The Western Isles in the following year were seized by the Norwegian King, and Hy was annexed to the bishopric of Man, the united dioceses subject to the Metropolitan of Trondhjem. In 1156 the Celtic chief, Somerled, obtained the sovereignty of the Isles, when Hy became Celtic again : ‘ As a result, the abbacy of Hy was offered in 1164 by the King, with the unanimous consent of the church officials, to Flaherty O’Brolchan, the energetic Abbot of Derry who, in addition to his dignity of Coarb of Columcille, had received, in 1158, the *now* important qualification of episcopal orders. Domestic influence prevented the offer

¹ Reeves’ Adamnan, p. clxxxi.

A. D.
850-1303

from being accepted; but the Irish element, already indicated by the names of ecclesiastical functionaries, in 1164, seems to have rapidly increased, and to the period of its development we may possibly refer the erection of the central portion of the cathedral.¹ The O'Brolchan family had been distinguished for their love of, or skill in, building; the first of them mentioned in the Annals, and who died in 1029, is termed *prim saer Ereenn* (chief mason of Ireland).² The Abbot and Bishop elect of Hy was busily employed, towards the close of the twelfth century, in re-edifying the ecclesiastical buildings of Derry, and Dr Reeves is of opinion that a kinsman of his, Donald O'Brolchan, commenced the most important structure now existing in Hy.³ In 1203 occurs the last notice of Hy in the Irish Annals. At that time one Nicholas, Kalus, or Cellach, was appointed Bishop of the Isles. He attempted to assert his authority in Hy: 'A monastery was erected by Cellach without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Hy, in the middle of Cro-Hy, and he did considerable damage to the town.'⁴ The indignant brethren sent for assistance to Ireland; it was promptly granted; Bishops, Abbots, 'many of the family of Derry, and a great number of the northern clergy beside. They passed over into Hy, and in accordance with the law of the church, they subsequently pulled down the monastery, and Awley, Abbot of Derry, was elected Abbot of Hy by the suffrages of Foreigners and Gaeidhel.'⁴ Dr Reeves thus concludes: 'The passage here cited is the parting mention of Hy in the Irish Annals; and as it closes a long list of notices, running through nearly seven centuries, it leaves the island as it found it, in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics, an important outpost of the Irish Church, a centre of union between provinces whose people were of one blood, and who were enrolled under one name in the list of nations, till the accident of time limited to one the common name of both, and the accident of place separated and sometimes rival interests.'⁵

¹ Reeves' Adamnan, p. clxxxii.

³ *Ibid.* p. clxxxii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. clxxxiii.

² *Ibid.* p. clxxx.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. clxxxiv.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CELTIC CHURCH IN ALBAN.

Christianity in Scotland previous to A.D. 717—Anglican or Roman Church in Alban—St Peter and St Andrew patron Saints—Kenneth MacAlpin reinstates the Celtic Church—Establishes a Bishopric at Dunkeld, Constantin—Transfers Bishopric to Abernethy—King Grig—His benefactions to the Church—Constantin II. transfers Primacy to St Andrews, and with Kellach the Bishop constitutes a State Church—Kenneth founds the Church of Brechin, Macbeth—His liberality to the Church—His visit to Rome—Culdees.

THE history of the Early Scottish Church is centered in Hy; when we lose sight of the parent institution all is darkness, if a church did exist, little or no trace of it is to be found. The narratives of Adamnan and Bede are the only trustworthy guides, and lacking them, there is in reality nothing left to tell, until a new set of chroniclers appear, centuries later, with neither the piety nor the truthfulness of their predecessors. In all that can be told of ecclesiastical history in Scotland after Bede closes his narrative, 731, until the end of the eleventh century, the word *probable* must be used, the reader must judge as to the extent of the probability. Before we proceed with the narrative from the time of the expulsion of the Columbian Clergy, 717, it may be well to gather up the threads of ecclesiastical history previous to that time, and to discover how far Christianity had spread in North Britain.

There can be little doubt but that the Christian religion had been introduced into what is now called Scotland previous to the time of St Columba, and as little, that it had been derived from Roman sources. It must, however, be borne in mind, that Rome was not then Papal Rome, and that Roman missionaries were simply men who had derived their religion and culture from the centre of both, who looked with respect to the Bishop of

A.D. 400-717.

A. D. 400-717. Rome, as the man who upheld the cause of their Master, in the most elevated and dangerous position, but as for infallibility and supremacy both were dogmas of the future. The fact of the British Church observing eastern customs in the celebration of Easter and the Tonsure, merely shows that they were a little behind the age; all Christianity came from the east, the west improved at an early period, specially in trivialities, the British Church resisted novelty.

Christianity was introduced into Scotland, so far as we know, under two forms; the Roman or Episcopal, and the Celtic or monastic. The first by St Ninian, which was also that of St Kentigern and the Strathclyde Britons, and, except for thirty years, that of the Saxon Bernicians; the second by St Columba, and derived from Ireland; how it sprang up there, from the teaching of St Patrick, a Bishop, who was either a Romanised Briton or a man trained under Roman teachers on the Continent, is a Celtic mystery. Both churches seem to have been heterodox on the Easter and Tonsure questions; but the Britons, both in Strathclyde and Wales, were much later in conforming to the Roman mode than the Scots and Picts. In addition, previous to the time of St Columba, Christianity had been planted in the country of the Southern Picts, though the notices are as obscure as the results. We have seen that it is not unlikely that Palladius founded a church in the Mearns in the fifth century, and left as successor St Ternan, perhaps St Serf. There are also traces of Irish missionaries previous to the time of the great apostle, in the real or supposed foundation of the Church of Abernethy by Nectan, King of the Picts, 458-482, dedicated to St Bridget (St Bride), in the church of Inchmahome, in the Lake of Menteith, dedicated to Mocholmoc (St Colman, and in the parish of St Fillans, and the church of Aberdour, dedicated to a saint of that name. Though it cannot be proved, it is not altogether improbable that Kilrymont (St Andrews) was a Christian station, even previous to this time. It is thus not at all unlikely, that, independent of those at Hy and the western coast, there were centres

of Christianity, in some shape or other, in the Pictish territories, at Glasgow, Candida Casa (Whithorn), and Melros. In the Cymric Kingdom of Strathclyde, there is an absolute want of any records to show that there was any form of church government carried on, a solitary bishop turns up at Rome somewhere in the eighth century; this is all that can be told of ecclesiastical affairs in the ancient British Kingdom after the death of St Kentigern. The foundation at Whithorn by St Ninian and the Church in Galloway was perhaps in the same condition, though it may be inferred that it kept up a struggling existence; as so soon as the Angles possessed that district they founded a bishopric which continued during the whole of the eighth century;¹ after this period the succession lapsed, and with it Christianity and every other civilising influence.

A.D. 400-717.

Had Christianity, during this period of three centuries, done anything to educate or civilise the people? The conclusion forces itself on the mind, that it had not; either on account of the barbarism of the people, the miserable disputes which nullified the teaching of the clergy, or, likelier from the fact that religion was confined to asceticism for the few and ceremonies for the many; the influence for good was *nil*, the country might as well have been pagan, and if accompanied with the pagan civilisation of Rome, far better. So soon as the influence of Hy and its devoted and talented abbots ceased, clergy and people were ready to sink into the state the good Queen Margaret found them. One form of superstition replaced another, and even the salutary effects of superstition were lost from its ministers losing faith in it, and troubling themselves very little about its practice, for three centuries the clergy of Scotland attended to the temporalities only.

Towards the end of the purely Columbian period, the Saxon Church in the south of Scotland had been advancing northward; either from religious or secular motives, it endeavoured to replace the men who had fled with Bishop Trumwine. This church, in the first in-

¹ Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 271-2.

A. D. 717-844. stance, purely monastic, as the institutions at Melros and other places show, was no longer of that character, the devoted and ascetic brethren, like St Aidan and St Cuthbert, were replaced by men who partook more of the character of the secular clergy, and looked not to Hy, but the Roman model established at York. This is perhaps the true reading of King Nectan's mental trouble; these emissaries of the *true and apostolic* church had found their way into his dominions, and so influenced him that he entered on the policy previously narrated. Up to this time St Columba had been the patron saint of the country, now for a short time St Peter was to have that honour, the entire Pictish people became in religion Anglican not Scotch. The clergy who replaced those of the Columbian Church, who refused to conform, were secular not monastic, in fact secular as opposed to monastic. The legend of St Boniface would seem to imply that the episcopal form of government was introduced, a regular hierarchy,¹ but little or no credence can be attached to the statement, as there are no traces of a change in administration at this period. The notices referred to merely show, as Dr Skene observes, 'the introduction of a new clergy, and the foundation of new churches, dedicated to St Peter in the reign of a King Nectan.'²

St Peter did not long maintain his position as the patron saint of Scotland. Angus, the son of Fergus, 731-61, dethroned him and enthroned St Andrew, who has occupied the position to the present day, embalmed in religion and romance, with the other patron saints of Europe.

To Angus the foundation of the monastery at Kilrymont or St Andrews properly belongs, though there may have been some kind of Christian settlement previous to his time. The earliest form of the legend, according to Dr Skene, is that given by him in the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.³ According to it, Angus gains a great victory over the rest of the inhabitants of Great Britain, by invoking the name of St Andrew, and promising to

¹ Chronicle Picts and Scots, p. 421.

² *Ibid.* p. clviii.

³ *Ibid.* p. 138.

devote a tenth of his inheritance to God and the Saint. A.D. 717-844.
 A divine light, accompanied by a heavenly voice, was the medium by which he was induced to do this. Having gained the victory, he was naturally at a loss to know what part of his inheritance he was to devote; but his mind was speedily set at rest on this point. Returning from his victorious campaign, the King meets Regulus the *monk*, who had just landed at Kilrymont, with the relics of St Andrew, the spot seems suitable to both; the king does honour to the sacred relics, gives the place to the holy man, builds a church, and dedicates it to God and St Andrew, other places are given by the grateful monarch and his sons. St Andrews is already richly endowed.¹ The second legend is substantially the same, with the exception that Regulus is a *bishop*, and the results which may be deduced from the two are, that previous to the time of Angus there was a Columbian foundation first instituted by a previous St Regulus or St Rule, and that the foundation under his reign was like that under Nectan's, a transference of this with additions, to a clerical immigration from the Saxon Church, consisting essentially of the secular clergy.

The next event was of considerable importance to A.D. 844-863.
 the Columbian Church. Sometime in the reign of Constantin, King of the Picts, 807-816, he founded the Church of Dunkeld, where it is possible he may have bestowed the brethren of Hy who had escaped the massacre of 796, and had found refuge in his dominions. The ban against the Columbian clergy seems thus to have been removed, and they were soon able to prove that their good will and influence was no inconsiderable power in Pictland,

In 844 Kenneth MacAlpin became King of the Picts, and in the seventh year of his reign he caused to be transferred to a church which he had built at Dunkeld the relics of St Columba. This testifies to the probability that Dunkeld was a stronghold then of the Columbian Church, and that Kenneth either completed the church begun by Constantin, King of the Picts, or

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. i. pp. 296, 298; vol. ii. pp. 261-268.

A. D. 844-863. founded a new one, which he made the principal ecclesiastical seat in his kingdom, transferring, as it were, the supremacy of Hy to Dunkeld. In this the Dalriadic chief testified his gratitude to the men who supported his claims, for though there is no direct evidence to show how much the Columbian clergy contributed to Kenneth's successful enterprise, there are strong grounds for supposing that their influence formed no unimportant element in it. In fact, he appears as the restorer of the Celtic Church in his dominions; he not only made Dunkeld the mother church in place of Hy, but in deference probably to southern notions, and to be upsides with Northumbria, made its abbot a bishop.¹ The Columbian monks were also reinstated at Abernethy, and it is supposed that the round tower there, was built by the Irish brethren who formed the community. Kenneth may even have gone further, and visited on the Saxon clergy the hard measure meted out to his kinsfolk a century ago, for it is said that he invaded Saxonia, the country south of the Forth, and burned Dunbarre and Mailros, which had been usurped. The hand of the church seems here; that Kenneth was led to consider these as Columbian foundations, and that if they could not be restored they could be destroyed.

A. D. 863-877.

Constantin, the next in succession but one, the son of Kenneth, is said by Dr Skene to have transferred the bishopric from Abernethy, and that while it was the episcopal as well as the royal seat, there were three elections, and it is presumed royal confirmations of bishops. The evidence for this seems more unsatisfactory than that for the bishopric of Dunkeld, resting entirely on the authority of Bower. It after all, matters little, if there were bishops before Cellach the first bishop of St Andrews, they exercised no supervision, and whatever may have been their spiritual *grade*, they occupied a lower position in reality than the abbots, the heads of monastic establishments. The curious legend of St Adrian is

¹ Tuathal mac Artguso primus Episcopus Fortrenn Abbas Duincaillenn dormivit. Annals of Ulster. Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 361.

thought to refer to the reign of Constantin, and is supposed by the same authority to indicate a large accession of immigrants from Ireland, who found a refuge from the Danes among their kinsmen who had acquired a kingdom.¹ A. D. 878-889.

The next king but one, who succeeded to the throne of Fortrenn or Pictland, was Ciricius, Giric or Grig, an intruder in the Scottish line, and not of the race of Kenneth MacAlpin. He figures in history as the great benefactor of the Scottish Church; during his reign, 878-889, it was first recognised as such, and obtained a standing as an integral part of the constitution. His name should still be dear to supporters of the church by law established, who love to speak of it as our National Zion. This may be inferred from the entry in the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots (p. 151). 'He first gave liberty to the Scottish Church, which even to this time was under servitude, according to the law and custom of the Picts.' This short notice tells a great deal of what the church was previously; simply a number of societies, who by gift, or*to use a modern word, by squatting, had possessed themselves of lands, and were subject to the exactions, personal or otherwise, that the king or chief chose to enforce. From this time may be truly said to have commenced the ecclesiastical regime in Scotland, all that was wanted came in due time, a master at Rome who should share the revenues, and a *system* how to preserve and increase them. Little advantage, however, was taken of the privilege granted, the clergy, became even more secularised, and the abbots became, even in name, what they long had been in reality.

The influence of the southern church had perhaps something to do with the boon granted by King Grig. In 855, thirty years previously, Ethelwulf King of Wessex, gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation. And the same year he went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned home-

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 311-314. Wyntoun's Chronicles, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86. Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 424.

A. D. 900-940. wards.¹ Piety in kings, especially when accompanied with superstition, is infectious, and churchmen have never been slow, in letting a virtue be made public which brings grist to their own mill. Ethelwulf's piety and his visit to Rome would be widely published. All the gratitude shown to Grig by the church or nation was to make him a saint, and associate his name with a church in the Mearns, St Cyricus (St Cyrus), called in old charters Ecclesgreig, or the church of Greig.² The clergy could have given him no substantial help, as though a brave and enterprising monarch, after a brilliant reign of eleven years he was expelled the kingdom, and Donald, of the race of Kenneth MacAlpin, called to the throne.

This prince reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by his uncle Constantin, who, for forty years, occupied a distinguished place in Scottish civil and ecclesiastical history. Under him the loose confederacy of Picts and Scots assumed the form and somewhat of the reality of a kingdom, divided into seven provinces under the name of Alban, with Scone as the capital. Under him, to a certain extent, an ecclesiastical kingdom was formed, with the bishop of St Andrews as its head. In the sixth year of his reign, 'Constantin the King, and Cellach the Bishop, in the Hill of Belief, near to the royal city of Scone, vow to God to protect the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and the gospel equally with the Scots.'³ What Grig had granted informally was now solemnly proclaimed, Picts and Scots were one people in Church and State, the Primacy, of it ever existed at Abernethy, was transferred to St Andrews, and its bishop termed Episcopus Albanus, if the legend of St Andrew, a document of the latter end of the thirteenth century, can be trusted.⁴ Constantin, though an active and warlike monarch, seems to have been imbued, with strong religious feelings, which

¹ Saxon Chronicles, ed. Bohn, p. 349.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. cxxxvii.

³ *Ibid.* p. 8. The hill derived from this transaction the name of the 'Hill of Belief,' collis credulitatis.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 191.

in the end, after the fashion of the age, caused him to assume the religious habit, though he did not descend to the level of a lay brother, but became abbot of the Culdees of St Andrews. He evidently was on friendly terms with the Columbian Church in Ireland, as well as with the Northumbrian Church of the Saxons. The more intimate relationship was kept up with the former, Dr Skene shows from the legend of St Cadroe, that it may be inferred that a number of clerics from Ireland found a refuge from the Danes among their friends in Scotland somewhere about 920, and with these were members of the Céle Dé, who settled and established their rule in the sister country, 'to establish the ordinances of Erin.'¹ St Cadroe in any case may have established or attempted to establish stricter rules of life among the professed religious, the sequel shows that the attempt was made in vain, or that his rule was a very lax one. The missionary is also said to have scattered the seeds of wisdom through the whole of Scotland, and was highly appreciated by both king and people, who, when the saint proposed to leave the country, prayed him, but in vain, to remain.

No other event in the ecclesiastical history of Alban seems worth chronicling until the time of Kenneth, 971-995. In the latter part of his reign he founded the Church at Brechin, then evidently a place of considerable importance.² The foundation was of the monastic character, and partook certainly at the first, of the Columbian or Celtic Church; the inmates were probably Irish, and the Round Tower, the only one to be found in Scotland, with the exception of that at Abernethy, must have been the work of artists from the sister church. Mr Petrie traces its similarity to the Round Tower of Donaghmore, county Meath, which is remarkable from having a figure of our Saviour crucified, in *relievo*, on its keystone, and the stone immediately over it: 'A human head is carved on each side of the door—the one partly on the

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 324-26.

² Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino.—Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 10.

A. D.
1005-1058.

band, and the other outside of it—a similarly ornamented doorway, presenting a representation of the crucifixion, but with richer sculptures, is found in the Round Tower of Brechin, in Scotland, which, there is every reason to believe, was erected about the year 1020, and by Irish ecclesiastics.¹

During the reign of Malcolm (1005-1034) ecclesiastical affairs, not to speak of religion and culture, were in a state of coma; fighting was the occupation of all, lay and clerical alike. The first streak of light appears in the reign of Macbeth. The regicide and usurper of fiction, with his masculine mate, were very different in reality. Macbeth was a wise and powerful monarch, with a fair claim to the throne of Alban; his wife and he were highly religious and devoted to the Church; they showed this by granting certain lands to the Culdees of Lochleven. But the fact testified by Marianus Scotus, of his having gone to Rome, from whatever motive, is the highest tribute which has been paid to the character of Macbeth; it shows that he had at least the desire to know something out of his petty world, that he was not satisfied, as his ancestors had been, with the priests and abbots, half lay half clerical, of his own country, that he wished to visit the great centre of religion and culture. The circumstance becomes more interesting, if we are to believe that he was accompanied by Earl Thorfinn; if the mighty Earl was a Christian, his poet Arnor Iarlascaid was not. In his dirge on Earl Thorfinn he invokes the god of his fathers, not 'the ready patron of the Greeks and Gard-folk (Russians.)' 'The yeasty draught of Woden is bubbling; my song is running through my lips.'² Had the King of Alban himself under the influence of the gospel of peace, persuaded his friend that there was something better than 'the reddening of the edges of the wolf's morsel (the sword),' and 'to drink of the yeasty pool (ale) all the winter through?' Who knows? the piety of the age, when it did exist, was genuine if mistaken, and it was perhaps no unfitting end to lives like

¹ Petrie's Round Towers of Ireland, pp. 410, 411.

² Corpus Poeticum Boreale, vol. ii. pp. 194-196.

those of Macbeth and Thorfinn, to show that they felt in some measure the hand of Christ loosening the grasp of Woden and Thor. The reign of Macbeth presaged a change for the better in Alban; how much he and his Queen influenced it can only be conjectured. The intercourse with the fresh young life of the Vikings had much to do with it, the wild orgies of the Orkney Earls, and their savage combats were not their sole characteristics, the literature preserved shows much more; a sympathy with nature, a horror of all that is mean or unworthy in a man, often a womanly tenderness, shine through all the compositions of the Northern Skalds. Their lays would be no strangers by this time to the people of Alban, and helped to form a character which, if not then Christian, was noble and manly. But in addition, though there is no written history to certify, it is evident that Teutonic civilisation was advancing from the south, from the time of Nectan, and to a certain extent nullifying the depressing influence of Gadhelic religion and manners. The Danish conquests in England before and after the time of Alfred would naturally drive refugees to Alban, and no fact is better established than that the Kings, Picts and Scots, received those exiles with the heartiest welcome. In this way religion, culture, and literature in England, struggling into life, must have found its way into Alban long before the time that Edgar Aetheling and his fair sisters came as honoured guests to the court of Malcolm Canmore. The accession of this monarch to the throne, after the defeat and death of Macbeth, opened up a new order of things both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, and before we enter on the latter of these, it will be necessary to examine the scanty evidences which show the state of the Scottish Church from the time of Kenneth Macalpin, during which period it is popularly known as the Culdee Church.

The word Culdee, though often used in this connection, is entirely a misnomer. That there were associations of men during this period, who were termed Keledei or Culdees, is an ascertained fact, but nothing whatever is known of them beyond their existence, until the close of

A. D.
1005-1058.

A. D.
800-1200.

the eleventh century, when their principles and practice were considered antagonistic to those insisted on by the sons of Malcolm and his sainted queen. Mr Burton sentimentiously observes, that it is easier to tell what the Culdees were *not* than what they were, the statement will commend itself alike to those who have studied the subject or merely dipped into it.

A modern author gives the current opinion of patriotic and Presbyterian writers when he says, 'These missionaries were warmly devotional, and had much faith in prayer. From this feature in their character, the very name of Culdee, by which they came *afterwards* to be distinguished, seems to have been derived.'¹ Afterwards he makes mention of them not practising celibacy, approaching to the regular clergy, instead of the secular, who were permitted to marry until a comparatively late age of the Church.² Expounded this means, that the monastic or semi-monastic establishments in Scotland during the dark period of the ninth and tenth centuries, consisted of 'warmly devotional and prayerful men,' with help-meets and children, who, sometimes in communities sometimes alone (but with their families), preached the gospel free from Romish error, and taught the people. When there was a head of a community, he was the free choice of the brethren, (no hereditary right intervening) like the moderator of a presbytery with no rule; all were equal, and all lived in harmony till the machinations of Rome upset system of government, doctrine, and practice. Jamieson in the previous, and Ebrard in the present century, amplify and endorse this view. While we may admire the style and invention of these authors, it is impossible to treat their histories as other than romance, there are no ascertained facts to impugn or defend.

Dr Lanigan, the fairest of Romish historians, in order, we should think, to account for their non-celibacy, makes them seculars in contrast to the regulars, a distinction unknown at the period. 'Looking to the origin of this institution, they were in reality no others than the description of clergymen called *secular canons*, who were originally

¹ MacLauchlan's Early Scottish Church, p. 175. ² *Ibid.* p. 193.

attached to the cathedrals of dioceses.’¹ ‘That they are in Scotch charters and documents often called canons; had priors; were required to live in community, and to observe *canonical* discipline according to the institution of their rule.’² If even the vestige of a Culdee or any other rule of the Scotch Church were extant, and if there were any nigh to contemporary documents or charter in existence, in which they are so termed, this statement might have some weight, but as the name of *canon* and the *rule* were both introduced by the authorities quoted, it can have none. Dr Lanigan himself shows they had no rule, or a very free and easy one. ‘Indeed a great part of them, both in Scotland and elsewhere, deserved to be set aside; for they violated some of the chief rules of their institution, by ceasing to live in community, and taking to themselves wives or concubines.’² Did the men called Culdees ever observe the rules which the regulars of the eleventh and twelfth century considered canonical?

A. D.
800-1200.

Much has been written on the subject, but so far as the author can judge, the opinion and statements of Dr Reeves are the most entitled to weight; an abstract of which he now gives. Dr Reeves, in his introduction to the Life of St Columba, says, ‘Late in the history of the Columbian order comes under notice the society called *Culdees*. They had no particular connection with this order any more than had the *Deoradhs* (pilgrims), or the other developments of conventual observance. The system however, whatever its peculiarities may have been, was admitted in Hy, and the name of one Cen Cele-n De, ‘Superior of Culdees,’ like the *Prior Colideorum* of Armagh, is recorded in the Annals of the order (A. D. 1164).³ The solitary passage in the page of history which records the existence of Culdees in Hy is thus simply adverted to; in his ‘Dissertation on the Culdees,’ the subject is exhaustively treated.

In it he says, ‘the devotion and self-denial which characterised monastic life upon its introduction into the Latin Church procured for those who adopted it the

¹ Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 301.

² *Ibid.* p. 308.

³ Reeves’ Adamnan, pp. cxxvi.-ii.

A. D.
800-1200.

special designation of *Servi Dei*, which in process of time acquired a technical application, so that *Servus Dei* and *Monachus* became convertible terms. *Ancilla Dei* was understood to signify 'a nun;' and *Servire Deo* to lead a monastic life. Familiarised, therefore, to the expression *Servus Dei*, it is only reasonable to suppose that the Irish would adopt it in their discourse, and find a conventional equivalent for it in the language of their country. To this origin we may safely refer the creation of the Celtic compound Céle-Dé, which in its employment possessed all the latitude of its model, and, in the lapse of ages, underwent all the modifications or limitations of meanings which the changes of time and circumstances, or local usage, produced in the class to whom the epithet was applied.¹ The term seems as wide in its application as the modern one of reverend, given in courtesy alike to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the itinerant preacher, the saintly Jeremy Taylor and the un-nameable Sterne. 'In Scotland, during the range of time in which the term is of record, we discover the greatest diversity in its application—sometimes borne by hermits, sometimes by conventuals; in one situation implying the condition of celibacy, in another understood of married men; here denoting regulars, there seculars; some of the name bound by obligations of poverty, others free to accumulate property; at one period high in honour, as implying self-denial, at another regarded with contempt as the designation of the loose and worldly minded.'² Dr Reeves goes on to show, that the order never possessed uniformity; in fact, when it became a distinctive term at all, it denoted 'an old-fashioned Scotie monk in an age when the prevalence of such surnames as Mac Anaspie (son of the bishop), Mac Nab (son of the abbot), Mac Prior (son of the prior), Mac Intaggart (son of the priest), Mac Pherson (son of the parson), Mac Vicar (son of the vicar), Mac Clery (son of the cleric), indicated a

¹ The Culdees of the British Isles, by W. Reeves, D.D., etc., 1864, pp. 1, 2. We spare our readers the etymological argument. See, of modern authors, Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 251, note.

² Reeves' Culdees, pp. 2, 3.

condition of clerical society not exactly in accordance with the received notions of ecclesiastical discipline.'¹

Like the other components of the Celtic Church in Scotland, the Culdees were an importation from Ireland, where the term, if not the class, was known previous to 636, and they were understood as being a distinct class from the monks.'² Dr Reeves gives the particulars of ten different places where the Colidei of Ireland were established, the principal of which were Tamhlacht, now Tallaght, near Dublin, and Armagh.'³ In the early stage of their history, the members seem to have been men whose object was to bring about a reformation in morals, or change in ecclesiastical discipline. One of the number towards the close of the eighth century, Aengus the Culdee, 'is a name familiar to every one at all conversant with Irish history. He is said to have been a poet of no mean worth; to have been the author of various religious poems and tracts of a liturgical and historical character, including a metrical calendar. He may be taken as a representative of the early stage, 'a lover or worshipper of God,' a rigid observer of the strictest monastic observances, specially in the order of divine service.'⁴ This characteristic did not long continue, for when we *do* hear more of them, they possessed most of the characteristics of secular canons, who were continually needing reformation from the time of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, 817.⁵

The name penetrated into England, and Dr Reeves observes, 'that we should find in the heart of Saxon Northumbria such a term as Colideus lingering ages after the Irish impress on the religion of that province had been obliterated, is truly remarkable.'⁶ There existed at York, till the dissolution of the monasteries, a body of men called Colidei, who were the officiating clergy of the cathedral church of St Peter's from 936 or earlier; when a Norman Archbishop was appointed to the See, they were excluded from this office, and removed to another quarter of the city, carrying with them, how-

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 2, 3.

² *Ibid.* p. 8.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 7-25.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 58.

A.D.
800-1700.

ever, their eleemosynary resources.¹ In the little island of Bardsey, off the coast of Carnarvon, there have also been traces found of the Culdees. Giraldus Cambrensis calls them Caelibes vel Colideos.²

The earliest Culdees who existed in Scotland are supposed to have been at Glasgow, at the time when St Kentigern was *bishop of the diocese*, if we are to believe that Joceline, in the twelfth century, wrote true history. In his *Life* is the following passage: 'Thus, as we have stated, the man of God joined to himself a great many disciples, whom he trained in the sacred literature of the Divine law, and educated to sanctity of life by his word and example. They all with a godly jealousy imitated his life and doctrine, accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils at certain seasons, intent on psalms and prayers, and meditation on the Divine word, content with sparing habit and dress, occupied every day and hour in manual labour. For, after the fashion of the Primitive Church under the apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, and living soberly, righteously, godly, and continently, they dwelt, as did St Kentigern himself, in single cottages, from the time when they had become mature in age and doctrine. Therefore these "singulares clerici" were called, in the common language, Colidei.'³ Dr Reeves gives more credit to Joceline than we should have supposed; he says, 'Although this piece of biography was not written till the close of the twelfth century, it was compiled from much earlier authorities, and embodied the traditional persuasion of the day.'⁴ Again, 'thus we learn that the Célé-Dé, or Colidei, were understood by the Scotch in the twelfth century, to have been a religious order of clerks who lived in societies, under a superior, within a common enclosure, but in detached cells, associated in a sort of collegiate rather than coenobitical brotherhood—solitaries in their domestic habits, though united in the common observances, both religious

¹ Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 60, where authorities for the statement are quoted.

² *Ibid.* p. 61.

³ *Life of St Kentigern*, p. 66.

⁴ Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 28.

and secular, of a strict sodality. Such was the nucleus of the great city of Glasgow.¹ This certainly may have been the tradition *believed* in at the period referred to, five hundred years after the *supposed* formation of the Culdees, but is just as likely to have as much foundation in fact, as our belief in 'the good old days,' or in the ascetic life and severe mental labour of the ideal clergyman of to-day. Historical research and intimate personal intercourse put an end to both pleasing fictions. But the idea is quite a natural one, and is shared by all other countries as to an early and unknown state of things, and by the Christian world at large as to the state of the Primitive Church in the land of its birth. If the brethren of the Church of Strathclyde were the blameless Christians described, we have no other record of their existence, for after the death of St Kentigern, there is a blank until 1116. If there were other communities of a similar nature in Pictland and Dalriada, we know as little, till we find them possessing a good deal of their own, and looking well after it, certainly not living continently; and if we had information we should very likely find their cells were well-furnished houses, replete with the comforts of the age, certainly the necessaries which Friar Tuck brought out of his store for the refreshment of King Richard.² But there can be little doubt that the Church of Strathclyde, as well as the Columbian Church, was based on the monastic principle; and if we look to other monastic systems, we are forced to the belief that the brethren were, in the first instance, ascetics and celibates. In Scotland, as enthusiasm died out or common sense prevailed, marriage, and the society of the fair sex, were introduced as a legitimate state of matters—a much more preferable state of things than what is found in the monastic Annals of England and the Continent.

At the risk of being iterative, we give a quotation from Dr Reeves' work, illustrating tersely the system of the Early Scottish Church: 'And here I may observe, as the principle which, if borne in mind, will solve many enigmas in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland as well

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 28, 29. ² Scott's Ivanhoe, chaps. xvi. and xvii.

A. D.
800-1200.

as of Ireland, that the distribution of the country into dioceses and parishes was practically unknown till the beginning of the twelfth century. The whole ecclesiastical fabric was constructed on the monastic foundation, and its entire economy regulated by the discipline of conventual life. This was the system which for ages placed the episcopate in a subordinate position, exalting the office of abbot to the pinnacle of church preferment, and subjecting all other relations to its social weight, until, in the lapse of time, it lost much of its sacred character, and became compatible with a secular life.¹ Previous then to the twelfth century, the Church in Scotland was entirely monastic, though of a kind; the inquiry then presents itself, were the Culdees a peculiar order in it, like the Benedictines, Franciscans, and others?

The answer must be in the negative, and it can not be better expressed than in the words of the acute and straightforward John Pinkerton: 'The Culdees were surely only Irish (Scotic) clergy. At first they seem to have been regular monks, who followed the rule of St Columba; and generally their societies consisted of twelve and a chief, in imitation either of Christ and the apostles; or of Columba and the twelve monks who came with him from Ireland. In the gradual corruption of the monastic order, they married; and left their Culdeeships to their children; and after the havock introduced by the Danes, usurped the rank of secular clergy. In short, they were merely corrupted monks, such as abounded in all the countries of Europe till the eleventh century, when the popes were forced to introduce canons regular, whom the princes gradually introduced into the chief narratives, instead of the old depraved monks. Henry I. brought these canons into England; and soon after we find the Scottish sovereigns turning out the Culdees to make way for these canons. The Culdees thus united in themselves the distinction of monks and of secular clergy.'² The fact of their being married men does not militate against their character, or even their orthodoxy,

¹ Reeves' Culdees, p. 28.

² Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 272.

for until 1074, marriage or concubinage was *permitted* to the clergy; in that year Hildebrand enacted that no priests should henceforth marry, and that such as now had either wives or concubines, should relinquish either *them* or the sacred office.¹ The evil lay in uniting the duties of the territorial clergymen and the monk, a member of a coenobitical brotherhood whose celibacy was reckoned the highest virtue, at the same time a member of secular society immersed in its cares and sharing its privileges.

In addition, a continuous priesthood laying claim to supreme authority in religious matters, has been found bad enough, a hereditary one fortunately has had no other parallel in Christian times. Dr Reeves points out that Pinkerton is in error in supposing that the Culdees derived their origin from St Columba and followed his rule, they were either a later development of Gadhelic Christianity, or what is still more probable, the name was indifferently applied to communities who claimed an origin from Hy or some other source. We only know of them when they appear in history, and it would be sacrilege to compare them to Columba, his devoted followers, and their immediate successors. Up to the time of the Danish invasion, enthusiasm and piety were in their youthful vigour, abbots and brethren, we are bound to believe, were examples of every Christian virtue, endowed with gifts and graces, not to speak of miraculous powers; and, above all, obedient to the central authority. But the Culdees, when they appear, so far from following the Columbite rule, followed no rule and obeyed no one but their own abbot, or, as he might rather be called chief. They bore the title of Keledei, Servi-Dei, but showed none of the signs. Asceticism and celibacy were the true, almost the alone marks of a Christian minister during the dark ages, whatever may be said to the contrary, and Dr Reeves states a significant fact, when he says, 'most of the old religious foundations were Keledei'—men who were neither ascetics nor celibates. The Church in Scotland, from the beginning of the ninth to the

A. D.
800-1200.

¹ Soames' Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 321.

A. D.
800-1200.

twelfth century, consisted almost entirely of Keledei, Scoti; men foreign to the genius and even the language of the people; who held lands granted for religious, but used for lay purposes. In many cases, 'the entire religious character of a monastery perished except in name, and a species of lay property called an *Athbein* or abbacy is presented to view in the twelfth century—the annual resort of a whole country side. Where secularisation was only partial, a shadow of the old society continued to exist, and, under greater or lesser laxity of discipline, the representatives were known as Keledei, a title which, with portions of the church property, in some cases descended from father to son, and in others was practically entailed to members of certain families.'¹

The Culdees are said, however, to have had a rule, belonging to a date not earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century, but according to Dr Reeves it may be fairly regarded as a modernised, and perhaps amplified version of a much earlier document. It is given in the work so often referred to, and is interesting as showing what the Keledei in Ireland at the close of the eighth century (the assumed date of the rule) were, or were supposed to have been; incidentally showing the absence of Papal authority, Purgatory, Mariolatry, and purely Romish superstitions. There are two given, a poetical and a prose. The poetical speaks of the 'yoke of the clergy being a noble calling,' of the duty of frequenting church at all canonical hours; of the celebration of the mass; of the sign of the cross, and numerous genuflexions; of *labour* for the illiterate after the will of pious clerics; (the last an admirable text for a pious homily by a parish clergyman of to-day.)² The prose rule is much longer, very curious, illustrating manners, superstitions, and mode of living. The fare of the monks was far from spare; thick milk and honey mixed; skimmed milk; butter milk; whey, curds, beer, kale, cheese, apples, leeks, bread, fish, flesh-meats to be used even in the great Lent when other things are in scarcity; the relaxation at Easter, eggs and lard, and the flesh of wild deer and wild hogs. Dyspepsia must have

¹ Reeves' *Culdees*, p. 29.

² *Ibid.* p. 83.

resulted from this diet, for the 'festinae' were the abode of demons.¹ These rules, even if genuine, give no idea of Culdee life in Scotland, where communities were not under one roof, but occupied separated dwellings, with wives and families, meeting only on great occasions, and as secular affairs permitted. Montalembert says, that the monks were the great civilisers of Western Europe; certainly those bearing the name of Culdees did nothing for the civilisation of Scotland.

A.D.
800-1200.

In spite of the favour shown by Nectan and other monarchs to the Saxon clergy from the time of Columba to the days of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, the Scotie (Irish) were the dominant and preponderating class. Celtic learning and culture (particularly Irish), can only be appreciated by Celts and Irishmen, unadulterated by intercourse with other races; both are *said* to have flourished in luxuriance in Ireland during the dark ages, and wandering Scots (Irishmen), learned and pious, are reported to have been well known on the Continent of Europe, and to have excited the admiration of scholars there. These statements may be true, but Scotland was not favoured with a visit with the exception of Columba, Cummine, and Adamnan; they have left no names in literature of any kind, profound ignorance of ought but the offices of the Church was the legacy they left. Pinkerton's remarks are as apt now as the day he penned them: 'To a late period, the only common clergy in Pikland were Irish, as is clear from there being no Pikish saints or churchmen to be found in history or sanctology, The offices of the Church were performed in Latin; nay, the homilies preached in that language, as appears from those of Beda and others, and as all conversant in ecclesiastical history know. There was of course no necessity for the clergy to learn the Pikish language. Even in England, as appears from Beda, most of the clergy were Irish; and came from Ireland and Hyona to English Sees at once, having no necessity to know the common language, Latin alone being necessary. The divine service, and preachings, though in Latin, it was

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 85-97.

A. D.
800-1200.

an office of piety to attend; but scarce one in an audience understood a word, so that they could not instruct the people. And the Irish clergy, for their own interest, retained the Pikish Church to themselves; and never excited Pikish youth to qualify themselves for the Church, which they regarded as their own peculiar portion. As these Celtic clergy were strangers to the liberal sentiments of true wisdom, so they had all the cunning which is the wisdom of folly, and all that selfishness which attends a narrow mind.¹ Hy became the supreme church in Pictland, though far removed from the centre of the country, where a Metropolitan See should have been established. 'Thus the interest of religion was sacrificed to the meanest avarice and ambition; and Hyona may be regarded as the Rome of Pikland, supporting its own power and interest by keeping the subjects of its church in ignorance.' Hy fell before the Danes; but the same influence was exercised by many petty Hys, who claimed and exercised similar power. 'The Irish clergy settled in the churches of Pikland, and married among themselves, like the tribe of Levi; the only change was, that there were many Irish seminaries instead of one.'²

Dr Reeves gives an account of what were, or were supposed to be, Culdee foundations in Scotland; he considers the task hopeless of determining the priority of foundation of the Scotch Keledean houses. The order in which he gives them is—St Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Rosemarkie, Dunblane, Dornoch, Lismore, Hy, Lochlevin, Abernethy, Monymusk, Muthill, Monifieth. To his work we must refer our readers; we can only incidentally notice the extinction of the several houses, and the causes which led to this, as they occur in the narrative to follow.

¹ Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 278.

² *Ibid.* p. 279.

CHAPTER IX.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

Accession of Malcolm Canmore—Influence of his Marriage with Margaret—Court and Church of England and Scotland contrasted—Influence of Queen Margaret—Her Biography by Turgot—Her Innovations—Her Benefactions to the Church—Edgar—Re-founds Coldingham, Alexander appoints Turgot Bishop of St Andrews—Also Cormac Bishop of Dunkeld—Creates the See of Moray—Ethelred Abbot of Dunkeld—Turgot's disputes with the See of York—Alexander introduces Black Canons at Scone and Dunkeld—Founds a Priory on an Island in Loch Tay, and at Inchcolm.

THE period of the reign of Malcolm Canmore was eminently a period of transition in Scotland, even in ecclesiastical affairs. Though a Celt, he partook little of the Celtic character, and that little was extinguished by his marriage with the Saxon Margaret. But this influence in the Church was very powerful; it struggled successfully for life during Malcolm's reign, and it was only under the rule of his third son that the foreign element, which so long had dwarfed the genius of the people, was quietly extinguished. In the other portion of this work we have noticed the large influx of the Teutonic race into Scotland from the ninth century, Angles, Saxons, Danes, even Normans, and the kindred element it met with in the Picts. The number of ecclesiastics among these was scanty indeed; the immigrants of this class were chiefly Scoti, kin to the Gadhelic Church, which was evidently a close preserve. No intruders, such as found their way into England, were allowed; none of the native clergy found their way to the Continent, where they would imbibe new, and of course, dangerous opinions; and incidentally what little culture was to be had.

A. D.
1058-1093

A. D.
1058-1093.

Previous to the marriage of Malcolm, we hear of no ecclesiastical matters cropping up, but soon afterwards the influence of his consort is apparent. The change to her seemed greater in the religious state of her adopted country, than even in the civil. The contrast in both must have been striking. She, and probably most of her suite were able to read and write, accomplishments unknown to her royal spouse. Devotedly attached to the Roman ritual, and to all the forms and ceremonies inseparable to it, she found a secularised clergy with neither the one or the other. In her own country, for centuries, the clergy had, to an overwhelming extent, been of her own people, and at one with them, Anglo-Saxons, speaking and writing the language of their race. From the time of Theodore, the learned and pious Asiatic monk who, in 668, was appointed to the See of Canterbury, learning and culture had never been absent from England, particularly in the north. The evidence for this does not rest on the shadowy grounds on which is founded the intellectual eminence of Ireland during the same period—a hagiological literature, useless if genuine, and a few extracts from John Scotus Erigena.¹ Previous to the Norman conquest Rome uniformly exercised a beneficent effect on England, Wilfrid's victory at Whitby over the Columbian Church was a turning point in the civilisation of the country. The Church was from that time emphatically the civiliser of the English people; all that Imperial Rome had given had been trampled out, faith and polity alike, both were renewed by Papal Rome, but on a thoroughly national footing, no Anglo-Saxon or Danish monarch ever bowed the knee to the successor of the apostles. With the exception of the first teachers, Augustine, Paulinus and Theodore, all the fathers of the English Church were of the soil, every class contributed its quota of men, who threw themselves with energy into the task of educating as well as christianising the people. The study of Greek was introduced by Theodore, Bede was an accomplished scholar,

¹ How little is known of this celebrated Irishman is shown in Hallam's *Literary History*, vol. i. p. 9, note.

and through him and his disciples the study of the classics was widely spread. Already in his time there was a library at York, and in the days of Alfred, Oxford and Cambridge were, if not universities, educational establishments. Passing over the names of Egbert, Alcuin, and Elfric, all churchmen of the highest literary attainments, and well known on the Continent, it is sufficient to note the growth of education in the person of the first monarch of England, truly an impersonation of his people. There must have been a public, however small, who appreciated the efforts of Alfred to found a literature in the vernacular language of the country, even among 'his illiterate clergy' there must have been some who desired to know more than the text of their mass-books; they were his special care, and he applied to them the most powerful stimulus known to their class.¹ But there was in the Anglo-Saxon the great element of culture, the poetical spirit, and he brought to Britain not only this, but poetry itself. The epic of Beowulf was composed before the conquest of England,² it has been preserved entire, and was brought by our ancestors to their island home, but of native growth are the strains of Caedmon, the Brunanburg Battle Song, and the poems of Cynewulf. All indeed that is left, but sufficient to lay the foundation of the language and poetry of the English speaking population of the world.

Such being the state of Margaret's native country, the contrast to her must have been great indeed when she became Queen of Scotland. At the court of the Confessor she had met the best of the Anglican and Norman clergy; in her wandering life she had met with similar men on the Continent; even among laymen the accomplishments of reading and writing would not be uncommon. But more, while in England she had found the clergy at one with the people, speaking the same language, loving the Saxon race in the person of her

A. D.
1058-1093.

¹ He suffered no priest that was illiterate to be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity.—Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 197.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 9.

A.D.
1058-1073.

brother, her sister and herself, patriots to the death. No subservience to the foreigner formed part of the character of priests or people, yet at the same time all that was good in Rome, its culture and its religious ritual; improvements on their own, were warmly welcomed. It was the mission of the Saxon Queen to introduce both into her adopted country, to eliminate the foreign element, the Gadhelic, its language, religion, and culture, if the last term is not a misnomer. Her efforts laid the foundation of a native, a Teutonic clergy, who, except in rare instances, have been ever patriotic, and who exercise to this day an influence over the minds of the people of Scotland, gentle and simple, unknown in the history of any other, except perhaps that of the Chosen Race.

We have alluded, in the first part of this work, to the civilising influence Queen Margaret exercised in mundane affairs, and after all, the little effect it had in mitigating the fierce character of her spouse and his retainers. The same influence was as much needed in church matters, and was exercised in the same manner and to much the same purpose. Margaret is the first genuine saint to be met with in Scottish history from the time of Adamnan, and has a fairer title to the honour than most who have borne it. Mr Burton, with his usual dry humour, observes, 'There had been a great scarcity of distinguished religious persons in Scotland before her day. The country does not seem to have been blessed with one saint from the time of Adamnan, who was, like Margaret, not a native of Scotland. She holds a more legitimate rank than those old missionaries whose sanctity was established by a sort of popular vote, since her canonisation was formally completed, and the adjustment of the day appropriated to her in the calendar received the special attention of the holy college.'¹ The same author takes a more unfavourable view of her biography by Turgot her confessor, than is perhaps warranted. His life certainly 'wants the glimpses into the heathen world, and the simplicity that lets out the passionate

¹ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. p. 380.

nature and worldly ambition of the powerful priest who uses his sanctity to achieve his projects, and when that fails, seeks the arm of the flesh. We have not the supernaturalities, and flagrant falsehoods of all kinds, but there is less truth to be picked out of the whole.'¹ There is, however, to be picked out of it, true and real glimpses of the civil and religious life of the time. A more partial friend to hagiological literature says, 'It is full of instructive notices of the state of the Scottish church and kingdom at the epoch of the Norman Conquest of England, and *it supplies us with the first really authentic history of Scotland* after the notices in Adamnan and Bæda, The Pictish Chronicle, and the Book of Deer.'² Mr Burton terms the work a 'rhapsody rather than a biography;' what work of a similar nature before or since is anything else, all religious lives from that of the 'washerwoman' to the 'noble lady,' must be read *cum grano salis*; religious memoirs are all of a piece, Protestants, Romanists, Mohammedans, Buddhists, all use the same brilliant colours.

It is needless to say that, like the most of saints, Margaret was early drawn to the paths of piety: 'Whilst Margaret was yet in the flower of youth, she began to lead a very strict life, to love God above all things, to employ herself in the study of divine writings, and therein with joy to exercise her mind.'³ Her marriage was rather in obedience to the will of her friends than to her own; yea, by the appointment of God she was married to Malcolm, son of King Duncan, the most powerful King of the Scots.⁴ Yet we have seen that she fulfilled all the duties of a wife, a mother, and a queen, and that if she herself would have preferred the austerities of a religious life, and was insensible to all the vanities of dress, and the pomp inseparable from her station, she was most tenacious of the observance of these by those

A.D.
1058-1093.

¹ Burton's Scotland, vol. i. p. 382.

² Forbes Calendar of Scottish Saints, p. 390.

³ Turgot's Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland, translated from the Latin by William Forbes, Leith, S.J., 1884, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28.

A. D.
1058-1093.

dependant on her. Her life, even from the details in the panegyric of her confessor, must have been much more than the mere routine of an ascetic; her fasts were numerous and rigid, her devotions frequent and protracted, but it is evident that she did not allow these to encroach on her secular duties. She mixed freely in society; like a true woman, she undoubtedly dressed well—richly, but in good taste: ‘She governed her household wisely;’ she took part ‘in the distractions of lawsuits and the countless affairs of the State;’ ‘by the help of God she made King Malcolm most attentive to the works of justice, mercy, almsgiving, and other virtues. From her he learnt how to keep the vigils of the night in constant prayer.’ It is a pity we have not the other side of the King’s character. Did his virtues and his devotions follow him to the tented field, and were his evenings there spent in as profitable exercises? The Queen, as we have formerly stated, converted the court of a semi-barbarous chief into something like the magnificence of the early mediæval monarch. Her charity was unbounded; one part of it is peculiarly interesting. While observing the Lenten fast with due austerity, during the reading of the Psalms, ‘she ordered that nine little orphans, utterly destitute, should be brought into her at the first hour of the day, and that some soft food, such as children at that tender age like, should daily be prepared for them. When the little ones were carried to her, she did not think it beneath her to take them upon her knee, and to get their pap ready for them, and this she put into their mouths with the spoon she herself used.’¹ Her conduct as a mother, we have seen, was beyond all praise, and her sons seem to have inherited all her excellencies, including her strong religious feeling, showing that her regimen, though strict, was kindly and sympathetic.

Margaret lost no time in showing her devotion to the church: ‘She had no sooner attained this eminent dignity, than she built an eternal memorial of her name and devotion in the place where her nuptials had been held

¹ Life, p. 61.

(Dunfermline). The noble church which she erected there, in honour of the Holy Trinity, was to serve a three-fold purpose ; it was intended for the redemption of the king's soul, for the good of her own, and for securing to her children prosperity in this life and in that which is to come. The church she beautified with rich gifts of various kinds, amongst which, as is well known, were many vessels of pure and solid gold for the sacred service of the altar. . . . She also placed there a cross of priceless value, bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with the purest gold and silver, studded with gems—a token, even to the present day, of the earnestness of her faith. She left proofs of her devotion and fervour in various other churches, as witness the Church of St Andrews, in which is preserved a most beautiful crucifix erected by her there, and to be seen at the present day. . . . Her chamber was, so to say, a workshop of sacred art ; copes, stoles, altar-cloths, and other priestly vestments and church ornaments, were always to be seen, either already made, of an admirable beauty, or in course of preparation. These works were entrusted to certain women of noble birth and approved gravity of manners, who were thought worthy of a part in the Queen's service. No men were admitted among them, with the sole exception of such as she permitted to enter along with herself when she paid the women an occasional visit. There was no giddy pertness among them, no light familiarity between them and the men.¹ Ecclesiastical ornaments have long gone out of fashion in Scotland, though some advanced clergymen of the National Church are rather partial to altar-cloths, and other mild fripperies ; this occupation is in a manner gone to noble and grave ladies. But the church and the clergy can still be served in much the same manner ; the fair sex can still show their devotion and sacrifice in work so peculiarly feminine. Bazaars are a modern resource for ladies of the type of Queen Margaret's workers, and select parties are still held where no giddy conversation is permitted, and no male visitor, other than a clergyman,

A. D.
1058-1093.

¹ Life, pp. 29-31.

A. D.
1058-1093.

admitted, except under strict surveillance. One wonders what refreshments the Queen of Scots allowed at her work parties; the afternoon tea is a most important item at those of our own time.

Queen Margaret soon perceived that the state of religion in her adopted country was very different from what she had been accustomed to, and what she considered the true one. Observing that many practices existed among the Scottish nation which were contrary to the rule of the right faith, and the holy customs of the universal church, she caused frequent councils to be held, in order that by some means or other she might, through the gift of Christ, bring back into the way of truth those who had gone astray.¹ At these councils—the composition of which we are in ignorance of—she disputed and convinced, like a second Helena, ‘the King taking part in the discussions, as assessor and chief actor, being fully prepared both to say and do whatever she might direct in the matter at issue, and as he knew the English language quite as well as his own, he was in this council a very careful interpreter for either side.’² No Erastianism like this can be paralleled, the King’s word and his power to enforce it seems to be taken as unquestionable facts.

The first point mooted at these councils will seem a very trivial one to perhaps the most of the readers of this work, but it is perhaps our ignorance of the vital parts of Christianity which makes us think it so—viz., the proper time of observing the season of Lent. The Scottish Church were easily converted to the Queen’s and the Catholic mode, ‘these persons began henceforth the solemnities of the fasts, as Holy Church does everywhere.’³ The next point Margaret raised was one which, when looked into, shows strongly the character of the men she had to deal with: ‘She asked them to explain why it was that, on the festival of Easter, they neglected to receive the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, according to the usage of the Holy and Apostolic Church? They answered her thus: The apostle, when speaking of persons who eat

¹ Life, pp. 43, 44.

² *Ibid.* p. 45.

³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

and drink unworthily, says that they eat and drink judgment to themselves. Now, since we admit that we are sinners, we fear to approach that mystery, lest we should eat and drink judgment to ourselves.'¹ The Queen indignantly brushed aside the flimsy excuse; 'to her arguments they could not answer a word, and knowing now the meaning of the Church's practices, observed them ever after in the Sacrament of Salvation.'² It is evident from this and the next two abuses to be noticed, that the observance of the rites of Christianity had fallen to the lowest ebb; few people will believe that any Christian ministers ever possessed so tender consciences; much likelier that the sacrament of the Eucharist had fallen into disuse, and that an excuse had to be invented. The biographer proceeds: 'Again, there were certain places in Scotland in which masses were celebrated according to some sort of barbarous rite, contrary to the usage of the whole Church. Fired by the zeal of God, the Queen attempted to root out and abolish this custom, so that henceforth, from the whole of Scotland, there was not one single person who dared to continue the practice.'² What this barbarous rite is, Turgot unfortunately does not say. Dr Skene thinks that it may signify, that the service may have been performed in the native language, not in that of the church.³ This, if true, shows a depth of barbarism unknown at any period and in any country; a priest could always mumble his Pater-noster. Gadhelic was not then a written language, the clergy must have been ignorant of letters, and could only have picked up sufficient ideas of the forms of the Church to go through what St Margaret considered a 'barbarous rite.' To suppose that these men knew the service in Latin, and translated it into the vulgar tongue for the benefit of the people, is to import modern ideas, to ante-date the Reformation, and the formation of modern languages.

The next reformation which engaged the attention of the English princess is very singular indeed, and must appear so to the most of my countrymen, who are proud

¹ Life, pp. 46, 47.

² *Ibid.* p. 48.

³ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 349.

A. D.
1058-1093

of the *Scottish Sabbath*, and contrast their own favoured country with others, in the observance of the day. The institution is not of native growth ; it was first introduced by St Margaret, and afterwards perfected in the seventeenth century by Englishmen—the Westminster divines. ‘ It was another custom of theirs to neglect the reverence due to the Lord’s day, by devoting themselves to every kind of worldly business, just as they did upon other days.’ The Queen’s arguments were again unanswerable, and amendment was promised. Dr Skene again attempts to defend the Gadhelic Church, by stating that it seems ‘ to have followed a custom of which we find traces in the Early Monastic Church of Ireland, by which they held Saturday to be the Sabbath, on which they rested from all their labours, and on Sunday, or the Lord’s Day, they celebrated the resurrection by the service in church.’¹ The only *trace* he cites is a conversation of St Columba, immediately before his death, with his attendant. The argument is far fetched ; if it was the case, the Queen would undoubtedly have told them that they observed the wrong day ; besides, the members of such a pure and primitive Church would surely be not less conscientious than a late Glasgow bookseller, who observed both days,² shutting his shop on Saturday and Sunday, but attending divine service on the latter. The supposition is much more probable, that the rites and observances of Christianity had fallen into disuse, or were attended to in a perfunctory manner—the celebration of the Eucharist, Easter, Lent, and Sunday alike ; little need indeed, to note the absence of penance and confession.

The last point the biographer of Margaret tells us, the Queen insisted on, was the abolition ‘ of the marriage of a man with his step-mother, as also that the surviving brother should take to wife the widow of his deceased brother.’³ In fine, he says, ‘ In this council she succeeded in condemning and expelling from her realm many other inveterate abuses which had gained a footing here-

¹ Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 349.

² Mr James Begg, author of several works on Millenarianism.

³ *Life*, p. 51.

in, contrary to the rule of faith and the institutions and observances of the Church. For everything that she proposed she supported so strongly by the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures and the teaching of the holy fathers, that no one on the opposite side could say a word against them; nay, rather, giving up their obstinacy and yielding to reason, they willingly consented to adopt all she recommended.'¹ A good deal of the willingness to adopt the Queen's views must have been owing to the circumstance of her 'assessor and chief actor' being the King of Scots; the abuses maintained a *footing* for long, and Turgot, the titular Archbishop of St Andrews, never obtained *one*. What these abuses were is unfortunately not mentioned; those which appear cardinal to a churchman are pertinently brought forward by Dr Skene: 'It seems, however, strange that more important questions than these were not touched upon. There is nothing said about the marriage of the clergy, about high offices in the Church being filled by laymen, about the appropriation of the benefices by the laity, and their being made hereditary in families. But possibly she was restrained by the knowledge that the royal house into which she had married, owed its origin to the lay abbots of one of the principal monasteries, and was largely endowed with the possessions of the Church; and if in the council her eye lighted upon her young son Ethelred, who, even in boyhood, was lay Abbot of Dunkeld, her utterances on that subject could hardly be otherwise than checked.'² In justice, however, to Queen Margaret, might it not be said that *possibly* she was indifferent to, or approved of the marriage of the clergy; and that she considered the sanctity of the Lord's Day, and the proper observances of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, of more importance than the conservation of the offices and possessions of an alien priesthood. That there were other and more flagrant abuses may well be imagined, and that the Queen met with little sympathy from the general body of the clergy, future events show; but that there were faithful men left, who satisfied the requirements of

A. D.
1058-1093.

¹ Life, pp. 51, 52. ² Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 350.

A. D.
1058-1093.

the pious and learned devotee is told in her life, and testifies to the fact that the most of the religion of the Early Scottish Church was confined to ascetics, that mortification of the flesh and isolation constituted all that was real. 'At the period of which we are speaking there were, in many places throughout the realm of Scotland, persons shut up in different cells, and leading lives of great strictness in the flesh, for being upon earth they led the life of angels. These the Queen busied herself in often visiting and conversing with, for in them she loved and venerated Christ, and would recommend herself to their prayers. As she could not induce them to accept any earthly gift from her, she urgently entreated them to be so good as to bid her perform some alms-deed or work of mercy; and this devout woman did forthwith fulfill whatever was their pleasure, either by helping the poor out of their poverty, or by relieving the distressed in their troubles, whatever these might be.'¹ The picture is touching, but highly coloured. Did the writer draw it so in order to contrast the worldliness and greed of the clergy who were not anchorites. It would be interesting to know whether Margaret's relations with the beneficed clergy were cordial or the reverse; who composed the councils; was there a president, and was he the Bishop or Archbishop of St Andrews? This dignitary was the last of the line of Celtic Bishops. The Annals of Ulster record his death in 1093: 'Fothudh Ardepscop Albain in Christo quievit.'² What were his relations to Margaret are unknown, whether he sympathised with, or opposed her reforms? the solitary act recorded of him is his benefactions to the Keledei of Loch Leven, in which he rivalled the munificence of his royal mistress.

Little more is told in Turgot's biography of his sainted mistress, except her devotions and her exemplary life and edifying death, varied by but one insignificant and commonplace miracle; but amply sufficient to earn the title of 'the mirror of wives, mothers, queens, and saints.' Margaret's benefactions to the Church would undoubtedly be numerous and lavish, but little is recorded. 'She re-

¹ Life, p. 58.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 370.

stored the monastery of Iona, and furnished it with monks to perform the Lord's work;¹ and along with her husband 'gave devoutly the town of Ballechristin to God the Omnipotent, and the Keledei of Louchleven, with the same liberality as before,' showing that these last seemed deserving of, or were persuaded to accept the bounty of the Queen. Malcolm, doubtless aided, by every means in his power, the efforts of his partner to introduce the form of religion of her native country, and to replace Celtic ecclesiastics and institutions by those in conformity with the Catholic Church; but of this there is nothing chronicled except in connection with his Queen. Yet there can be little doubt, that under his reign the fatal blow was given to Celtic rule in Church as in State; much was done, but much remained to be done.

A. D.
1058-1093.

Queen Margaret's sad forebodings were too surely realised; it was indeed a calamitous day for Scotland the day of Malcolm's death. The period of anarchy which succeeded stifled all reforms both in Church and State; yet it is not too much to assume, and is amply warranted by the writings of modern Scotch ecclesiastics of the Presbyterian school, that it was not reckoned so by the adherents of the Celtic Church. The Celts, lay and clerical, were hearty supporters of the usurper, who had no Saxon or Roman proclivities. During the reign of Donald Ban there was nought but anarchy and confusion; he undoubtedly rewarded his supporters, but it would be in true Celtic fashion—take what they could, and live according to their own sweet will.

Duncan, the son of Malcolm, in his short interregnum of six months, showed himself a friend to the Church of his sainted mother, by granting certain lands to the churches of Durham and Dunfermline.

A. D.
1097-1107.

Edgar (1097), so soon as he had recovered his heritage, showed his gratitude to the power which he conceived had aided him in his enterprise. He refounded the monastery of Coldingham, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and established also, what appears to Dr Skene a parochial district and parish church at Edna-

¹ Ordericus Vitalis.

A. D.
1097-1107.

ham, now Ednam, in Berwickshire.¹ But the gentle and pious youth, who was all too good for his age and country, could do little more than keep the peace between the discordant elements in his kingdom; he did not attempt to fill the vacant See of St Andrews; he does not appear to have meddled with ecclesiastical affairs in the district north of the Firths. Yet his life, true and beautiful even through Fordun's panegyric, would not fail of its influence, and prepared the way for the drastic measures of his more energetic brothers.

A. D.
1107-1124.

Alexander inherited the extreme piety of his mother, combined with the fierce energy of his father, superadded to these the education gained by contact with a higher civilisation at the court of the English monarch. He brought all these to bear on his subjects, and the Church in Alban was soon to feel she had a master. During the reigns of Donald Ban, Duncan, and Edgar, the district north of the Firths was left pretty much to itself in ecclesiastical matters; the first-named monarch was not inclined to interfere, the latter was powerless. The See of St Andrews was vacant from the decease of the last Celtic Bishop; neither party were powerful to carry a candidate, the old party doubtless thinking they could get on perfectly well without one. In the first year of his reign, 1107, Alexander appointed Margaret's confessor, Turgot, to the vacant See; he also revived or appointed a Bishop to the diocese of Dunkeld, and created an entirely new one—that of Moray. This last was of as much importance, politically as ecclesiastically; the territory north of the Spey had never formed an integral part of the kingdom of Alban, and the monarch no doubt felt that no better emissaries could be found to further the interests of the crown than the endowed clergy. The first bishop appointed was named Gregorius, but there is no record that he ever resided in his diocese; indeed, it was not till near a century later that the bishops there had a fixed residence. There were undoubtedly religious establishments in the district previous to this period, but there is no trace of the Culdees, though the legends connected

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 367.

with the district favour the idea that the churches there were of the character of these institutions.¹

A. D.
1107-1124.

The Bishopric of Dunkeld, in its time, was superior, perhaps anterior, to St Andrews; though it is a controverted point whether Cormac, the nominee of Alexander, was, after all, the first bishop, it is certain that diocesan powers were not exercised previous to his time. The establishment, whether abbacy or cathedral and chapter, had for long occupied a prominent position in Alban, and the relations with the crown were close and intimate; the reigning family were the lineal descendants of an Abbot of Dunkeld. The Church there, founded by Kenneth Macalpin, had received the relics of Columba, and supplied the place of Hy. Grants of land flowed in upon it, or were skilfully appropriated; it had large possessions in the modern counties of Argyll, Perth, Forfar, and Angus. In Fife it penetrated as far south as Crammond; on the north it extended to Deer in Aberdeenshire, where the grant originally made to Columcille and Drostan passed to their successors at Dunkeld. It had for long been a hereditary fief of what are termed *lay* abbots, though there is no reason why they should so be termed, except that they married and gave in marriage, which was no contravention of ecclesiastical law, and that they attended more to secular than religious affairs, which, unless in the case of anchorites, was the rule in Scotland, not the exception, of the successors of Columba and Adamnan. Ethelred, the young brother of Alexander, was the last of these abbots; on his death the office, with its lands and emoluments, had reverted to, or had been seized by the crown; the reforming monarch put an end to what he very properly considered an anomaly. Though an enthusiast, he was yet a king and a Scottish baron; probably he kept as much as his conscience would allow him of the temporalities, and with the remainder endowed the bishopric. He was unsuccessful in more than initiating the change; the nomination of a Celt, Cormac, seems to indicate a wish not to precipitate matters, but to conciliate the native element.

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 369.

A. D.
1107-1124.

King Alexander's bishops do not seem to have made much of it during their tenure of office ; of Gregorius and Cormac nothing beyond their appointment is known, while Turgot, from the day of his acceptance of office to the day of his death, was engaged in an ecclesiastical dispute with the Archbishop of York, who claimed him as his suffragan, varied only by bickerings with the Culdees, his rivals in everything spiritual and temporal. Turgot *did*, however, manage to get consecrated at York, but with reservation of the rights of either See. On his death, Alexander determined to put an end to this vexatious question ; but instead of boldly asserting the independence of his country, in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, he resorted to what would be thought now a very simple shift : ' He applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury to recommend him an English cleric or bishop, stating that the Bishops of St Andrews had hitherto been consecrated by the Pope or by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The former assertion was probably true, in so far as regards the later bishops ; but the incautious admission of the latter, which was totally inconsistent with fact, led the King into a new and equally unprofitable dispute, which had an equally awkward bearing upon the more important question of the independence of the kingdom. Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, was sent, but not elected till 1120, and in the following year he returned to Canterbury, and the bishopric remained unfilled for three years.'¹ Most people now-a-days can hardly conceal their contempt for the man who believes in the virtues of apostolic succession, and that the office of a bishop, or any clergyman, is only valid when he has been what is called consecrated by one who has inherited his power of consecration through a long series of descents from the first teachers of Christianity. But whether the early Scottish fathers of the Celtic Church believed or attached any importance to the dogma, it was *now* a vital article of belief. No one seemed to question the dogma, that his Holiness had alone the power to allocate ecclesiastical districts, and to appoint chiefs over them as he pleased.

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 375.

The claim by the Archbishop of York was founded on the commission granted by Pope Gregory in the end of the sixth century, by which he divided Britain into two dioceses—one south of the Humber, the other north. This last, of course, included Scotland, a *terra incognita* to the Pope, and everybody else; and if there had been one monarch over the whole island, the only thing which could be brought against the claim would be that the diocese was too large. When Scotland became a consolidated kingdom under the son of Malcolm and Margaret, to acknowledge such a claim was to surrender independence; to acknowledge a subject of another country superior in anything appertaining to, or in any part could not be tolerated. Yet what was to be done; the dignitary at York need never finger a coin of Scottish money, or appoint the meanest minister at the altar, but his or some equally valid consecration must be had. It seems, as we have said, a very simple device what we have detailed; York, to the mind of the King, was dangerously near, Canterbury was further off, and in a manner the parent Church of Britain; the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Canterbury were looked up to as the necessary link for perpetuating the *holy* office, but there does not seem to have been in the mind of the King the slightest idea of the supremacy of either in aught but this essential deposit of inherited sacred power. It was an unfortunate episode for Scotland; to preserve her independence she had to throw herself into the arms of Rome, when the Papal court had considerably more experience in shearing their outlying flocks, by skilful and unscrupulous shepherds.

The powerful corporation of Culdees at St Andrews profited by these disputes; they were let alone. But the King, bent on introducing into his kingdom another class of *holy* men, with different rules and different views of a religious life, did so at once, though in a more favourable locality. In 1115, at Scone, he introduced the canons regular of St Augustine, commonly known as the black canons. The Church there 'he freely made over, with all its pertinents, to the goverance of canons-regular, called

A. D.
1107-1124.

A. D.
1107-1124.

from the Church of St Oswald, at Nostle (near Pontefract), and of the others after them, who should serve God until the end of the world.'¹ The transaction was solemnly confirmed by the Bishops of Dunkeld and Moray, and the seven earls of the kingdom; the Church, previously dedicated to the Trinity, was placed under the patronage of the Virgin, St Michael, St John, St Lawrence, and St Augustine, the first genuine revival of the *dei minores*. - Later on Alexander introduced the same class of clerics into Dunkeld; in 1122 he founded a priory of canons in an island in Loch Tay, where his consort, Sibylla, died and was buried; in the following year he founded another on the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth. In 1124 the pious and energetic monarch departed this life; probably the last act of his life, the bestowal of a charter to the Church at Scone to hold a court with probably next to royal powers.

¹ Fordun, p. 218.

CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN SYSTEM.

Accession of David I.—Introduces the Roman System while Prince of Cumbria—Foundations—Monastery at Selkirk—Bishopric of Glasgow—See of Galloway—St Andrews—Legend of St Regulus—Bishops of the See—Reformation by David—Keledei—Dunkeld—Brechin—Dunblane—Muthill—Aberdeen—Deer—Turiff—Ross—Caithness—Lochleven—Monymusk—Abernethy—Lismore—Hy—Monifieth—Monasteries, Dunfermline—Coldingham—Scone—Inchcolm—Urquhart—Isle of May—Holyrood—Kelso—Melrose—Newbattle—Lesmahagow—Kilwinning—Cambuskenneth—Nunnery of Berwick—Military Orders.

DAVID, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, on the death of his brother, was acknowledged King of Scotia, without one dissentient voice; the territory south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde were united to the parent kingdom. It must be borne in mind that the late King's rule was confined to Scotia north of the Firths, and that the district now forming the Lowlands, but including Cumberland, had for seventeen years been a separate principality, under the sole sway of Earl David. This accomplished and pious prince was at heart less a Scot or a Saxon, and more a Norman, than even his brother Alexander; he possessed most of the virtues, and few of the defects, so conspicuous in the conquering race. In England he was Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, holding these lands from his superior, the King; his position to the King of Scotland as to his lands in Strathclyde and Lothian, and to the King of England as to those in Cumberland, it is difficult to define. David certainly was trained in the feudal-system, he was its founder in Scotland; Episcopacy was bound to follow—the King, the feudal-chief, the apex in Church and State, the fountain of all honour and of all power.

A. D.
1124-1153

A. D.
1124-1153.

David early began to earn his title as 'a sair saunt to the crown,' but in his case the grants were made from the best of motives, and attended with the most beneficial results; at the time the Church was the only civiliser; land would be much better cultivated, and tenants much better treated by the Bishop or Abbot than by the rough-riding freebooter, called Baron or Earl.

In 1113 David founded a monastery at Selkirk, where he placed monks of the order of St Benedict, the great teachers of the middle ages, the revivers of classical learning, the ardent promoters of agriculture, architecture, and the arts which minister to the wellbeing of a people.

Shortly afterwards, 1115, he initiated his great work, the re-constitution of the church or diocese of Glasgow. Bishop Keith gives perhaps the most sensible account of the early foundation of this See. Simply ignoring everything previous to the time of Earl David, he 'submits to other persons to form a judgment,' whether Kentigern was 'only a religious man who had a cell there,' or 'whether he was truly a bishop, and that also in the City of Glasgow.'¹ The first bishop appointed by David was his tutor John, who was consecrated by the Pope 1115; but he met with so much opposition in the exercise of his functions that he deserted his charge, and made a journey to the Holy Land, or, as others say, only into France, where he remained until 1123, when his Holiness forced him to return to his pastoral duties. From whom John encountered opposition is unknown; there is no trace of Keledei in Glasgow; perhaps it was from men of the same stamp, who declined any authority. John seems to have been of a retiring disposition, unfitted for the turbulent flock he was called to overlook; his patron appointed him to the high office of Chancellor, but secular affairs were not to his taste, he declined the honour, and 'gave himself entirely to the duties of his ecclesiastic function.' Till 1147 the good bishop busied himself in the duties of his office, rebuilt and adorned the Cathedral Church, provided and superintended a full

¹ Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 230.

staff of officials, from dean to sacristan, for the two divisions of his diocese, Glasgow and Teviotdale, not omitting to settle upon each of them a prebend out of the donations he had received from the King. In the year mentioned he died, and was buried at Jedburgh.¹ The bishopric was no sooner founded than the claims of York to the supremacy were brought forward, and as steadily resisted; to go into details were tedious, the ulterior consequences were evidently perceived, the danger of acknowledging any superior in England. Rome was looked up to as the common lord of both, and thither the appeal was carried. In the time of Bishop Herbert, 1147-64, 'sentence was given against Roger, Bishop of York, and the Church of Scotland declared to be exempt from all jurisdiction, except that of the See of Rome.'²

A. D.
1124-1153.

Later on David nominally restored the See of Galloway at Candida Casa, but it was not thought worth while to contest in its case the supremacy of York. Galloway, though civilly a part of Scotland, was ecclesiastically left to its former owners.

On his accession to the throne of Scotland King David found but three bishoprics—St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray; to these he added Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness, making, with the addition of Glasgow and Galloway, ten in all. The creation of these naturally put an end to the Celtic form of church government. During this reign the institutions presided over by the men termed Keledei were well-nigh extinguished; the Roman or Episcopal form of rule, and the monastic institutions sanctioned by Rome became the recognised religious institutions of Scotland. The details of this transformation, which we give in part, brings our history to a close.

St Andrews, though by no means the earliest foundation in Scotland, had already, in the eleventh century, assumed the position it held until the Reformation, its transformation presents features common to all the native establishments: 'The Church of St Andrews, whose Celtic name was Cill-Righmonaigh, appears, like most of the

¹ Keith, pp. 231, 232.

² *Ibid.* p. 233.

A. D.
1124-1153.

early Scottish foundations, to have been of Irish origin.'¹ The legend of St Rule or St Regulus, coming to the locality with the relics of St Andrew, circa 800, is now considered absolutely unhistorical, though there may have been a saint of that name connected with it, but of an earlier date. Dr Reeves recognises him as a 'St Riaghail, in Latin Regulus, who appears in the Scotch calendars at the 17th October, and is conjectured to be the same as our St Riaghail of Loch-Derg, who is commemorated on the previous day.'² He, or a St Cainnech, who laboured successfully in Scotland, perhaps both, seem to have been the founders of a religious establishment there about the close of the sixth century. There is but one notice of it in the Irish Annals, and the author from whom we quote is of opinion that the story of the distinguished party landing with the precious relics of St Andrew was invented, and circulated to shed lustre on the Church extended and endowed by the Pictish sovereign, about the beginning of the ninth century: 'The early condition of the See appears to have been similar to that of the principal monasteries in Ireland, wherein the bishop was incorporated with the brotherhood, at first in a subordinate position as regarded local jurisdiction, but gradually gaining more and more official importance, till he emerged from the society as its chief, and eventually depressed it by his influence.'³ Dr Skene gives the substance of a legend, which seems to indicate, perhaps, the true state of the society at St Andrews: 'It is represented as consisting of three groups—First, one of secular clergy—viz., Bishop Regulus himself, with two priests and two deacons, and three others, whose quality is not given; secondly a group of hermits—viz., Mattheus, with two from the island of Nola, and seven from the island of Tiber—in all, a community of ten; and thirdly, three virgins.'⁴ The story has the *element* of truth common to all religious legends, a representation of a present state of society, but idealised; there would be in the time of the writer the three interests *supposed*

¹ Reeves' *Culdees*, 1864, p. 33. ² *Ibid.* p. 34. ³ *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁴ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 275.

by him to have existed from the foundation. Whatever may have been the state of society there previous to the tenth century, there is no authentic record of any bishop until the time of Cellach, who, in the sixth year of Constantine's reign, is represented in conjunction with the King as presiding over an assembly held at the Mote-hill of Scone. For two centuries the See (if it can be termed one) was filled by Scottish ecclesiastics; the names of the bishops are unmistakeably Celtic, until Turgot broke the sequence. The place was evidently of considerable importance in Cellach's time, and doubtless well endowed, for, as we have seen, Constantine, when he laid down his earthly sceptre, took up a spiritual one, and became Abbot of the Culdees of St Andrews, or, as the more ancient document says, 'in senectute decrepita, baculum cepit, et Domino servivit,' he took the pilgrim's staff and became a monk. Dr Skene seems to think that the aged and worn-out monarch did not seek for any distinction, but retired to the cell of a monk or anchorite. If he did, he is about the only example of a high-born saint who entirely divested himself of his former rank. Dr Reeves' remark is nearer the probable facts of the case: 'The story of the King becoming abbot looks like an incipient or established secularisation in the chief office.' Like Charles V., Constantine, during the intervals of his devotional exercises, would feast well, and receive reports of most of what was doing in secular affairs.

A.D.
1124-1153.

The establishment at St Andrews, at the time of St Margaret, may be considered to have consisted of a bishop and secular clergy, invested with much dignity, but possessed of few emoluments, and a society presided over by an Abbot, possessing the greater part of the revenues of the church, dispensing or alienating them as he thought fit; if there ever were nuns, they seem to have disappeared. Margaret, with all her energetic piety, was unable to work any reformation; her son Alexander was about as powerless; but under the reign of David, the reformation, which ended in the extinction of the duality of interests, was begun and carried out with vigour and

A. D.
1124-1153

determination by Robert, an Englishman, who, first Abbot of Scone, was promoted to the See in 1124, though not consecrated until 1128.

A description of the Keledei of St Andrews, at this time, by Bishop Robert, or the Prior of the same name, has been preserved, the following extracts from it tell better than any other statements can, what the Culdees really were at the beginning of the twelfth century. Yet the caution given by Dr Reeves is necessary to temper our judgment, though not to pervert it: 'The picture is perhaps overdrawn, as by an unfriendly hand, and is occasionally indistinct in its representations.' The writer throughout strongly condemns the degenerate condition of the Keledei, and the decay of religion consequent on the death of St Regulus and his followers, incidentally showing that he considered the advent of the saint a reformation on the previous state of the church. He then proceeds to describe the more recent particulars of its ecclesiastical condition: 'These were kept up, however, in the Church of St Andrew, such as it then was, by family succession, a society of thirteen, commonly called Keledei, whose manner of life was shaped more in accordance with their own fancy and human tradition than with the precepts of the holy fathers. Though they have some things in common, these are such as are less in amount and value, while they individually enjoy the larger and better portion, just as each of them happens to receive gifts, either from friends who are united to them by some private tie, such as kindred or connection, or from those *soul-friends*—that is, spiritual advisers, they are, or from any other source. After they are made Keledei, they are not allowed to keep their wives within their lodgings, *nor any other* woman who might give rise to injurious suspicions. Moreover, there were seven beneficiaries (or persons over and above the thirteen Keledei, who appear to have taken the place of the superior officers of the ancient monastery, the bishop being one of them, and the hospital representing another. They occupied the position of rectors, and their office had, to great extent, been secularised and grown to be sinecure, while the

Keledei were virtually the vicars),¹ who divided among themselves the offerings of the altar; of which seven portions the bishop used to enjoy but one, and the hospital another; the remaining five were apportioned to the other five members, who performed no duty whatever at church or altar, and whose only obligation was to provide, after their custom, lodging and entertainment for pilgrims and strangers, when more than six chanced to arrive. The hospital had continual accommodation for a number not exceeding six. . . . The above-mentioned beneficiaries were also possessed of their private revenues and property, which, upon their death, their wives, whom they lived openly with, and their sons or daughters, their relatives, or sons-in-law, used to divide among themselves; even the very offerings of the altar, at which they did not serve—a profanation which one would blush to speak of, if they had not chosen to practise.’² From what Dr Reeves terms ‘a laboured and ill-digested statement, it may be seen that the greater portion of the lands and revenue of the church had been seized by the Keledei, with whom rested the election of the bishop, and other beneficiaries, the representatives of the abbot, and other greater officers now secularised. These privileged incumbents left to the bishop one-seventh, and to the hospital the remainder of the offerings at the altar, keeping to themselves the church lands and the greater ecclesiastical dues.

Until 1144 the Keledei of St Andrews were strong enough to resist King and Bishop; but in that year there was founded a monastery of canons-regular of the same order as that already established at Scone. ‘In that year the hospital, with its parsonage or impropriation was transferred to them, and they were confirmed in the possession of two more of the parsonages which had been already assigned to them, the bishop retaining his own seventh, thus leaving three of these sinecures in the former condition.’³ Matters could not rest here, in 1162-3, the seven portions were consolidated, and went into a common fund, administered or enjoyed by the

A. D.
1124-1153.

¹ Reeves' Culdees, Evidences, p. 107.

² Reeves' Culdees, pp. 37, 38.

³ *Ibid.* p. 39.

A. D.
1124-1133.

Augustinian monks. 'Thus, in the first instance, the regular canons seem to have been established on the reversion of the secularised property of the old foundation.'¹

The Keledei thus shorn of privilege and emolument, were not, however, to be easily extinguished, and long strove to preserve their separate and independent existence; it is not stated whether they reformed their lives, attended to their spiritual duties, and satisfied the requirements of the pious sons of St Margaret. King David, as in the case of Lochleven, tried mild measures, and made an ordinance that they should be admitted into the society of canons-regular, guaranteeing them their lands and possessions on their consenting to submit to canonical rule. In case of refusal they were to have a life-rent in these, which, on their decease, were to become the property of their rivals. 'In 1147 Pope Eugenius III. decreed that henceforward the places of the Keledei, according as they became vacant, should be filled by regular canons.'² But these patriotic sticklers for the freedom of the ministers of the 'Auld Kirk' to do as they pleased, defied the power of King, Pope, and Bishop (an encouraging example to their successors of to-day), and the name occurs in ecclesiastical disputes till 1322, when they were prohibited from taking any part in the election of a Bishop of St Andrews.³ 'Neither does the name Keledei occur afterwards in existing records, although the corporation still continued in the enjoyment of its privileges and possessions. In the succeeding centuries frequent mention is made of the institution under the names of the 'Præpositura ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ civitatis sancti Andreæ,' the 'Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Rupe,' and 'the Provostry of Kirkheugh.'⁴ Celtic feeling would long have died out, and 'the provost and ten prebendaries' would have no difficulty in accommodating themselves to the easy and pleasant life (to use a mild expression) of the monks who succeeded to

¹ Reeves' Culdees, p. 39.

² *Ibid.* p. 40; Copy of the Bull, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.* p. 117. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 41.

the earnest and ascetic men introduced by Alexander and David; the restriction as to marriage might be felt for a short time, but the corruption which so soon set in would speedily relieve the consciences of the brethren.

The foregoing, taken from Dr Reeves exhaustive work, tells almost all that can be said on the conversion of this Culdee establishment into a regular monastery, subject to the authority of the Bishop and the Crown. There is a strong family likeness, and one description, one narrative is sufficient for all; originally associations of pious and unworldly men, drawn together for the service of God, ignorant of everything but their daily routine of set devotions, piety in the shape of asceticism died out, and nothing was left to distinguish them from the laity but the name of Keledei, and occasional celebration of the rites of the Church, as secular avocations permitted.

Dunkeld presents the same features as St Andrews. Founded about 820, its head is termed in 864, chief Bishop of Fortrenn (Pictland) and Abbot of Dun-caillen. 'This combination of office was quite in keeping with the usage in Ireland, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the society to which this bishop belonged, was that which, in subsequent records, is presented to notice under the name of Keledei.'¹ His successors do not appear to have been of the Episcopal order, and the abbots seem to have become powerful secular chiefs, such as Crinan the warlike, and Edmund, the son of Margaret, who was at once Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife. The same process was repeated as at St Andrews; the two rival institutions existed together for two centuries until the Keledei were absorbed in the canons regular.

David, we have seen, founded a bishopric at Brechin, where there was a Keledean foundation of Irish origin, and of considerable antiquity. The first notice of it, however, is in the Pictish Chronicle, where it is stated, 'Hic est qui (Kenneth 970-992) tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino,'² the place afterwards disappears from history till it re-appears in the reign of David.

¹ Reeves' Culdees, p. 41. ² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 10.

A.D.
1124-1153.

Unlike St Andrews, the Bishop and the Keledei got on harmoniously, changes were quietly introduced until 1248, when the old society seems to have become extinct or absorbed, when the bishop, with his dean and chapter, of precentor, chancellor, treasurer, arch-deacon, and six prebendaries, became the numerical representatives of the antecedent corporation, and so they continued till all Prelacy was overthrown in Scotland.¹

Dunblane may be considered a restoration of a dormant-See, as Blaen, the founder and patron saint of the church, is recorded to have exercised the functions of both Abbot and Bishop. He was of high descent, and was connected with the reigning families of Irish and Scottish Dalriada. Towards the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh century, he founded, in the place which bears his name, a church or institution on the usual monastic footing, but no mention is made of it in any record until the restoration by King David, and then the society are termed Keledei, and continued so during the twelfth century. The name of the first bishop is unknown to Keith, and whether he, or his immediate successors had either revenues or authority is very problematical; Bishop Clement, in 1238, complained to the Pope that all, or near to all, of the possessions of the church had been alienated and wasted. 'There was no college there, only a country chaplain performed divine service in the church, which was stripped of its roof. His own revenues were so slender and miserable, that they scarcely yielded him a suitable maintenance for one half of the year. All this looks like Culdee appropriation.'² There was, of course, no friction here, as at the Reformation the church lands passed quietly to the *Lords of the Congregation*.

Intimately connected with Dunblane was the Church of Muthill, where a society of Keledei, who, in the twelfth century held a prominent place, and seem to have preserved, in some slight degree, the character indicated by

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 43-44, and Evidences, O.

² Reeves' Culdees, p. 47.

the designation. They grew into importance on the decline of the parent institution, with which they are generally coupled, but with which they had no connection beyond contiguity.¹

A. D.
1124-1153.

The See of Aberdeen, according to Fordun,² who is followed by Keith,³ was founded by Malcolm III., 1015, at Mortlach, in grateful acknowledgment of his victory over the Norwegians: 'He endowed it with churches and the rents of many estates, and at the instance of the King, Beyn, a holy man, and worthy of the office, was appointed as first bishop by our Lord the Pope Benedict.' Dr Skene, however, conclusively proves that this is an error on the part of Fordun, and that Mortlach was a Columbian foundation, and Beyn of the same period, and that from it and a similar foundation Cloveth, the clerical element had disappeared by the time of King David.⁴ The diocese, when founded or restored by the pious monarch, was 'formerly but poor and ill-provided. This King conferred many lands upon it in the thirteenth year of his reign, as may be seen in the new charter of erection.'⁵

Though the two Columbian foundations, Mortlach and Cloveth, had lapsed or become secularised at this period, there existed then two monasteries or institutions of a similar character, of a very early date, Deer and Turiff—the first founded by St Columba, the other by St Comgan, in the seventh century. Dr Skene observes that 'it is here, if anywhere, that we should expect to find, according to popular notions, these Columbian clergy bearing the name of Culdees; but the term Célé-Dé nowhere appears in the record in connection with the Book of Deer.' 'The peculiar value of this MS. consists in memoranda of grants to the monastery of Deer, written in the Irish character and language, on blank pages or on the margins.'⁶ The author quoted says, that these monasteries retained their clerical

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 47, 57, 141, 142.

² Fordun, vol. ii. p. 175.

⁴ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 280.

⁶ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 381.

³ Keith, p. 101.

⁵ Keith, p. 103.

A. D.
1124-1153.

element and Celtic character unimpaired down to the reign of David I. What that clerical element was, is difficult to tell; there was a scribe, and the brethren may have had some knowledge of Latin, as there are engrossed in the MS. in that language, the Gospel of John, portions of the other three Gospels, the fragment of an office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the Apostles' Creed; whether they made use of this scanty stock-in-trade we cannot tell. The Celtic character is shown by a few of the rubrics in the office for the Visitation of the Sick being in Irish, and the grants referred to. It seems to add to the mysterious character of the Culdees, God's servants, that here, where the Celtic clergy were not Culdees, the pious King David found men worthy to receive his patronage, for towards the end of his reign he granted them a charter guaranteeing them their possessions and privileges, protecting them from lay or other interference; it continued on the old footing until 1219, when William, Earl of Buchan, created in its place the Cistercian Abbey of Deer. Turiff took the other alternative; before the close of King David's reign it passed into lay hands, possibly the nominal clerical chief laid aside his former character, even in name.

Rosemarky or Ross, the diocese still further north, was on a Culdee foundation. The Church of Rosemarky, which in course of time became the Cathedral of Ross, was an Irish foundation, probably of the latter part of the seventh century; nothing however is known of its history until its creation or revival, 1128-30. The society over which the first bishop, Mackbeth, was called to preside, are designated Keledei; whether he attempted to introduce the canonical officials and regulations, is not stated, but in 1224 the cathedral body was constituted or re-constituted, for we find a Dean of Rosmarkyn, a Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Archdeacon, Sub-dean, Succentor, and Canons at various dates in the course of the same century.¹

Caithness, the last of the bishoprics founded by David I., was as yet an outlying district, and but a nominal pos-

¹ Reeves' Culdees, p. 46.

session of the Scottish crown; it would partake more of the character of a mission diocese, and the King evidently so considered it, for he bestowed on its first bishop, Andrew, the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunkeld, with the appurtenances thereof. The See was founded in 1150, but whether the first or following bishop of the same name ever succeeded in gaining a footing so far north is problematical. It was not, indeed, till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the southern portion of the Earldoms of Caithness had been wrested from the Norwegian power, that the Cathedral Church of Dornoch was founded, and the diocese assumed canonical shape. This church, 'if not founded by St Barr, in the early part of the seventh century, certainly owes its origin to a wave of Irish immigration which, previously to the Norse occupation of the northern extremity of Scotland, brought over with it the veneration of the patron saint of Cork. . . . The Church of Dornoch may therefore be regarded as an Irish foundation, out of which grew, in course of time, that peculiar development of the ministerial office called Keledean.'¹ This is all that is known previous to the time of David. Whether the Culdees ever had lands and possessions, whether they themselves or the Norse chieftains alienated them is not recorded. In 1222 Gilbert, a scion of the house of Moray, on his elevation to the See, found the Cathedral Church mean, and its ministrations discharged by a single priest. He instituted a new state of affairs, became the patron saint of the church, and, according to Dr Reeves, 'with his name is to be associated the virtual extinction of the Keledei in this diocese.'¹ Whether there were any 'servi dei' to extinguish is very problematical, but the powerful baron may have made them disgorge the church lands they had absorbed.

Having thus indicated the bishoprics founded by David I., wholly or partially, in Culdee or old Celtic (Irish) church establishments, it remains but to repeat the same story of the suppression of other Culdee institutions, and to notice the new religious houses on the

¹ Reeves' Culdees, p. 48.

A.D.
1124-1153.

Roman system planted in Scotland by him or his immediate predecessors.

I. CULDEE ESTABLISHMENTS.—Lochlevin, probably the earliest institution in Scotland which bears this name, met with short shrift from the reforming king. From the time of the early or later St Serf, the society seems to have preserved its eremitical character. Whether founded by the master of St Kentigern about 540 or no, there is historical evidence of the institution being in existence in full vigour in 842. In that year 'Brude, son of Dergard, the last of the Pictish kings, bestowed the island of Lochlevin on God, St Servan, and the Keledean hermits dwelling there in conventual devotion. Also, that the said Keledei made over the site of their cell to the Bishop of St Andrews, upon condition that he would provide them with food and raiment; that Ronan monk and abbot, a man of exemplary holiness, on this occasion granted the place to Bishop Fothadh, son of Bren, who was in high repute throughout all Scotland. The bishop then pronounced a blessing on all who should uphold this covenant between him and the Keledei, and, *vice versa*, his curse on all bishops who should violate or retract the same.'¹ Two grants are recorded (1037-1054) to the hermits from Macbeth and his wife Gruoch.² The intercourse with St Andrews seems to have been very friendly; three successive Bishops of St Andrews appear in their order as the donors of lands and privileges to the Keledei heremitæ.³ The brethren may have continued pious and holy men, but their worldly possessions had increased, and become an object of desire to other than hermits. In the early part of St David's reign, an attempt was made by one Robert Burgonensis to deprive the Keledei of Lochlevin of some of their possessions; this was resisted, and the matter was submitted to arbitration. Sentence was given by the Seniors of Fife in favour of the 'monachis id est Keledeis.'⁴ But though rescued for the time from the sacrilegious hands of the lay despoiler, it was not long before the church put an end to all—lands

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 51, 124, 125.

² *Ibid.* pp. 125-6.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 52, 129.

and order. In 1145 St David determined to suppress the society, or convert it into one of canons regular; in case of refusal, the brethren to be summarily expelled the island. 'Robert, the English Bishop of St Andrews, who dictated this stern enactment, was not slow to carry its provisions into effect, for immediately after, he placed these Keledei in subjection to the canons regular of St Andrews, and converted their old conventual possessions into an endowment for his newly erected priory. He even transferred the ecclesiastical vestments which these *Chelede* possessed, and their little library, consisting for the most part of ritual and patristic books, the titles of which are recorded in the instrument.'¹ Whether the brethren quietly accepted their fate, or resisted it, and made the kingdom of Fife resound with their lamentations, we know not; but in 1248 are found, in place of the Keledei of Lochlevin, brethren of the order of St Augustine, dependent on and connected with St Andrews. We cannot help a sigh of regret over the fate of this community; if not earnest and energetic *Christian workers*, the Seniors of Fife seem to have thought highly of them, and probably their tenants and agricultural labourers would have ample cause to regret the change of masters.

Monymusk, a Keledean institution, though in Aberdeenshire, was affiliated to, and dependent on St Andrews. The church is said to have been founded by Malcolm Canmore 1080; but Dr Reeves is of opinion that he merely revived a decayed monastery and enlarged its endowments. It was, and continued for some time, emphatically a Culdee institution; the constitution was peculiar. 'The society consisted of secular priests, thirteen in number, and was probably the representative of an ancient monastic foundation. They were excluded from all parochial functions, and as regarded the rights of the parish church, placed upon the footing of ordinary parishioners. They were bound by no vows, and their peculiarity consisted in their collegiate character and the absence of spiritual cure.' Unlike the most of their brethren, they chafed at this anomalous state of matters, and an effort

A. D.
1124-1153.

¹ Reeves' *Culdees*, pp. 52, 130, 131.

A. D.
1124-1153

was made by some to bind themselves by voluntary obligations to the condition of regulars. This was resisted by the ordinary, and they were compelled to adhere to their original discipline, which, being in reality, no discipline, speedily led to their suppression as Keledei, and reconstitution as brethren of the order of St Augustine, in 1245. To their honour it must be noted, that the change originated in their own wish, and was cordially acquiesced in.¹

Abernethy, for some time the principal royal and ecclesiastical centre of the Pictish kingdom, was a very ancient foundation. According to the Pictish Chronicle,² Nectan, a King of the Picts, while a refugee in Ireland, paid a visit to the celebrated St Brigid at Kildare, and besought her powerful intercession for restoration to his country and crown. The saint did intercede. Nectan was restored, and his benefactor was rewarded by the grant of certain lands at Abernethy, where she founded a church. The dates as to the period when these two great historical characters flourished are irreconcilable; but, there is no doubt of the Irish origin of the institution, and of its being affiliated to Kildare. Fordun states that the grant was made to St Brigid and her nine virgins. This may probably be a true statement; the institution was in its origin a nunnery like Kildare, in the lapse of time transformed into a monastery, as the first fervour of conversion passed away, and female saints became scarce; likelier the endowments were found too valuable to be held or administered by women. The lands and possessions of Abernethy were large and valuable; nowhere were the defects and abuses of the Keledei more manifest; the brethren soon got rid of the Episcopal order, and became, to all intents and purposes, laymen. 'Laurentius, son of Orm, the Abbot, was a layman, and as such gave precedence to the Prior in witnessing a charter, yet he was in a position to grant away the advowson of the Church and half the tithes, which he bestowed on the newly-founded Abbey of Arbroath, while the Keledei of Abernethy were to enjoy the other half, besides the tithes of the abbots

¹ Reeves' Culdees, pp. 55, 56, and Evidences, R.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 6.

own demesne, which the Keledei of that place had hitherto received.¹ In 1272 Fordun chronicles: 'This year the priory of Abernethy, which had previously consisted of Keledei, was converted into a society of canons regular.'

A. D.
1124-1153.

Dr Reeves notes the existence of Keledei at Lismore, Hy, and Monifieth, all of which were converted in much the same way we have described, into societies of regular canons, or absorbed into their respective dioceses, the features of which possess no special interest.

II. It remains but to notice the establishment of monasteries or religious houses, whose rules were sanctioned by the Roman See in Scotland, up to the close of the reign of David I. Whatever we may think of this class of institutions, there cannot be the slightest doubt, that during the eleventh century and for long afterwards, both in England and Scotland, they were considered the true outcome of a living Christian faith, and the best means for the cultivation and spread of our holy religion. There can be as little doubt that the members of these institutions, at the period of their rise, everywhere, and not even excepting the military orders, were men actuated by the purest motives, and leading lives as blameless. There existed in Great Britain, among the upper classes, from the king downwards, a felt want for guidance in religious matters, and an intense desire to give instruction in those matters to those dependent on them. No means seemed so suitable as the monastic institution; and the foundation of monasteries in every part of the country testifies at once to the earnest character of the founders, and the apparent suitability of the institution. Legend and history show that men, from the earliest time, have invested with the rank of *dei minores*, ministers of religion who act as mediators between the Deity and themselves, or are exponents of the way in which the offended Deity can be propitiated. Our Scottish forefathers thought the monastic order the true medium and exponent; we reject the men they venerated so fondly, but we still preserve a class to whom the same functions are committed, though the belief in their efficacy is much fainter.

¹ Reeves' *Culdees*, pp. 54, 133.

A. D.
1124-1153.

Dunfermline was the first of these monastic institutions modelled on the Roman system, though it was not formally constituted so until 1124, when St David brought thirteen monks of the order of St Benedict from Canterbury, and constituted it an abbey. The Church itself was founded and endowed by Malcolm and Margaret, added to and completed by their son Alexander; but it partook more of the character of an hospital. Bishop Keith concludes it was an hospital, with probably brethren to minister to the sick in body and mind. Religious enthusiasm was, in those times, the only motive which could withdraw men from the attractive business of killing, to that of curing; physicians and attendants on the sick were of necessity monks and nuns. Attached to the 'noble monastery' of Dunfermline was Urquhart in Moray, founded by the same princely benefactor in the same year as the parent institution.

Coldingham, in Berwickshire, was tenanted by brethren of the same illustrious order. The foundation of the institution dates back to the time of Bishop Aidan, 635, and is termed by Bede 'the city Coludi,'¹ the Saxon equivalent of which is Coldingham.² It partook of the peculiar character of the institutions of which St Scuthinus was so illustrious a member, being a double monastery, consisting of two communities, men and women, but governed by an abbess. The first head of the house was Aebba, daughter of King Aedilfrid, and it seems to have remained under female government until 870. Coldingham prospered under female rule; but its inmates seem to have relaxed somewhat of the strictness of conventual life; its destruction by fire in 679 appears to the Venerable Bede a visitation from heaven, 'they might, like the Ninevites, have averted the anger of the just Judge, by fasting, prayers, and tears.'³ Repentance was needed, 'for both men and women, either indulge themselves in slothful sleep, or are awake in order to commit sin; for even the cells that were built for praying or reading, are now converted into places of feasting, drink-

¹ Bede, pp. 204-220.

² A Saxon Chronicle, p. 329.

³ Bede, p. 220.

ing, talking, and other delights, the very virgins dedicated to God, laying aside the respect due to their profession, whensoever they are at leisure apply themselves to weaving fine garments, either to use in adorning themselves like brides, to the danger of their condition, or to gain the friendship of strange men.¹ The structure was rebuilt, and perhaps the inmates reformed their lives; how long it continued a religious home for both sexes, is unknown, but in 870 it is termed by Matthew of Westminster, a nunnery, in his description of the lamentable fate of its abbess and the sisterhood. At that time the Danes had penetrated into this part of the country, and committed 'tyrannical ferocities.' Ebba, the holy abbess of Coldingham, hearing of these reports, determined that neither she nor the virgins under her charge should 'be given up to the sport of the pagans, so as to lose their virgin modesty.' Calling the sisterhood together, she detailed the ferocities of the invaders, and declared her resolution never to become their victim; she would show them a way to preserve their perpetual maidenhood. The nuns vowed 'to obey her maternal injunction in all things.' 'The abbess then took a razor, and cut off her nose and her upper lip close to the very teeth, and so made herself a shocking sight to all the bystanders. And as the whole assembly, which beheld this memorable deed admired it, they all inflicted similar treatment on themselves, and followed the example of their mother.' The nunnery was visited by the Danes next morning, who, on beholding the mutilated sisters, 'retreated in haste,' but left orders to burn up the monastery itself, with all its offices, and the nuns themselves.² The home of maiden piety remained desecrated and desolate until 1098, when King Edgar founded a priory there in honour of St Cuthbert, and bestowed it on the Benedictine monks of Durham.³ The priory continued subject to the English Church until the time of James III., 'who annexed

A. D.
1124-1153.

¹ Bede, p. 222.

² Matthew of Westminster's Chronicles, vol. I. pp. 409-10, ed. Bohn.

³ *Ante*, p. 299.

A.D.
1124-1153.

it to his royal chapel of Stirling, and made an Act of Parliament, discharging all subjects to attempt anything contrary to this union under pain of treason.¹ The revenues and emoluments must have been very great; the office of Commendator was filled by men of high rank, among them we find Alexander Stuart, natural son of James IV., who perished with his father at Flodden, 1513. The last who bore the title was John Stuart, son to Francis, Earl of Bothwell. There are still preserved at Durham, a vast number of original charters, granted by the Kings of Scotland to the monastery.¹

To Alexander the religious houses of Scone and Inchcolm owe their origin. This monarch, we have seen, inherited the martial qualities of his father, united to the fervid and devoted piety of his mother; most part of his reign was spent in civil and ecclesiastical strife, yet he was able to establish what would doubtless appear to him centres of peace and piety. Scone, long the place where the Scottish kings were crowned, and where was the chair of fate, still preserved at Westminster, was, if we may trust George Buchanan and the writers of his class, the seat of a Culdee establishment from an early date. It does not find a place in Dr Reeves' list;² if it ever existed, it had lapsed by the time of Alexander, who, in 1114, founded an abbey, in which he placed monks of the order of St Augustine, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity and the Archangel Michael. Eight years later, 1122, he founded, on an island in Loch Tay, a dependant cell or priory, which, for some reason or other, seems to have become peculiarly dear to him. 'Here Sybylla, his Queen, daughter to Henry Beauclerk, King of England, died, and is buried. The most part of the buildings of this monastery are still extant.'³ A year later, 1123, Alexander founded on the island of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, an abbey tenanted by monks of the same order. Walter Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun's History, was one of the abbots who presided over the breth-

¹ Keith, p. 402.

² Reeves' Culdees, p. 33.

³ Keith, p. 385.

ren, he died 1449. In 1124 Alexander followed to the grave his departed spouse, leaving his designs for the advancement of his people to his surviving brother David.

The efforts of Queen Margaret and her sons Edgar and Alexander, to establish what they considered schools of piety and civilisation, were crowned with success in the reign of King David, who, in his closing years, must have felt a pardonable pride in that he had been the instrument in carrying out the life work of his sainted mother. In addition to changing the whole form of church government in Scotland, by apportioning it out into bishoprics from Berwick to Caithness, he succeeded also in establishing upwards of twenty monasteries, and in finding a home for two of the military orders.

David I. succeeded to the throne of Scotland A.D. 1123; from the beginning to the end of his reign, the foundation of religious institutions was his constant care. In the year after his accession, he founded the monastery of Urquart, near Elgin in Moray, for what reason, except perhaps out of respect to the memory of his mother, this should have been his first foundation, does not appear. 'It was a cell or priory belonging to Dunfermline, and founded by King David I. in honour of the blessed Trinity, in the year 1124, as appears by his charter in the chartulary of Moray.'¹

Probably about the same time was founded, or rather restored at the Isle of May, at the entrance of the Firth of Forth, a monastery round which clustered many traditions of martyred saints. The legend detailing the settlement on the island and the massacre by the Danes of the 'white robed confessors, clerics, and common people, to the number of six thousand and six,' is told in the legend of St Adrian,² and in the pages of Wyntoun.³ The catastrophe is narrated as taking place about the middle of the ninth century, but whether there is any historical truth in the tale, or whether St Monanus and his followers were Hungarians or Irishmen, is too intricate a problem

A.D.
1124-1155.

¹ Keith, p. 404.

² Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 442.

³ Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 85.

A. D.
1124-1153.

to be here discussed.¹ The story was a matter of faith to the Prior of Lochleven, and attested by many miracles of healing being performed there, in virtue of the relics of St Monanus, which rested there. It long preserved its sanctity, and Bishop Keith remarks, 'It was of old much frequented by barren women, who went thither in pilgrimage.'²

But four years later, the great object of David's life, that of absorbing the Celtic element in his dominions into the Teutonic (Saxon and Norman), was largely served by the foundation of the great abbeys of Holyrood and Kelso, situate in his original earldom, now and afterwards not only an integral, but the most important portion of the kingdom of Scotland.

Edinburgh was no longer a fortress of the Angles menacing Alban ; for upwards of a century it had been an outpost only, but now probably at about the same time as the abbey of Holyrood was founded, it was made a burgh, and received its castle, all foreshadowing the important part it was to assume in future history. The capital of Scotland did not, under the Romish system, attain the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs which, after the Reformation it has held, but the abbey of Holyrood, dedicated to the Holy Cross, was well endowed, and had numerous dependencies. 'The cells or priories depending on Holyroodhouse were St Mary's Isle, Blantyre, Rowadill, Crusay, and Oronsay.'³ But best of all its dependencies, and the one most cherished, would be the adjoining palace, the penitents of both sexes there, would be of a class specially dear to clerics of all churches and of all times.

Nearer to the heart of King David, we should imagine was the foundation at Kelso, for long, one of the most important institutions in the country. While Earl of Northumberland, the spiritual wants of the district attracted his loving care, and an institution was settled at Selkirk in honour of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. From thence it was taken to Roxburgh (quia locus non erat conveniens abbaciae) ; in 1128, on

¹ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 311, 317.

² Keith, p. 388.

³ *Ibid.* p. 389.

the persuasion of his friend John, Bishop of Glasgow, the monks were transferred to Kelso. The privileges granted were great. The abbey had its first confirmation direct from Pope Innocent II.; there is a Bull of Pope Alexander III. allowing the abbot to wear a mitre, and make use of other pontifical ornaments, and to be present at all general councils. Innocent III. exempts the abbey from all episcopal jurisdiction; Robert, Bishop of St Andrew's, in whose diocese it was, confirmed all its privileges. The churches, with the tithes of Selkirk and Roxburgh, were retained, and it had numerous dependencies and endowments in every part of Scotland. The first Abbot was Herbert, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, at whose suggestion the first life of St Kentigern was composed. Walter, his successor, towards the close of the reign of Malcolm IV., was one of the three dignitaries chosen to maintain the independency of the Scottish Church from the suzerainty of York. The last abbot was James Stuart, natural son of King James V. Like other similar institutions, it fell to the nearest reiving baron, Sir Robert Ker, the ancestor of the present Duke of Roxburgh.¹

In the same locality, in 1136, David restored the ancient institution at Melrose, which is referred to by Bede as 'the Monastery of Melrose, which is almost enclosed by the winding of the river Tweed.'² The Cistercians, the followers of the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux, were brought from Rievale in Yorkshire, and erected or superintended the erection of the stately pile which even in ruins, is still the admiration of Europe, and one of the finest specimens remaining of early Gothic architecture. The structure has been so often and so well described, that it need not be so here, nowhere perhaps so well as by *the* poet of scenery, in the second canto of the Lay of the Last Minstrel. Scott possessed what few poets have possessed, a profound antiquarian and archæological knowledge, and this is so skilfully interwoven in the exquisite description, that a better idea of the genius and labour bestowed on the building may be found there than in numerous guide books, and more formidable treatises.

¹ Keith, pp. 405-6.

² Bede, p. 254.

A. D.
1124-1153.

In the tedious detail of facts, hardly worth narrating, varied only by *edifying* miracles, massacres, and chaotic fighting, it is refreshing to tell of the construction of buildings like the monasteries of Melrose, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Holyrood. If David's piety gained him the title of saint, his encouragement of art and artisans entitle him to one less pretentious, but much worthier, 'Father of the Civilisation of Scotland.' The artists and artisans engaged in these works, lay or clerical, may have been ignorant men according to our notions, they may have been superstitious to a degree unknown even to an Irish Romanist, but genius and culture were in them, and in a way we cannot now appreciate. The ennobling influence of their work can hardly be exaggerated,¹ the personal influence on those around them must have been as great; to them, whether thirled to 'old Rome and her devilries,' or no, we owe much of what we really possess of culture at the present day. What religion there was in the Celtic Church was asceticism; it was satisfied with buildings of wood and wattles wherein to worship God. Scotchmen, for the last three centuries, emulated their Celtic teachers in the simplicity and ugliness of their places of worship; it is to be hoped that a reaction has set in, and the noble piles erected by David I. and his successors, will form models for the service of a religion, which appeals alike to the intellect and the emotions; which claims the entire faculties of the man. Several of the Abbots of Melrose were distinguished for their piety and learning, the position placed them in the first rank of the notables of the kingdom. By the time of the Reformation, either the rich endowments or the bad example of the Border reivers, had demoralised the pious brethren of a bygone age, for the old words of *Galashiels*, a favourite Scotch air, ran thus:—

' O the monks of Melrose made good kale,
On Fridays when they fasted.
They wanted neither beef nor ale
As long as their neighbour's lasted.'²

¹ Lecky's Rationalism, pp. 278, *et seq.*

² Scott's Poetry, edit. 1843, vol. i. p. 166.

In 1140 David founded the Abbeys of Newbattle and Lesmahagow. The first named, situated on the river Esk, in Mid-Lothian, received its brethren, with their abbot, from Melrose. Lesmahagow is described as a cell of Kelso, and probably, for some time, was dependant on the parent institution. It attained considerable importance; and during the wars of the succession, was evidently a place of refuge, either on account of its sanctity or its strength, both however proving inefficacious: 'John of Eltham, brother to King Edward of England, burnt this monastery, together with those that had retired thither to shelter themselves from the cruelty of the enemy. In 1560 the reformers pulled down the monastery and church, after they had burnt the relics of the martyrs, which had been kept there for several years.'¹

A. D.
1124-1153.

The stately monastery of Kilwinning, in Ayrshire, was founded in the same year nominally by Hugh Moreville, Constable of Scotland, one of the four great Norman barons who accompanied David from England. The monastery was dedicated to St Winnin, and Kelso supplied the brethren in this case also. The endowments were great; in future ages so was the *increment*, the pious Earl of Glencairn, at the time of the Reformation, felt acutely how the revenues were misapplied. He obtained a grant of the Abbey, and shortly afterwards, 1603, his son Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, got the grant renewed, and all the lands and tithes in property and superiority erected into a temporal lordship. With anxious care for the spiritual interests of the people, he preserved to himself and heirs the patronage of the dependent churches.² His successors have unfortunately lost this precious bequest of their ancestor; they have preserved the temporal lordship, however.

In 1147 David founded the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, and in 1150 Kinloss in Moray, both of which attained considerable importance, and furnished from their abbots men famous in Church and State.

Besides the institutions thus shortly noticed, there

¹ Keith, p. 407.

² *Ibid.*, p. 408.

A. D.
1124-1153.

were founded during the reign under our notice the monasteries of Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Dundrennan, Tungland, Mauchline, Whithorn (a restoration of Candida Casa), Soul's Seat, near Stranraer, St Mary's Isle, near Kircudbright, and other minor institutions.¹

David founded but one nunnery—at Berwick-upon-Tweed. The ladies seem not to have been true Scottish subjects: Agnes, prioress of the place, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. Nor do they seem to have mended their ways, for 'afterwards King Robert III., by reason of their frequent adherence to the English, deprived them of their possessions in Scotland, which he disposed of in favour of the Praemonstratenses of Dryburgh,'² who, it was to be hoped, would prove loyal to their king and country.

The military orders found their way into Scotland during the reign of King David. The Templars he bestowed at 'The Temple,' near the river of South Esk, and at Oggerstone in Stirlingshire.³ For the Knights of St John was founded the Preceptory at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire, then, and until the Reformation, their principal residence.⁴ Several of the Preceptors of these religious houses were men of considerable eminence, and make their appearance in history among the highest in the land. Sir William Knows, Preceptor of Torphichen, was, in 1463, appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland; he lost this office, but was re-instated by James IV., and in addition was made Master of the Household; he was one of the gallant train of warriors who perished with their chief on the fatal field of Flodden, 1513: 'Knows was succeeded by Sir George Dundas, who was a person of great learning, and a school-fellow of Hector Boethius of Paris, and was chosen Preceptor at the appointment of the Duke of Albany, then Regent.' The last Preceptor was Sir James Sandilands, a participator in the stirring scenes of the Queen Mary times. Like a far-seeing and sensible man, 'he, at the Reformation, resigned all the lands of the Johannites in Scotland into Queen Mary's hands, who feued them out

¹ Keith's Religious Houses, pp. 383-480.

² *Ibid.* p. 435.

³ Keith, p. 460.

⁴ *Ibid.* 438.

again to the said Sir James for 10,000 crowns, and the yearly annuity of 500 merks. She also erected all the foresaid lands into a temporal lordship, in favour of him and his heirs, by a charter under the great seal, dated 24th January 1563.¹ Though the knights of the religious orders do not loom largely in Scottish history, yet their possessions and influence must have been considerable, probably dating from an early period, when they were truly *religious* persons, as the following extract seems to imply: 'The same cross with that of the Templars was likewise ordered to be put upon all houses that were feued out by these knights. Whereupon we see to this day a great number of crosses upon the top of several buildings in the cities of Edinburgh and Leith, which belonged formerly to them, and are as yet subject to the jurisdiction of those who acquired them at the Reformation.'²

This notice of the innovations and creations of David I. brings this sketch of the history of the Church of Early Scotland to a close. If my readers have followed me, there is little or no need for me to tax their patience further; its character and results can only be judged by the records of its past history, which have been to some extent detailed in the preceding pages. Its learning, orthodoxy, and piety have been vaunted by all national writers, and taken for granted by those not of our own kin. In the early stages of its history, indeed till the close of the eighth century, the last-named characteristic is transparent, after that period it cannot be even inferred. The orthodoxy, *i.e.* freedom from Popish error, resulted simply from ignorance of Popish error, but the kernel of this is to be found whenever and wherever the Celtic Church crops up—belief in the supernatural claims, and superior sanctity of a class—the priest—the cleric. As for the learning we have to refer our readers to what we have previously said on the subject. What little learning and accomplishments the clergy possessed was fitted only for recluses, not for ministers of the gospel, which brings not only the message of salvation, but in

¹ Keith, p. 339.

² *Ibid.* p. 440.

A. D.
1124-1153.

the message the seeds of civil, religious, and intellectual liberty and culture. From the time that the Celtic clergy were replaced by men of another race and another stamp, under whatever form of Christianity which for the time has dominated the mind of Scotland, its ministers, to the present day, have been foremost in all the efforts which have been made to educate and elevate the people; to them, more than can be well said without exaggeration, Scotland owes her social, intellectual, and religious position.

INDEX.

INDEX.

- ABERDEEN BREVILIARY**, ii. 181.
Abernethy, i. 233—Columbian monks reinstated, ii. 270—round tower of, 273—suppression of Culdees, 320.
Achadrom, Ager Dorsi, ii. 162.
Ada, wife of Prince Henry i. 257.
Adamnan, St, life of Columba, ii. 141—birth and early life, 248—Abbot of Hy, 249—visits Northumbria, 250—visited by French bishop, and writes tract on the Holy places, 251—conforms on Easter and Tonsure question, 252—visits Ireland, 253—reforms Church and State, 254—miracles, prophecies, 255.
Adamnani, Lex, ii., 253.
Adrian, St, legend of, ii. 325.
Aed, King of Pictland, i. 135.
Aedilfrid, King of Bernicia, i. 86.
Aedwin, King of Deira, i. 86, 87.
Aengus, King of Munster, ii. 119.
Aengus, the Culdee, ii. 279.
Aengus, King of Pictland, i. 104—annexes Dalriada, 105—death, 106; ii. 258.
Aethelfleda, i. 149.
Agricola, his campaigns and conquests, i. 3, 10.
Aidan, Bishop, ii. 229—his character by Bede, 230—his death 232.
Aidan, King of Scottish Dalriada, i. 80—his connection with Columba, ii. 99—with Ireland, 100.
Ail-red, St, ii. 17.
Airchart-dan, Glen Urquhart, ii. 163.
Alban, kingdom of, i. 139.
Alban, St, ii. 5.
Albion, ancient name of Britain, i. 2-33.
Albinus Clodius, Governor of Britain, i. 12.
Albin, native name of Scotland, i. 6, 33, 34.
Alcluaid, Dumbarton, ii. 106.
Aldfrid, King, refugee at Hy, ii. 250—visited by Adamnan, 251.
Aldred, Earl of Northumbria, invades Strathclyde, i. 178.
Alexander, King of Scotland, his accession, i. 257—quells northern insurrection, 258—his death, 259—ecclesiastical foundations and restorations, ii. 300-304.
Alfred, King, ii. 289.
Alpin, King of Scottish Dalriada, i. 105.
Ambrose, St, ii. 22.
Amergin, son of Milesius, i. 297.
Andrew, St, patron saint of Scotland, ii. 268.
Andrews, St, foundation of, ii. 268.
Aran, farewell to, poem by St Columba, ii. 155.
Arbroath, Abbey of, ii. 320.
Arculf, a French Bishop at Hy, ii. 251.
Ardmacha, Armagh
Ardri, high-king, i. 57.
Arianism, ii. 5.
Ark, arrives in Ireland, i. 281.
Armagh, foundation of, ii. 119-121.
Arnor, poet to Jarl Thorfinn, i. 195; ii. 274.
Arthlur, King, ii. 50.
Arthurian Epic, i. 73-76—Professor Rhy's view, 73—Nennius' account, 74—Dr Skene's theory, 74-76.
Arthur's oven, i. 24, 25
Arhuret, battle of, i. 79.
Asaph, St, monastery founded by Kentigern, ii. 73.
Asaph, St, miracle of the burning coals, ii. 77—successor to Kentigern, 79.
Athelstan, extent of his rule, i. 150—invades Alban, 151; battle of Brunanburg, 152—Ode on, 153, 154—his death, 155.
Athbein, abbacy, ii. 284.
Attacotti, first appearance in history, i. 19, 304.
Augustine, reception by Ethelbert, ii. 163.
BALTHENE, Abbot of Hy, ii. 223.
Bamba, a daughter of Cain, i. 281.
Bangor, monastery of, ii. 92.
Beatrice, wife of Crinan, i. 173.
Beatrix, Prioress of Icolumkille, ii. 186.
Bede, the Venerable, account of the races in Britain, i. 30—origin of the Picts, 44—description of Ireland, 61—Churches built by the Scots, 66—value of his writings, 68—his account of Paulinus, 86—of Penda and Caedwalla, 87—of King Oswald, 88, 89—of King Egfrid, 92—of Nectan's decision, 96—Christianity introduced into Britain, ii. 3—martyrdom of St Alban, 4—Arian madness, 5—Southern Picts and St Ninian, 15—Pelagian Heresy, 43—monastery of Durrow, 147—St Columba's mission, 161—Augustine and King Ethelbert, 164—Columba's rule, 190—notice of institution at Hy, 223—Abbot Seghene, 225—Easter controversy, 226—King Os-

- wald, 228, 229—Bishop Aidan, 230, 231—Oswy, 232—Abbot Finan, 233—Easter controversy, Colman, Wilfrid, 234—Columbian Church in Northumbria, 235—Hilda, 237—Caedmon, 238—St Cuthbert, 239 244—Adamnan's tract on the Holy places, 251—Ceolfrid and Adamnan, 252—Naitan conforms to Rome, 257—Hy conforms, 259—monastery of Coldingham, Abbess Ebba, 323—monastery of Melrose, 327
- Benignus, Archbishop of Armagh, ii. 126
- Beowulph, epic of, ii. 289
- Bith, an antediluvian patriarch, i. 281.
- Bille, son of Breogan, i. 291.
- Blaithmac, acting Abbot of Hy at massacre by Danes, ii. 261.
- Bonavem Taberniæ, birth-place of St Patrick, ii. 99.
- Borumha, tribute of, i. 308
- Borlogne-sur-Mer, birth-place of St Patrick, ii. 106
- Braha, leader of Gadeliens to Spain, i. 291
- Breac, Simon, son of Nemedius, i. 283
- Breagha, introduces duelling in Ireland, i. 282.
- Breasal, Abbot of Hy, ii. 260
- Brechin, foundation of, i. 165—church founded, ii. 273—round tower at, 274
- Brendan, St, ii. 138
- Breogan, son of Bartha, i. 291.
- Bridius. *See* Brude.
- Brigantes, i. 4. 14, 37.
- Brigida. *See* Brigit.
- Brigit, St, ii. 129—Mary of the Irish, 130—founds institution at Kildare, 131—her power, 133—vulpine miracle, 134.
- Briotan Mol, son of Nemedius, i. 283.
- Brochan, a Druid, ii. 166
- Bruce, King, son of Bile, i. 92—defeats Ecgfrid, 93—his death, 95.
- Brude, King of Pictland, i. 106; ii. 160—behaviour to St Columba, 163.
- Brus, Robert de, i. 265.
- Buchanan, George, opinion of early historical authorities, i. 48.
- Burghs, institution of, i. 274.
- CADOC, ST, abbot and prince, ii. 93.
- Caedmon, ii. 237.
- Caedwalla defeats Aedwin, i. 87—slays Osric and Eanfrid, 87—recovers Bernicia, 88—defeated and slain at Maserfield, 89.
- Cæsair, daughter of Bith, i. 281.
- Cæsar, Julius, campaign in Britain, i. 2.
- Cain, daughter of, i. 281.
- Cainnech, St, companion of Columba, ii. 161, 308.
- Cairbre Riada, colonises west of Scotland, i. 53.
- Cairbre Riada, King of Ulster, i. 305.
- Cairbre, the cat-headed, King of Ireland, i. 304.
- Cairbre Liffeachair, King of Ireland, i. 309.
- Calledii. *See* Culdees.
- Caledonia, name given by the Romans to Scotland north of the Firth, i. 6.
- Caledonii, origin of, i. 34.
- Cambuskenneth monastery founded, ii. 129.
- Campbells, descended from Fothadh Canann, i. 305.
- Camelon, i. 24.
- Camlan, battle of, i. 75-77.
- Candida Casa, seat of St Ninian, ii. 18—church of stone built there, 27—decline and restoration, 36—subject to See of York, 38—restoration, 307
- Cassiterides, the tin islands, i. 1.
- Cath-bhuaidh, i. 142.
- Cathach, St Columbus, MS, ii. 151
- Cathen, mocks Kentigern, his fate, ii. 69.
- Cathwallain, King of Wales, ii. 71.
- Caplit, a Druid, ii. 116.
- Catlon, King, ii. 228.
- Carausius seizes Britain, i. 15.
- Cele-de. *See* Culdees.
- Cellach, Bishop of St Andrews, i. 143; ii. 272.
- Celts, origin of, i. 28-30
- Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, ii. 252-257.
- Charters, institution of, i. 261-271.
- Churrich, Port-a-, harbour of Hy, ii. 189.
- Ciarnuit, mistress of Cormach, i. 307.
- Cinel, Angus, i. 58.
- Ciniod, King of Pictland, i. 106.
- Clonard, monastic seminary, ii. 146.
- Clontarf, battle of, i. 193.
- Cnut (Canute), visits Rome, i. 175—invades Alban, 176.
- Co-arbs in Ireland, ii. 126.
- Cœlestius, ii. 6.
- Colca, a visitor at Hy, ii. 176.
- Coldingham, monastery founded, ii. 327.
- Colla, usurper of the throne of Ireland, i. 310.
- Colman, successor to Finan, ii. 234 returns to Hy, 235—death, 246.
- Colonsay, island of, ii. 159.
- Columba, St, his visit to St Kentigern, ii. 84—lives of, 141—birth and early life, 144 first miracle, 145—novitiate, 146—foundations of Derry and Durrow, 147—Kells, 148—other foundations, 149—battle of Cul-Dreimhne, 150—leaves for Scotland, 154—poem 'farewell to Aran,' 155—lands at Hy, 159—description of by Adamnan, 160—visits Pictish Capital, 161—his route, 162—his reception, 163—power of his voice, 165—contests and victories, 166-168—churches founded by, 169—visit to Ireland, 170—sickness, 171—last illness, 172—death, 173—reliquies, 174—supernatural powers, 176—prophecies, 177—miracles, 178—office of, 181—institution at Hy, 183—resume, 211-214—angelic appearance to King Oswald, 227.
- Columbanus, ii. 14c-176.
- Columbian foundations, ii. 170.

- Columcille. *See* Columba.
 Columkille *See* Columba.
 Comgall, St, companion of Columba, ii. 161.
 Conall, King of Scotch Dalriada, i. 98, ii. 160.
 Conamhail, Abbot of Hy, ii. 256.
 Conclad, St Brigit's bishop and artist, ii. 133.
 Conn of the hundred battles, i. 305.
 Conquovar, King of Ulster, i. 315.
 Constantine, Emperor, ii. 11, 80.
 Constantine, son of Rhydderch, ii. 81.
 Constantine, I. King of Pictland, i. 131—defeats Olave, 132—arrests advance of Thorstein, 133—defeated and slain by the Danes, 134.
 Constantine II., King of Alban, i. 141—defeats Ivar, 142—renovation of the church, 143—establishes episcopacy, 144—division of Alban into provinces, 145—his brother elected King of Strathclyde, 146—Danish invasion, 147-148—English claims, 149—relations with Athelstan, 150—English invasion, 150—battle of Brunanburg, 152—abdication 155,—death 156, ii. 269, 272, 309.
 Constantine III., King of Alban, i. 163.
 Constantius Chlorus restores Britain to the empire, i. 16, ii. 4.
 Cormac, missionary and explorer, ii. 207.
 Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, ii. 301.
 Cormac, son of Art. King of Ireland, i. 305—his works and fame, 306—his death, 307—his character by Keating, 308
 Coroticus, a Welch prince, ii. 104, 123
 Cospatic, Earl of Northumbria, i. 220—deprived of his title, and finds refuge at the court of Malcolm, 221—his treachery, 226.
 Coryvreckan, ii. 176.
 Craig-Phadraig, capital of Pictland, ii. 161.
 Crammond, a Roman seaport, i. 24.
 Crimtham, King of Ireland, i. 310.
 Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, marriage to Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm II. i. 173.
 Crom-Cruach, an idol in Meath, ii. 114.
 Cruithnechan, a presbyter, ii. 144.
 Cru thnigh, Celtic name for Picts, i. 38.
 Cuilean, King of Alban, i. 164.
 Cuiltich. *See* Culdees.
 Cuimíne Ailbhe, Abbot of Hy, ii. 232—writes life of Columba, 245.
 Culdees, ii. 275—character of, 276—rule, 277—Dr Reeves' dissertation on, 278, 285—origin of term, 278—importation from Ireland, 279—in England and Wales, 280 Pinkerton's remarks on, 282—foundations, 286—at St Andrews, 307, 312—Dunkeld, 313—Brechin, Dunblane, 314—Muthill, 315.
 Cul-Dreimhne, battle of, ii. 150, 180.
 Culenros, Culross, ii. 55.
 Cummian, an Irish ecclesiastic, ii. 225.
 Cuthbert, St, interview with Prince Edgar, i. 253—birth, ii. 238—early life, 239—embraces a religious life, 240—missionary labours, 241—death, 244.
 Cymric poetry, i. 77.
 Cymri, origin of, i. 31-34.
 DAGAN, Bishop, ii. 224.
 Dalriada (Scottish), i. 58—alliances, 97—first King Fergus, 98—succeeded by Conall, 99—Aidan, 100—Eochoid, 102—Domnall Brecc, 103—anarchy, and conquest by Picts, 104—derivation of name, 305—colonised, 315.
 Danish (Norse), invasions, i. 109—sketch of, 109-114—effect in England, 114-117—Irish invasions, and effects of, 117, 121—Scottish invasions, and effects, 121, 126—Hy sacked, 128—victory of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, 129—establish a power in Ireland, 130—Olave invades Alban, and defeat by Constantine, 131—second invasion, 132—Thorstein conquers and occupies North of Scotland, 133—Halfdene's invasion, 133—defeat and death of Constantine, 134—Ragnvald, Sigurd, Malbride, 140—invasion of Alban, and repulse, 141—Ivar defeated and slain, 142—last invasion, 147-148.
 Danecht, the Irish Æsculapius, i. 287.
 Dathy, King of Ireland, i. 310—his conquests and death, 311.
 David, St, visited by Kentigern, ii. 71—birth, 91—death, 93.
 David I., Prince of Lothian and Cumbria, i. 258—accession to the throne of Scotland, 260—institutes charters, 261—supports cause of his niece Matilda, 263—refuses feudal allegiance to King Stephen, 264—invades England, 265—concludes peace with Stephen, 266—death and character, 268—his innovations and creations, 269—establisher of Roman system, ii. 305—founds monastery at Selkirk, 305—reconstitutes Church of Glasgow, 305—Candida Casa, 306—St Andrews, 307, 312—Dunkeld, 313—creates bishopric of Brechin, 314—restores bishopric of Dunblane, 314—Aberdeen, Deer, Turiff, 315—creates bishopric of Ross, 316—Caithness, 317—suppresses Culdees of Lochleven, 318—Monymusk, 319—Abernethy, 320—establishes monasteries at Dunfermline, 322—Urquhart, Isle of May, 325—Newlywood, Kelso, 326—Melrose, 327—Hewbattle, Lesmahagow, Kilwinning, Cambuskenneth, Kinloss, 329—nunnery at Berwick, preceptories of Knight Templars, and S John, 330.
 Dearnagh, Durrow.
 Degasstan, battle of, i. 80.
 Derry, foundation of church of, ii. 146.
 Dewi. *See* David.
 Diarmait, Abbot of Hy, ii. 261.

- Diarmid, Columba's attendant, ii. 172.
 Diarmuid, King, ii. 151.
 Dicaledons, i. 19.
 Dichu, an Irish chief, ii. 110.
 Diocletian, persecution of, ii. 4.
 Donnall, King of the Britons, visits Rome, i. 166.
 Donnall Brecc, King of Scottish Dalriada, i. 102—expedition to Ireland, invasion of Cumbria, and death 103.
 Donald Bane, King of Alban, i. 250—dethroned by Duncan, 251—King a second time, 252—defeated and made prisoner, 254.
 Donald, King of Pictland, i. 130.
 Donald, King of Strathclyde, i. 81, 146.
 Donald, first King of Alban, i. 139—death, 141.
 Donaghmore, Round Tower of, ii. 273.
 Donnán, St, ii. 210.
 Dorsum Britannia, i. 6.
 Downpatrick, St Patrick's burial place, ii. 124—claims to Columba's relics, ii. 174.
 Druids, contests with St Patrick ii. 113-115—literature, 127—burial place at Hy, 187.
 Druualban, i. 6.
 Druburgh, monastery founded, ii. 330.
 Duan Albanach, i. 39
 Dubh, King of Alban, i. 163.
 Dubhtach, Laoghaire chief bard, ii. 113-118.
 Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaff, ii. 91.
 Duncan, King of Alban, i. 178—invasion of England, 179—Kali Hundason, 196—invasion of Caithness, 197—attack by sea and defeat, 198—second defeat, 200—his death, 202—fictitious history, 203.
 Duncan, son of Malcolm given as hostage to William, i. 235—remains with William Rufus, 240—dethrones Donald Bane, 251—defeated and slain, 252—grants lands to Durham and Dunfermline, ii. 299.
 Dunchadh, Abbot of Hy, ii. 256—disputes there, 257.
 Dundas, Sir George, Preceptor of Torphichen, ii. 330.
 Dundrennan, monastery founded, ii. 330
 Dunedin, Edinburgh.
 Dunfermline, i. 218—monastery founded, ii. 322.
 Dunkeld, ii. 170, 174, 269, 300, 313.
 Dunstan, St, i. 161.
 Durrow, book of, ii. 147.
 Durrow, monastery of, ii. 147—visited by Columba, 170.
 EDGAR ÆTHELING, first visit to Scotland, i. 220—his contest with the Conqueror, 221-3—second visit to Scotland, 227—leaves for Flanders, 235—returns 236—received at Court by William, 237—returns to Scotland, 240—reconciled to William Rufus, 241—sails to Normandy, 241—places Edgar on the throne of Scotland, 253.
 Eadmer, Bishop of St Andrew's, ii. 302.
 Eadmund, King of Northumbria, i. 81.
 Eadmund, King of Wessex, conquers and grants Strathclyde to Alban, i. 157—conflict with Northumbrian Danes, 158—assassination, 159—cession of Cumbria, 161
 Eadmund, son of Malcolm Canmore, his treachery, 252—is taken prisoner, his fate, 253.
 Eadred, King of Wessex, annexes Northumbria, i. 160.
 Eadward, King of Wessex, i. 149
 Eanfrid, Prince, ii. 225
 Easter, celebration of by St Patrick, ii. 111.
 Easter controversy, ii. 224, 226, 233—conference at Whitby, 234—result, 235—at Hy, 256, 257, 259.
 Eata, Abbot of Melrose, ii. 240
 Ecgrif, king, i. 81
 Ecolmkill. *See* Hy
 Edgar, King of Scotland, i. 253—his character, 256—his death, 257—grant of Lothian and Cumbria to his brother David, 258—refounds Coldingham, ii. 299-323
 Edinburgh, a Roman station, i. 23—surrender of, 162—capital of Scotia, 257.
 Edward, Constable of Scotiand defeats Celtic forces at Strathcathro, i. 263.
 Edward, eldest son of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, i. 244.
 Egbert, ii. 259.
 Eig, Island of, ii. 210
 Eilean na m Ban, Island of the Women at Hy, ii. 189.
 Einar (turf), Earl of Orkney, i. 181.
 Eithne, Columba's mother, ii. 144.
 Eithne, wife of Cormac, i. 307.
 Emania, palace of, i. 303.
 Enna, King of Connaught, ii. 114—his conversion, 115.
 Eocha, King of Scottish Dalriada, i. 101.
 Eugenius, King, ii. 45
 Ethne, daughter of Laoghaire, ii. 116.
 Ethelwulph, King of Essex, ii. 271
 Ethelred, last Abbot of Dunkeld, ii. 301.
 Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, i. 80.
 Ethelbert, reception of Augustine, ii. 163.
 Eric, of the bloody axe, i. 155, 157—his sons, 162, 183.
 Eocha, King of Pictland, i. 135—Grig associated with him, 136.
 FAILBE, Abbot of Hy, ii. 246.
 Farne Islands discovered, ii. 207.
 Fedelm, daughter of Laoghaire, ii. 116.
 Feniusa Farsa, grandson of Magog, i. 287—his learning and studies, 288—his death, 289.
 Fergna Brit, Abbot of Hy, ii. 224.
 Fergus, Columba's father, ii. 144.

- Fergus, first king of Scots in Britain, i. 50, 285.
- Fergus, son of Eric, i. 54—first king of Dalriadic Scots, 98.
- Festus Avenius, account of Britain, i. 1—of Ireland, 55.
- Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, ii. 118.
- Fiacc, an Irish poet, ii. 113.
- Finan, successor to Aidan, ii. 232.
- Findbarr, Bishop, St Finnian, ii. 145.
- Finele, slayer of Kenneth II., i. 168.
- Finn MacCumhall (Fingal) son of Cormac, i. 305—organises Irish militia, 309.
- Finnian, St, dispute with Columba, ii. 151.
- Fiontain, husband of Caesair, i. 281.
- Firbolgs, i. 52—immigrants from Gaul, 55—colonise Ireland, 284—defeated by Tuath de Danans, 286.
- Flaherty, O Broilchan, Abbot of Derry, ii. 263.
- Flann, Abbot of Hy, ii. 260.
- Flann Mainistreach, Synchronisms of, i. 314.
- Flood, The, i. 281.
- Fothadh Canann, King of Ireland and the World, i. 305.
- Fothudh, last Celtic Bishop of St Andrews, ii. 298.
- Futerna, Whithorn, ii. 36.
- GABRAN CINEL, i. 58.
- Gabbras, battle of, i. 309.
- Gadel, a Grecian, author of Gadelian language, i. 288.
- Gadelians, arrive in Spain, i. 291—in Ireland, 293, 295.
- Galerius Maximus, ii. 4.
- Galganu, a Welsh prince, ii. 73.
- Gartan, birth place of Columba, ii. 144.
- Gaythelos, King, i. 49.
- Genman, an Irish bard, ii. 145.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, his British History, i. 31.
- Germanus, St, his mission, ii. 42—commands British army, 43.
- Gildas, his lamentation on the state of Britain, i. 20, 21—historical value of his works, 69.
- Giollacrist, last Abbot of Hy, ii. 260.
- Glasgu, seat of St Kentigern, ii. 52—state during his absence, 78—armorial insignia of, 83—restoration by David, 306.
- Glasnevin, monastery, ii. 146.
- Grampius, Mount, battle of, i. 9—locality of, 10.
- Grassy Mounts, site of a Roman camp, i. 8.
- Gregorius Maximus. *See* Grig.
- Gregorius, Bishop of Moray, ii. 300.
- Gregorian chant, ii. 233.
- Grig, King of Pictavia, i. 136, 138—restorer of Scottish Church, ii. 271.
- Grim and Helgi, narrative of, i. 188, 196.
- Gunhild, i. 158.
- Guthorm, Earl of Orkney, i. 180.
- Gunivere, Queen, ii. 50.
- HADRIAN, Emperor, i. 11.
- Halladr, Earl of Orkney, i. 181.
- Harald Haradrada, i. 219.
- Harald Harfraga, i. 180, 182, 183.
- Hengist and Horsa, i. 71.
- Henry, Prince, son of David, i. 261—pays homage to King Stephen, 264—receives Earldom of Northumberland, 266—Marriage to Ada, daughter of Earl Warrenne, 267—death, 267.
- Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, ii. 307.
- Heremon, King of Ireland, i. 43.
- Heremon and Heber, divide Ireland, i. 296—quarrel—Heber is slain, 297.
- Hilda, Abbess, ii. 237.
- Holyrood, monastery founded, ii. 326.
- Honorius, Emperor, his letter to the Roman Britons, i. 22.
- Hosius, Bishop, ii. 5.
- Howth, Hill of, i. 282.
- Hugony the Great, King of Ireland, i. 303.
- Hundi, Earl, son of Abbot of Dunkeld, i. 196.
- Hy, institution there, ii. 183—remains of buildings, 185—cemeteries and crosses, 187—mounds and cairns, 188—dependent islands, 189—constitution, 190—position of Abbot, 191—the family of, 194—discipline, 195—hospitality, 196—divine worship, 197—eucharist—baptism, 198—holy orders, 199—charms—burial of the dead, 200—study, 201—labour, 202—diet and clothing, 203—economy, 204—jurisdiction of, 205—missions and missionary explorers, 207, 211—monastic character, 214, 221.
- Hy, island of, landing of St Columba, ii. 159—place of pilgrimage, 260—devastation of, and removal of relics of Columba, 260—massacre of brethren, 261—destruction of buildings, and loss of supremacy, 262—burial place of Scottish kings, 263—annexed to Bishopric of Man, 263—erection of cathedral, parting notice, 264—suppression of Culdees there, 321.
- Hyber, heir and successor of Gaythelos—Ireland called Hybernia, i. 50.
- ICOLMKILL. *See* Hy.
- Ida, the flame bearer, i. 77, 85.
- Iltud, Abbot of Bangor, ii. 92.
- Inchcolm, monastery founded at, ii. 304, 324.
- Indulph, King of Alban, i. 162.
- Innes, Father, his critical essay, division of Britain in Roman times, i. 17—ancestry of the Picts, 42, 43—Scottish genealogies, 51, 52.
- Innrechtach, Abbot of Hy, ii. 262.
- Inveresk, a Roman town, i. 24.
- Iona. *See* Hy.
- Ireland, Agricola contemplates conquest of i. 10—discovered and possessed by Hyber,

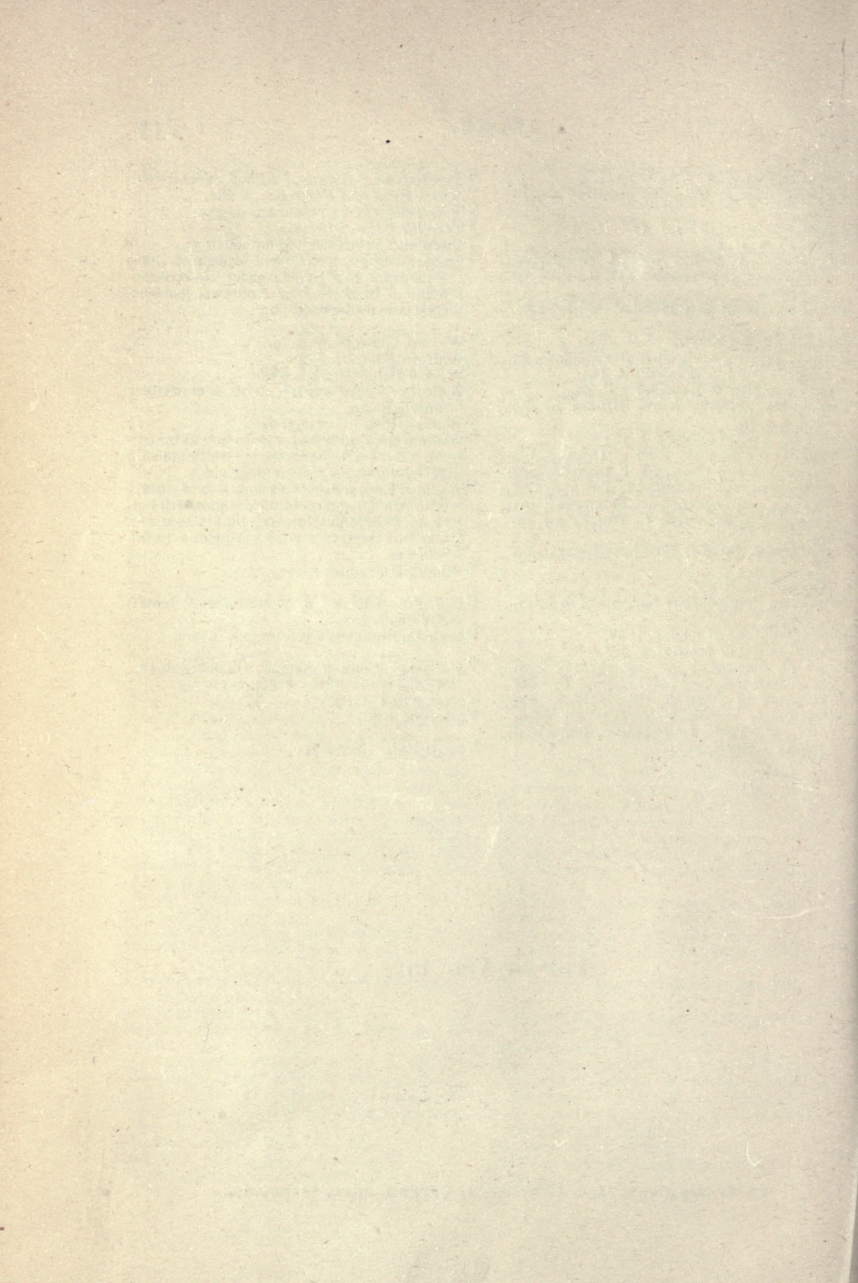
- 50—final settlement by the Scots, 50—peopled before the Deluge, 52—conquered by Milesius, 53—early state of, 54—political organisation, 55-58—Bede's account, 61—Giraldus Cambrensis, 62—effects of Danish invasions, 63, 64—civilisation, 65-67.
- Isle of May, monastery founded, ii. 325.
- Ith, first leader of Milesians, i. 293—his death, 294.
- JAMES, the Deacon, ii. 233.
- Jamieson, Dr, philological arguments quoted, i. 39, 43—on Culdees, ii. 276.
- Jedburgh, monastery founded, ii. 330.
- Jerome, St, quoted, i. 59—ii. 20.
- Jobbath, son of Nemedius, i. 283.
- John, first Bishop of Glasgow, ii. 306.
- John of Beverley, ii. 237.
- John Scotus Erigena, ii. 288.
- Joseph of Arimathea, ii. 3, 4.
- Judah, the patriarch, his wonderful voice, ii. 165.
- KARLEOLUM (Carlisle), ii. 71.
- Kells, Book of, ii. 148—monastery of, 148—takes position of Hy, 262.
- Kelso, monastery founded, ii. 326.
- Kenneth MacAlpin, king of Scottish Dalriada and Pictland, i. 108—his title, the 'Hardy,' 127—expels Danes, 129—contests and death, 130.
- Kenneth II. King of Alban, accession, 165—death, 167—founds church of Brechin, ii. 273.
- Kenneth III. Gryme, King of Alban, i. 169, 170.
- Kentigern, St, i. 77, 79—notices of lives, ii. 49—date and incidents of, 50—his birth, 52-55—taken charge of by St Serf, 56—his first miracle, 57—life at Culross, 58—leaves for Glasgu, 59—elected and consecrated Bishop of, 60—visits Rome, 62—sanctity and austerities, 63—dress and habits of life, 64—miracles, 67—contest with secular power, 68—miracle ensuing, 69—leaves Glasgu for Wales, 71—assigned Llanancarvan, 72—a boar recommends St Asaph as his seat, 72—his success, 73—service of praise, 76—miracles, 77—supposed visit to Rome, 78—recalled to Glasgu, 79—receives the homage of King of Cumbria, 80—missionary labours and success, miracle of the ring and the fish, 83—visit of St Columba, 84—death, 87.
- Kilda, St, island of, discovered, ii. 207.
- Kildare, founded by St Brigit, ii. 131.
- Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, birth-place of St Patrick, ii. 106.
- Kilrymont, St Andrews.
- Kilwinning, monastery founded, ii. 329.
- Kimboath, King of Ireland, i. 302.
- Kinloss, monastery founded, ii. 329.
- Knights Templar, ii. 330.
- Knights of St John, ii. 330.
- Knows, Sir William, Preceptor of Torphichen, ii. 330.
- LAISREN, Abbot of Hy, ii. 225.
- Languoreth, wife of Rhydderch, ii. 81—her infidelity, 83.
- Lanigan, Dr, on Culdees, ii. 276.
- Laoghaire, Ardri of Ireland, i. 311; ii. 111—failure of Patrick to convert him, 114—his two daughters, 116.
- Laurentius, Bishop, ii. 224.
- Laws, Irish code of, i. 325.
- Lesmahagow, monastery founded, ii. 329.
- Letters, use of, by the Irish, i. 324.
- Leucophibia, a town in Galloway, ii. 18.
- Lex Colmucille, ii. 260.
- Lia Fail, stone of destiny, i. 50, 96, 285—its history, 285.
- Lindisfarne, monastery of, ii. 242.
- Lismore, suppression of Culdees, ii. 321.
- Llanancarvan, assigned to Kentigern, ii. 72.
- Loarn, i. 58—chief of Dalriada Scots, 68.
- Lochlevin, suppression of Culdees, ii. 318.
- Lochru, brother of Caesair, i. 281.
- Lochru, Laoghaire's, chief of Magi, ii. 112.
- Lollius, Urbicus, i. 11, 12.
- London, built by Brutus, i. 33.
- Loth, King of Lothian, i. 77.
- Lothian, cession of, i. 167—annexation, 175—homage for, 241.
- Lucius, King of the Britons, ii. 3, 4.
- Lugud Clodus, a cleric, ii. 176.
- Lulach, i. 212.
- Lupus, St, ii. 42.
- MADAIN MUINREAMHAIR, sons of, erect two royal palaces in Ireland, 282.
- Mael, a Druid, ii. 116.
- Maelrubha, ii. 208.
- Magh Seanair, university of, i. 288.
- Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, invasion of Western Isles and treaty with Edgar, i. 255—his death in Ireland, 256—visits Hy, ii. 263.
- Malbride, a Scottish chief, i. 140.
- Malise of Strathene, i. 265.
- Malcolm, Bodhbhearg, King of Alban, i. 156, receives grant of Strathclyde, 157—death, 162.
- Malcolm II., King of Alban, accession, i. 170—invades Bernicia, 171—alliance with Orkney, 172—second invasion of Bernicia, annexes Lothian, 175—interview with Cnut, 176—death, 177.
- Malcolm, last king of Strathclyde, i. 169.
- Malcolm Canmore, his accession, vol. i. 210, 210—his pedigree, 215—coronation, 216—first invasion of England, 219—reception of Eadgar Aetheling and retainers, second invasion of England, 225—second reception of the Aethelings, 227—marriage to

- Margaret, 228—submission to William, 233—invasion and incorporation of Moray, 237—third English invasion, 238—death of his son by first marriage, 239—fourth English invasion, 240—treaty with William Rufus, 241—renewed negotiations, 243—broken off, 244—last invasion of England and death, 244—character, 245.
- Malcolm, son of Prince Henry, acknowledged heir to King David, i. 268.
- Manann, i. 84.
- Margaret, Queen of Scotland, her first visit to, i. 220—her marriage to Malcolm Canmore, 228—her biography by Turgot, 229—231—her death, 247—her influence in the church, ii. 289—life by Turgot, 290—early life and marriage, 291—influence on her husband, 292—erects church of Dunfermline, and holds ecclesiastical councils, 294—reforms 295—298—restorations and foundations, 299.
- Martin, St, ii. 23.
- Mary, Virgin, worship of, ii. 209.
- Mary, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, i. 248.
- Matilda, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, i. 248.
- Matilda, first wife of King David, i. 260.
- Macbeth, Mormaor of Moravia, i. 196—his treachery, 202—his motives, 203—fictitious history, 203—Wyntoun's account, 204—extent of his kingdom and character, 205—the piety of himself and Queen, 206—defeat of Abbot of Dunkeld, 206—visit to Rome, 207—Earl Siward disputes his title and invades Alban, 209—battle at Scone and disastrous effects on Macbeth, 210—Malcolm invades Alban, defeats and slays Macbeth, 212.
- Mauchline, monastery founded, ii. 330.
- Meatae, i. 4, 14, 37.
- Medraut, i. 75.
- Melrose, monastery founded, ii. 327.
- Menevia, monastery of, ii. 93.
- Milchu, Miliuc, Michul, St Patrick's master, ii. 101—his suicide, 110.
- Milesians, invade and conquer Ireland, i. 296—subdued by the Attacotti, recover ascendancy, 304.
- Milesius, son of Bille, i. 45—founder of the Scottish dynasty in Ireland, 53—King of Spain, 285—visits Scythia, 291, and Egypt, where he marries Scota, 292—conquers Spain, 293—death, 294.
- Military orders, ii. 330.
- Moddan, Earl, invades Caithness, i. 197—defeat and death, 199.
- Modwena, St, ii. 36.
- Mollendinor, site of Kentigern's church, ii. 60.
- Monnanus, St, ii. 325.
- Month, barrier of, i. 6, 37.
- Monyfieth, suppression of Culdees, ii. 321.
- Moræl of Bamborough, i. 244.
- Moray, Bishopric created, ii. 300.
- Mordred, ii. 50.
- Morken, King of Cumbria, i. 75—conquers Arthur, 77; ii. 68—his unhappy fate, 70.
- Mortuath, three or five tuaths, i. 57.
- Moses, cures Gadelas of serpent's bite, i. 290.
- Mugint, St, ii. 37.
- Mungo, St. *See* Kentigern.
- Music, Celtic, i. 319, 324.
- Muthill, Keledei of, ii. 315.
- NAITAN, King of Pictland, i. 95—expels Columban clergy, 96; ii. 257, 259.
- Nemedius, of the race of Japhet, arrives in Ireland, i. 282—his death, 283.
- Nemedians in Ireland, i. 283—in Greece, 284.
- Nenual, eldest son of Fenius Farsa, i. 289.
- Ness, river, miracles at, ii. 166, 167.
- Newbattle, monastery founded, ii. 329.
- Niall of the nine hostages, i. 310.
- Ninian, St, ii. 11—notices of, 15—life by Ailred, 16—dedications to, 18—parentage, 19—visit to Rome, 20—to Tours, 23—returns to Britain, 26—builds a church of stone, 27—miracles, 29, mission to the Picts, 30—his staff, 32—death, 34—character, 38—40.
- Niul, younger son of Fenius Farsa, in Egypt, where he marries Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, i. 289—intimacy with Moses and Aaron, 290—disapproves of Pharaoh's policy, 291.
- Northumbrian church, ii. 236.
- Nuadha, first king of the Tuath de Durrans, i. 287.
- OCHA, battle of, i. 315.
- O'Donnell, Manus, life of Columba, ii. 143.
- Oggerstone, preceptory of Knights Templar, ii. 330.
- Ogham characters, i. 61.
- Olaf Trygoason, i. 192, 193.
- Olaves, Kings of Northumbria, i. 158—conflict with Eadmund, and conversion to Christianity, 159.
- Ollam Fodhla, king and legislator of Ireland, i. 299—institutes parliament of Tura, 301.
- Ossian, son of Finn, i. 309.
- Oswald, King, refugee at Hy, i. 86, his piety and ability, 88; ii. 227—recovers Bernicia, 228—sends for teachers from Hy, 229—slain by Penda, 231.
- Oswin, slain by Oswy, ii. 232.
- Oswy, King of Bernicia, i. 89; defeats and slays Penda, 90; death, 91; ii. 232, 233.
- PALLADIUS, St, mission of, ii. 41, 45—called Patricius, 44.
- Partholanians, i. 52.
- Partholanus, i. 282.
- Partick, ii. 88.
- Paschal cycle, ii. 25.

- Patrick, St, intercourse with an antediluvian, i. 52; founder of Christianity in Ireland, ii. 96; lives of, 97; confession of, 98—birth, captivity, 100—his escape and return home, 102—return to Ireland as a missionary, 103—his success, 104—epistle to Coroticus, 104—other lives, his birth and training, 106—lands in Leinster, 109—proceeds to Strangford Lough, reception by Dichu, 110—visits Ardri of Ireland, 111—contests with magi, 112—hymn, 113—visits Meath, 114—and Connaught, 115—returns to Ulster, 118—visits Munster, 119—founds Armagh, 120—visits Rome, 121—civil and ecclesiastical legislation, 122—Coroticus, 123—death, 124—resumé, 125, 128.
- Paul, St, in Britain, ii. 3.
- Paulinus, converts Bernicians, i. 86.
- Pelagius, ii. 6, 10.
- Penda, King of Mercia, i. 81—defeats Aedwin, 87—death, 90—his character by Bede, ii. 231—slain by Oswy, 233.
- Pentland, corruption of Pictland, i. 71.
- Percy an English Knight, i. 245.
- Pertnech. *See* Partick.
- Peter, St, patron saint of Scotland, ii. 268.
- Phœnicians, i. 1.
- Picts, origin of the name, i. 15—invade Roman settlements, 19—Teutonic, 35—legendary history, 41—Royal succession by female line, 43—Bede's account of origin, 44—of Galloway, 72—invade Roman province, 73.
- Pictland, early history unknown previous to time of St Columba, i. 83—commencement of monarchy and mode of election, 84—extent of territory, 85—King Brude and St Columba, 85—conflict with Bernicia, 86—accession of Talorcan, 91—Drust dethroned by Brude, 92—Egfrid's invasion, 92—battle of Nechtansmere, 93—flight of Bishop Trumwice, 94—accession of Naitan, 95—expels Columbian clergy, and conforms to Rome, 96—obscurity, 97—distracted state, 107.
- Pictish Chronicle, close of, i. 165.
- Poets, Irish, i. 315-317.
- Prosper of Aquitaine, his chronicle, ii. 41.
- Procopius, account of Britain, i. 70.
- RAGHNILD, wife of Arnfin, Earl of Orkney, i. 183—her crimes, 184.
- Redburgh, battle of, ode on, i. 201.
- Regulus, St, Bishop of St Andrews, ii. 308.
- Reilig Odhrain, cemetery at Hy, ii. 186.
- Rhydderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, i. 78—defeats the heathen, 79—recalls St Kentigern, ii. 78—does homage to him, 80—death, 88.
- Ri, king or head of a tribe, i. 56.
- Riaghail, St, of Loch-Derg, ii. 308.
- Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, ii. 310.
- Ronan, Easter controversialist, ii. 233.
- Rosnat, magnum monasterium, ii. 36, 37.
- Roxburgh, monastery founded, ii. 326.
- Rule, St, Regulus.
- SAINTS, orders of, in Ireland, ii. 137.
- Samaliath, inventor of cups for drinking, i. 282.
- Sandilands, Sir James, Preceptor of Torphichen, ii. 330.
- Saul, St Patrick's burial-place, ii. 124—church of, 174.
- Scone, capital of Pictland, i. 96, 218—introduction of Augustine monks, 303, 324.
- Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, wife of Niul, i. 289.
- Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, wife of Milesius, i. 292—heads Irish expedition, 295—her death, 296.
- Scotus, John Erigena, ii. 10.
- Scuthinus, St, ii. 138.
- Scots, origin of the term, i. 45—Celtic, 46, 54—Fordun's account, 49, 50—pride of race, 51—Irish account, 52-54—civilization of, in Ireland, 59.
- Seghene, Abbot of Hy, ii. 225.
- Senchus Mor, i. 311; ii. 122.
- Serf, St, ii. 41—founds institution at Lochleven, 47—miracles, 48—receives St Kentigern, 55.
- Servanus. *See* Serf.
- Severus, Emperor, i. 12—his conquests, 13—his death at York, 14.
- Severus Sulpicius, St, ii. 25.
- Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, i. 140.
- Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, i. 186—extent of his power, 187—contest with Godred, 188, 189—defeats two Scottish Earls, 190—embraces Christianity, 192—death, 194.
- Simon Breac, subdues Ireland, i. 50.
- Sithean Mor, fairy mount, ii. 188.
- Siward, Earl of Northumbria, i. 210.
- Skreen, in Co. Meath, ii. 174.
- Slemish, scene of St Patrick's captivity, ii. 101.
- Soul's Seat, monastery founded, ii. 330.
- Standard, battle of, i. 266.
- St Andrews, origin of church of, ii. 308—Keledei of, 310—resent change into canons regular, 311.
- St Mary's Isle, monastery founded, ii. 330.
- Stephen, King of England, i. 263—conference with King David, 264.
- Strathcarron, battle of, i. 80.
- Strathclyde, kingdom of, i. 78—civilization of, 81—succession of, passes to Donald, and granted to Malcolm, 81—later history, 82—relations with Alban, 146—incorporated with Alban, 161.
- Suibhne, Abbot of Hy, ii. 232.
- Sybillia, wife of King Alexander, i. 259; ii. 304.

- TACITUS, historian of Agricola, i. 3.
 Taitlen, relics of Columba removed to, ii. 260.
 Tanist, successor to Ri, i. 57.
 Taprain law, ii. 54.
 Tara, capital of Simon Breac, i. 50—parliament of, 301, 304—massacre at, 308—palace of, ii. 112.
 Tay, Loch, monastery founded on island in, ii. 304-324.
 Tempul-Ronaig, church of, ii. 185.
 Ternan, St, ii. 41—disciple of Palladius, 44—life, labours, and miracles, 46.
 Thaney, mother of Kentigern, ii. 52.
 Theodosius, restores North Britain to the empire, i. 19.
 Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney, i. 183.
 Thorfinn, the mighty, Earl of Orkney, his appearance and character, i. 194—rupture with Alban, 196—defeats Duncan and Earl Moddan, 197-200—defeats Rognwald, 201—his death, 202—visit to Rome, 207, ii. 274.
 Tighermas, King of Ireland introduces idolatry, i. 298.
 Tighernac, St, ii. 37.
 Torpichen, Preceptory of Knights of St John, ii. 330.
 Tuath, territory of a tribe, i. 57.
 Tuathal, King of Ireland, i. 304.
 Tuath de Danans, i. 52—immigrants from north of Europe, 55—civilisation, 60—descendants of Jobbath, their skill in enchantment, 284—leave Greece for Denmark, 285—land in Scotland, leave and conquer Ireland, 286.
 Tuathal mac Artguso, Abbot of Dunkeld, first Bishop of Fortrenn, ii. 262.
 Tuda, successor to Colman, ii. 235.
 Tudvallis King, ii. 28.
 Tunglan, monastery founded, ii. 330.
 Turgot, confessor to Queen Margaret, i. 279—biography of St Margaret, ii. 290—appointed Bishop of St Andrews, 300—ecclesiastical disputes, 302.
 WALES, Church of, ii. 89.
 Walter de Espec, i. 266.
 Werk Castle, siege of, i. 266.
 Whithern, (Futerna), ii. 36—monastery founded, 329.
 Wilfrid, Bishop, ii. 233, 246.
 William the Conqueror, i. 222—invades Scotland, 232—his success, 233—settlement of Northumbria, 236—his death, 239.
 William Rufus, his accession, i. 240—treaty with Malcolm, 241—annexes southern portion of Strathclyde, 242—builds castle of Carlisle, 243—treaty with Malcolm unfulfilled, 244.
 Wimund, a monk, i. 267.
 UCHTRED, Earl of Northumbria defeats Albanich, i. 172.
 Urquhart, monastery founded, ii. 324.
 VALENTIA, name given by Theodosius to Scotland south of the Firth, i. 20.
 Vecturions, i. 19, 37.
 Vortigern, i. 71.
 YCOLMKILL. *See* Hy.

END OF VOL. II.



CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAM PATERSON,

14 CLYDE STREET, EDINBURGH.

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAM PATERSON,

14 CLYDE STREET, EDINBURGH.

AMERICAN NOVELS. See page 3 of Cover.

ANECDOTES, SCOTTISH, ENGLISH, AND IRISH. See "Nuggets for Travellers," page 12.

ARNOLD (Thomas), HISTORY OF THE CROSS OF EDINBURGH, commonly called "THE MERCAT CROSS." *Illustrated with woodcuts*, fcap. 8vo, boards, 1s. 6d.

"A beautiful little volume."—*Daily Review*.

AYRSHIRE—THE CASTLES AND MANSIONS OF AYRSHIRE, illustrated in seventy views, with Historical and Descriptive Accounts by A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. Scot., impl. 4to, cloth extra, £5, 5s.

"The photographs illustrating 'The Castles and Mansions of Ayrshire' are seventy in number, and finished, each and all of them, with wonderful artistic care and distinctness, by Messrs Annan, of this city, fully answering, indeed, the design of presenting, in an accessible form, views of the chief inhabited residences within the county. The letterpress, by Mr A. H. Millar, accompanying each plate, is also everything that could be desired—brief, yet the reverse of superficial; business-like, but never dry; and on the whole most accurate."—*Glasgow Herald*.

BIRTHDAY PRAYER AND ANSWER REMEMBRANCER.

Very tastefully printed. The Prayer in Red and the Answer in Black, ruled throughout, with red border lines; and blank pages for Autographs or Records of Birthdays, square 12mo, cloth extra, gilt, 2s. 6d.

BURGHES OF SCOTLAND—RECORDS OF THE CONVENTION OF THE ROYAL BURGHES OF SCOTLAND, with Extracts from other Records relating to the Affairs of the Burghes of Scotland, A.D. 1295 to A.D. 1711, edited by Dr J. D. MARWICK, 4 vols. 4to, cloth, £4, 12s.

BURNS (Robert), COMPLETE WORKS IN PROSE AND VERSE. The "Edinburgh" Edition, edited by W. SCOTT DOUGLAS, with Explanatory Notes and Glossary, illustrated with portraits, woodcuts, etc., 6 vols. 8vo, cloth, £2, 5s.

"Without being unfair to previous collections of the Poet's Works, we cannot recall any which can for a moment be compared in magnificence to that which has been published in six volumes by Mr Paterson of Edinburgh, under the supervision of Mr Scott Douglas. It is, if we may say so, the completest of the many 'Complete Editions' of Burns's Works."—*Times*.

BURNS (Robert), THE POETICAL WORKS OF, Chronologically arranged with Notes, Glossary, and Index, *portrait and plates*, 3 vols. fcap. 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt tops, 6s.

Also in calf extra, gilt tops.

Also in half calf, gilt, marbled edges.

The complete text of the "Illustrated Library Edition," with a selection from the notes. A charming little edition.

"Nobody could possibly wish to have a handier and more reliable edition of Burns than this, and the notes will be found to be of the greatest possible interest and value."—*Glasgow W. Citizen*.

BURNS (Robert), A SUMMARY OF HIS CAREER AND GENIUS, by John Nichol, LL.D., 8vo, sewed, 3s. 6d.

BURNS (Robert), POETICAL WORKS, 1 vol. fcap. 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt edges, 3s. 6d.

BURT (Captain), LETTERS FROM THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND (1754), with an Introduction by R. JAMIESON, F.S.A., and the History of Donald the Hammerer, from an Authentic Account of the Family of Invernahyle, a MS. communicated by SIR WALTER SCOTT, with facsimiles of all the Original Engravings, 2 vols. post 8vo, cloth, 21s.

CAMPBELL (Dr Jas.), BALMERINO AND ITS ABBEY, a Parochial History, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, *frontispiece and facsimile*, crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d.

CONVENTION OF ROYAL BURGHS RECORDS. See "Burghs," page 1.

DRYDEN (JOHN).

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF JOHN DRYDEN, Illustrated with Notes, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory, and a Life of the Author, by Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart., revised and corrected by George Saintsbury. *Portrait and plates*, 18 vols. 8vo, cloth. Vols. I. to XII. now ready, 10s. 6d. each (vol. 8, 12s. 6d.).

LARGE PAPER EDITION (only 108 copies printed), 21s per vol. (vol. 8, 25s.).

No volumes of either issue can be sold separately.

The above is no mere reprint of Scott's edition. While retaining all Sir Walter's work, the Editor has revised and annotated the whole, presenting to the reader in his prefaces and notes the result of all the modern researches into the life and work of Dryden, whose name in English literature is second only to those of Shakespeare and Milton.

"As we have more than once stated, this is perhaps the most perfect, and certainly the most carefully produced edition of the great English classic that has appeared in modern times, or for that matter at any time."—*Glasgow Weekly Chronicle*.

"We dismiss these volumes with the confession that Dryden's neglected and forgotten plays, thus carefully annotated and edited by Mr Saintsbury, do really grow upon us as they are read. We see again the life and action of the piece, the crowded and bustling stage, the wild gallants, and the damsels quite as wild, whom they court."—*Saturday Review*.

"New facts in regard to Dryden have been brought to light; new readings of some of his plays have been suggested or verified, and this should be brought to the knowledge of modern readers. No man is better fitted for such a work as this than Mr George Saintsbury. He has undertaken it in a fair spirit, and he has done it well."—*Scotsman*.

"Mr Paterson's great re-issue of Scott's 'Dryden' is steadily proceeding towards completion. . . . Mr Saintsbury's notes are, as usual, adequate, scholarly, and judicious."—*Pall Mall Gazette* (on vols. xi. and xii.).

"There can be no question that in respect of masterly editing and beauty of form this edition of Dryden's works is likely to supersede all previous issues."—*Birmingham Daily Gazette*.

"This admirable edition—splendid in type, in paper, and in all respects a worthy monument to the great English poet."—*Vanity Fair*.

EDINBURGH BOOKS.

HISTORY OF THE CROSS OF EDINBURGH. See "Arnold," page 1.

THE HEART OF MIDLOTHIAN. See Scott's "Waverley Novels," page 2 of Cover.

OLD EDINBURGH BEAUX AND BELLES, faithfully presented to the reader in coloured prints, with the Story of How they Walked, Dressed, and Behaved Themselves, told in the letterpress, which is adorned with quaint cuts, post 8vo, stiff covers, 1s.

OLD EDINBURGH PEDLARS, BEGGARS, AND CRIMINALS, with some other odd characters, their effigies in colour, and their characters in type, the whole adorned with headpieces and tailpieces, curiously cut in wood, post 8vo, stiff covers, 1s.

"The volumes have been got up to resemble an old chap-book of a superior type. The quaint character of the books and of their contents makes them worth preservation as well as perusal."—*Inverness Courier*.

FORBES-LEITH (Rev. William), THE SCOTS MEN-AT-ARMS AND LIFE-GUARDS IN FRANCE, from their Formation until their final Dissolution, A.D. 1418-1830. The Work is illustrated throughout with 35 *very highly-finished etchings* by Major H. De Grandmaison, displaying the Costumes of the Scots Guards at different periods, interesting historical scenes in which they took a part, &c., &c. Also 8 *full-page Facsimiles*. 2 vols, cloth gilt.

The Impression has been limited to 312 Copies, each numbered as follows:—

1 to 45, with Proofs in three states,	£6 6 0
46 to 312, with Plates, on Holland Paper,	3 13 6

"QUENTIN DURWARD'S CORPS."

"The history of the long and faithful service of France by the unfailingly recruited band of Scottish soldiers, is told by Mr Forbes-Leith with singular clearness and skill. We have seldom found conciseness of style so nicely adjusted to amplitude of material. Extensive and painstaking research is implied by the subject, and its results are set before the reader with brevity, indeed, but without abruptness, in a narrative which has a peculiar charm of romance and chivalry."—*Spectator*.

FORBES-LEITH (Rev. W.), LIFE OF ST MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, by TURGOT, Bishop of St Andrews, translated from the Latin by William Forbes-Leith, S.J., *printed on hand-made paper, with six illustrations on INDIA PAPER*, square 8vo, cloth, 5s.

Another edition on plain paper, sq. 12mo, cloth, price 1s.

“The form and external appearance of the work are quite as worthy of praise as the contents are.”—*Aberdeen Journal*.

“A model of the book-maker’s art.”—*Dunfermline Journal*.

FORBES-LEITH (Rev. W.), NARRATIVES OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS UNDER MARY STUART AND JAMES VI., now first printed from the original Manuscripts in the secret Archives of the Vatican and other collections, *portrait of Bishop Leslie*, 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

“Students of Scottish history will congratulate themselves upon the appearance of these records. . . . For the industry with which these original materials have been collected and rendered available, we have nothing but grateful appreciation to express.”—*Saturday Review*.

“They (the original reports, &c., in the volume) contribute materially to our information on the religious movements in the country during the half century which followed the downfall of the Old Kirk.”—*Scotsman*.

GEIKIE (Walter), ETCHINGS ILLUSTRATIVE OF SCOTTISH CHARACTER AND SCENERY, by the late WALTER GEIKIE, R.S.A. Sir THOMAS DICK LAUDER’S Edition, with additional plates and letterpress, 92 plates beautifully printed on Dutch hand-made Paper (only 366 copies printed), 4to, cloth extra, £3, 3s.

50 Copies with Proof Impressions of the plates on China Paper, £5, 5s.

“A magnificent reprint . . . in every respect an artistic quarto volume—artistic in respect of paper, printing, and binding, as well as in illustration.”—*Glasgow Herald*.

“A rare treat for lovers of genuine Scottish life of the olden time.”—*Aberdeen Gazette*.

GRANT (General), THE LIFE OF GENERAL GRANT, his Battles and Victories in War and Peace, *with fine Portrait*, crown 8vo, sewed, 1s.

“A capital account of the career of the wonderful soldier who saved the Union.”—*Sheffield Independent*.

“A graphic picture of the principal events in Grant’s career.”—*Literary World*.

GUIDE BOOKS. See page 3 of Cover.

GIL BLAS.

THE ADVENTURES OF GIL BLAS OF SANTILLANA, rendered into English by HENRI VAN LAUN, with Introductory Notice, Life of Le Sage, and Notes, *illustrated with an entirely new set of Etchings prepared specially for this Edition by M. AD. LALAUZE of Paris, executed in his most finished style*, 3 vols. medium 8vo, cloth gilt, £3, 3s.

LARGE PAPER—with Proofs on China paper (120 copies printed), royal 8vo, £6, 6s.

WHATMAN HAND-MADE PAPER—with Proofs on China paper, and an extra set of Plates. *Artist's Proofs on Japan paper*—(75 copies printed) imperial 8vo, £10, 10s.

NOTE.—*A few sets of Plates, separate from the Letterpress, can be supplied. Prices on application.*

“Mr Van Laun has manifested all the qualifications of an admirable translator in patient study, thorough knowledge, and excellent judgment. . . . A brief but charming biography of Lesage is given, with the present translation. . . . The adventures of Gil Blas are too familiar to the reading world to require notice here. Who has not enjoyed the whirl and change of the lively, witty, philosophic, naughty, kind-hearted hero's fortunes, who does not remember being enthralled in youthful days by his perils, his alternate grandeur and poverty, his innumerable love affairs, interwoven with the equally thrilling experiences of the friends he encounters.”—*Morning Post*.

“Mr Van Laun's translation of ‘Gil Blas’ may justly claim to be the very best edition ever published in English. The style is vivacious and sparkling; the language clear, limpid, and forcibly expressive.”—*The Daily Chronicle*.

“There can be only one opinion as to the fidelity of Mr Van Laun's rendering, the interest of his introductory notice, and the value of his annotations. . . . But Mr Van Laun has brought to his task so much zeal, and so thorough a knowledge of the French language, he has profited so largely by the labours of his predecessors (whose readings as he tells us, when they have appeared to him incapable of amendment, he has frankly adopted), that we have now as good a translation of ‘Gil Blas’ as we are likely to obtain, and the last any publisher is likely to bring out.”—*The Spectator*.

“We have seldom seen more graceful illustrations than the twenty-one plates by M. Lalauze, which adorn the edition. Mr Van Laun's translation reads easily, and we cannot better illustrate his flowing style, than by quoting these passages,” &c., &c.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

“The work is a beautiful specimen of the typographical art, and the numerous etchings by M. Lalauze are full of careful detail. Mr Van Laun has done his work in a very thorough manner. His version of ‘Gil Blas’ is easy in style, the colloquial idiom being employed occasionally, but not too frequently, and with good effect.”—*The Globe*.

"Mr Henri Van Laun's endowments for this, his latest 'restoration,' admit of no question. They have been thoroughly tested by his labours in similar fields, and they have stood the test without flinching."—*Topical Times*.

"The translation of Mr Henri Van Laun leaves nothing to be desired."—*The Leeds Mercury*.

"Mr Van Laun is a man whom the reader may trust. He is at once a French scholar and a bibliographer. . . . In his introductory notice the author gives an interesting bibliography of the work. . . . Without reflecting on the work of his predecessors, to some of whom Mr Van Laun is himself indebted, we may assert the magnificent volumes just published by Mr William Paterson, stand unique and unrivalled. The style of the author is pure and concise, and, what is a most difficult matter to accomplish in the translation of so idiomatic a language, he is easily to be understood."—*Bookseller*.

"The volumes are large but not unwieldy octavos, clad in plain crimson linen. The margins are ample without being excessive, and the whole book as a book is a model of a library edition."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"This edition will be prized in all libraries, for it is in every respect valuable."—*The Scotsman*.

HALIBURTON (Hugh), HORACE IN HOMESPUN: a Series of Scottish Pastorals, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossary, by J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., and a series of very amusing illustrations, in small 4to, printed on thick paper, gilt, 6s.

"If 'Hugh Haliburton, shepherd of the Ochils,' has not read his Horace, then the soul of the Venusian has migrated into the body of a Perthshire man, after contriving somehow to escape the draught of the Lethe."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"The most charming of all recent volumes of Scottish Poetry."—*The Bailie*.

"Hughie's humour is his own; and it finds, like his pathos and the strokes with which he draws the Ochil scenery and characters, its natural and forcible expression in his homely 'mother tongue.'"—*Scotsman*.

"The volume is splendidly got up in very good taste."—*Ayr Observer*.

I loathe all books. I hate to see
The world and men through others' eyes;
My own are good enough for me.
These scribbling fellows I despise,
They bore me.

I used to try to read a bit,
But, when I did, a sleepy fit
Came o'er me.

Yet here I sit with pensive look,
Filling my pipe with fragrant loads,
Gazing in rapture at a book!
A free translation of the Odes
Of Horace.

The Century.

HALKETT AND LAING.

A DICTIONARY OF THE ANONYMOUS AND PSEUDONYMOUS LITERATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, including the works of Foreigners written in or translated into the English Language, by the late SAMUEL HALKETT, Esq., Keeper of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, edited, with large additions, by Rev. JOHN LAING, Librarian of the New College, Edinburgh, 3 vols. thick medium 8vo, cloth, Vols. I. to III. ready (Vol. IV., containing completion of work and full indices, shortly), price 42s. each.

On Large Paper (only 50 copies printed), 4to, price £4, 4s. each vol.

This important bibliographical work will give the names of the Authors of upwards of Twenty Thousand books originally published anonymously. It will be invaluable to book collectors and to all public libraries.

"It is one of the indispensables, which will range with Watt and Lowndes, Brunet and Allibone, in every literary workshop, and which should find an honoured place in every public or private library."—*The Bookseller*.

"An indispensable book in every library."—*Bibliographer*.

"Librarians and students of English literature have long waited for such an index as this, but their waiting has not been in vain."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

HARDY (Arthur Sherburne), BUT YET A WOMAN: A Novel, post 8vo, cloth, gilt top, 2s. Also in ornamental cover 1s.

One of the most popular and interesting modern novels.

HAWTHORNE'S (Nathaniel) Works, including The House of the Seven Gables—The Scarlet Letter—Mosses from an Old Manse—The New Adam and Eve, etc.—Twice-Told Tales—Legends of the Province House, etc.—The Snow-Image, and other "Twice-Told Tales"—Our Old Home: A Series of English Sketches—Tanglewood Tales—The Blithedale Romance—True Stories from History and Biography—A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys, 12 vols., bound in 6, fcap. 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, very neat, in paper case, £1, 1s.

The handiest edition published.

Also in 12 separate volumes, price in cloth, gilt tops, 2s. per volume, and in ornamental paper covers, 1s. per vol.

HEATLEY (G. S., M.R.C.V.S.), EVERY MAN HIS OWN VET.

1. The Horse: His Diseases, and How to Cure Them.
2. The Dog, do., do.
3. The Sheep, do., do.
4. The Ox and Cow, do., do.
5. Veterinary Medicines, and How to Apply Them.

Each division bound in strong cloth boards, price 1s. 6d.

The object of the Author has been to put within the reach of every one who owns domestic animals a thoroughly reliable guide to the cure and treatment of disease.

HOLMES (Oliver Wendell), THE AUTOCRAT, PROFESSOR, AND POET AT THE BREAKFAST-TABLE, 3 vols. fcap. 8vo, cloth gilt, gilt top, very neat, in paper case, 6s.

Also in 3 vols. French red morocco, gilt edges, 10s. 6d.

See "New England Novels," p. 3 of Cover.

HUNTER (William, F.S.A. Scot.), BIGGAR AND THE HOUSE OF FLEMING, an Account of the Biggar District, Archæological, Historical, and Biographical, with *numerous fine engravings*, SECOND EDITION, LARGE PAPER, thick 4to, cloth, 63s.

INNES (Cosmo), SKETCHES OF EARLY SCOTTISH HISTORY, and Social Progress—Church Organisation—the University—Home Life—Family History, with an Appendix, Glossary, and Index, 8vo, cloth, 24s.

INNES (Cosmo), Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh, Memoir of, small 4to, cloth, 3s. 6d.

"A pleasantly written biographical sketch of this distinguished Archæologist."—*Scotsman*.

IRVING (Washington), THE SKETCH BOOK, including CHRISTMAS, etc., 12mo, cloth gilt, gilt top, 3s.

Also in French red morocco, gilt edges, 2 vols., 6s.

See "New England Novels," page 3 of Cover.

JERNINGHAM (Hubert E. H.), NORHAM CASTLE, Author of "Life in a French Chateau," "To and from Constantinople," and Translator of the Lives of "Sixtus V.," by Baron Hübner, and "Lord Byron," by Countess Guiccioli, *illustrated with plan, plates in sepia, &c.*, SECOND EDITION, 8vo, cloth extra, 6s.

LOTHIANS (The), THE CASTLES AND MANSIONS OF THE LOTHIANS, illustrated in One Hundred and Three Views, with Historical and Descriptive Accounts, by JOHN SMALL, M.A., 2 vols. folio, cloth, £6, 6s.

“On all grounds, then, whether pictorially, as affording views of the houses in the Lothians, or historically, as giving an account of those houses, and of the families that have inhabited them, or architecturally, the book must be praised. It is a valuable contribution to a kind of literature which has always been of permanent value.”—*Scotsman*.

LINDSAY (Sir David, of the Mount), THE POETICAL WORKS OF. Edited, with Life, Notes, and Glossary, by the late DAVID LAING, LL.D., 2 vols. 12mo, cloth, 13s.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. See “Stewart (Mary).”

MOLIERE—COMPLETE DRAMATIC WORKS OF. Translated and edited by HENRI VAN LAUN, with Memoir, Introductions, and Appendices, wherein are given the passages borrowed or adapted from Molière by English Dramatists, with Explanatory Notes. *Illustrated by a Portrait and thirty-three Etchings*, by M. AD. LALAUZE of Paris. *New and Cheap Edition complete*, 6 vols. crown 8vo, cloth, £2, 5s.

Also in half-French morocco, gilt tops.

“Not only the best translation in existence, but the best to be hoped. It is a direct and valuable contribution to European Scholarship.”—*Athenæum*.

“The high merit of this rendering is beyond all question, and the original matter wherewith it was accompanied, is worthy of the best commentators of Molière.”—*Examiner*.

MACDONALD (Rt. Hon. J. H. A., Q.C., Advocate), PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE CRIMINAL LAW OF SCOTLAND (SECOND EDITION), thick 8vo, cloth, 31s. 6d.

“An entirely new and carefully revised edition, in which the Law has been brought down to date, and the general Index much amplified.”

MACLAREN (Charles, F.R.S.E.), SKETCH OF THE GEOLOGY OF FIFE AND THE LOTHIANS, including detailed Descriptions of Arthur's Seat and Pentland Hills. SECOND EDITION, with *Numerous Cuts and Coloured Maps*, post 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d.

NAIRNE (Baroness), LIFE AND SONGS OF BARONESS NAIRNE, with a Memoir and Poems of Caroline Oliphant the younger, edited by the Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, LL.D., portrait and other illustrations, crown 8vo, cloth, neat, 3s. 6d.

NEW ENGLAND NOVELS. See page 3 of Cover.

NICHOL (John, LL.D.), ESSAY ON BURNS. See "Burns," p. 2.

"NUGGETS FOR TRAVELLERS." Scottish Jests and Anecdotes, collected by ROBERT CHAMBERS; English Jests and Anecdotes gathered from various sources; Irish Jests and Anecdotes collected from various sources.

Each volume square 12mo, very neatly bound, 1s.

PATERSON'S GUIDE BOOKS. See page 3 of Cover.

ROBERTSON (Keith), A KNAVE OF DIAMONDS, A Novel, crown 8vo, cloth, 6s.

"The climax is a fine piece of word-painting."—*Literary World*.

"The story is most realistically told."—*Athenæum*.

"The story is well told, and powerfully worked up."—*Guardian*.

ROBERTSON (Keith), THE SCARLET CORD. See "Seymour," page 13.

ROGERS (Rev. Charles, LL.D.), SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND FROM EARLY TO RECENT TIMES, vols. 1 and 2, thick 8vo, cloth, 36s.

Volume 3 completing the work will be ready shortly.

"Altogether these volumes will refresh the memories of Scotchmen, and tell Southerners a good deal they perhaps did not know before."—*Saturday Review*.

SCOTT (Sir Walter), WAVERLEY NOVELS. See page 2 of Cover.

SCOTTISH SONGS AND MUSIC—THE VOCAL MELODIES OF SCOTLAND, Symphonies and Accompaniments by FINLAY DUN and JOHN THOMPSON, complete in one handsome volume, royal 4to, cloth extra, gilt edges, 15s.

"Since the collection has been published complete in one volume, several copies have on different occasions been supplied for the use of Her Majesty and of the Royal Family."

SHAKESPEARE.

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE. The text of the first folio Edition, illustrated *with thirty-eight charming etchings* by M. MONZIES, from new designs by M. PILLE, and a faithful reproduction of the DROESHOUT Portrait, head and tail pieces, beautifully printed on the finest paper, 8 vols. large post 8vo, cloth.

The various editions are as follows:—

- (No. 1.) 75 Copies, with the etchings in three states, Japan and China *before letters*, and Holland *after letters*, price per vol., 42s.
- (No. 2.) 75 Copies, with the etchings in two states, *all proofs before letters*, Japan and China, price per vol., 31s. 6d.
- (No. 3.) 75 Copies, with the etchings in two states, China and Holland, the China *before letters*, the Holland *after letters*, price per vol., 21s.

SPINK (William, S.S.C.), HANDBOOK OF PROCEDURE AND REDRESS AT LAW, comprising the Procedure of the Civil Courts of Scotland and in the House of Lords, Treatise on Actions and Diligence, and Procedure and Redress under several Statutes, Dictionary of Terms, &c., with Forms and Accounts of Costs for Professional and General Use, crown 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

“Mr Spink has produced a volume which has the merit of being concise and clearly written. The young lawyer will find it convenient to have it by his side, as in many cases it may answer all the purposes of more voluminous treatises.”—*Journal of Jurisprudence*.

“Its accuracy and completeness . . . are such as to prove that Mr Spink is a very competent law agent . . . it will be a very useful manual for students and clerks.”—*Glasgow Herald*.

SPINK (William, S.S.C.), NOTES FOR SETTLEMENT-MAKERS AND TRUSTEES, with Forms, crown 8vo, sewed, 1s.

SEYMOUR (Hamilton), and KEITH ROBERTSON, *THE SCARLET CORD: A Medical Love Story*, crown 8vo, ornamental cover, 1s.

"Lovers of fiction will not experience any disappointment in the perusal of it."—*Wakefield Press*.

"Written in a clever style, and sustains the interest from cover to cover."—*Cork Constitution*.

"The story is capitally told."—*Perthshire Constitution*.

STEWART (Rev. Alex., LL.D.), *NETHER-LOCHABER, the Natural History, Legends, and Folk-lore of the West Highlands, with beautiful frontispiece* by WHYMPER, crown 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

"We lay 'Nether-Lochaber' aside with much reluctance, for a more enjoyable book we have not read for many a day. The delicious breeze of the sea and the heather stirs its every page, and the whole bears the mark of a rare literary grace and elegance."—*Whitehall Review*.

"From beginning to end it has not one dreary page."—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

STEWART (Rev. Alex., LL.D.), *TWIXT BEN NEVIS AND GLENCOE, being a second series of, with a portrait of the Author*, crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 7s. 6d.

"A most delightful volume."—*Scotsman*.

"The naturalist and the lover of tradition will find much to please him in a book redolent of the heather of Lochaber and Glencoe."—*Athenæum*.

STEWART (Mary)—*THE HISTORY OF MARY STEWART, FROM THE MURDER OF RICCIO UNTIL HER FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND*, by CLAUDE NAU, her Secretary, now first printed from the Original Manuscripts, with Illustrative Papers from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and other Collections in Rome, edited, with Historical Preface, by the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J., *fac-similes*, 8vo, cloth, 18s.

"The 'History of Mary Stewart,' which Mr Stevenson now prints for the first time, he supposes, and, so far as we can judge, on sufficient grounds, to form a part of a narrative written at Chartley, very possibly at Mary's own dictation, by her French Secretary, Claude Nau. . . . The narrative is practically the work of Mary herself."—*Vanity Fair*.

STEWART (Mary)—*LIFE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS*, by AGNES M. STEWART, *illustrated with portraits*, thick post 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

STEWART (Mary)—MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AND HER MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL, by the Hon. COLIN LINDSAY, small 8vo, cloth, 2s.

STIRLING (Earl of)—REGISTER OF ROYAL LETTERS, relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia, from 1615 to 1635, with complete Indices, 2 vols. 4to, half-morocco (140 copies printed), £5, 5s.

Also on Large Paper (10 copies printed), £10, 10s.

TAYLOR (Jas., D.D.)—CURLING: THE ANCIENT SCOTTISH GAME, by JAMES TAYLOR, M.B., D.D., illustrated with numerous woodcuts by C. A. DOYLE, crown 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

“We would advise all keen curlers to procure a copy of this work, which is brimful of anecdotes, songs, and other information that ought to be possessed by all true curlers.”—*Curling Annual*.

“We commend Dr Taylor’s volume most warmly to our readers.”—*Ayr Observer*.

WANLISS (T. D.)—THE BARS TO BRITISH UNITY, OR A PLEA FOR NATIONAL SENTIMENT, crown 8vo, cloth, 4s. 6d.

Also in pamphlet form, 1s.

WINTHROP (Theodore), The Works of, including John Brent, Cecil Dreeme, Edwin Brothertoft, and Canoe and Saddle, 4 vols., cloth gilt, gilt tops, in paper case, 7s. 6d.

“‘John Brent’ is admirable—very exciting, very enthralling, full of the most stirring incidents, ably written, and altogether delightful.”—*Vanity Fair*.

“He (Winthrop) writes in a quaint vein and graphic style, but with much vigour and intensity. His descriptions of scenery, life, and character are vivid and striking; his plots are skillfully constructed; and the narratives abound with stirring adventures and thrilling incidents.”—*Liverpool Post*.

YOUNG (Archibald), THE ANGLER’S AND SKETCHER’S GUIDE TO SUTHERLAND, by ARCHIBALD YOUNG, Advocate, Commissioner of Scotch Salmon Fisheries, with map, SECOND EDITION, post 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d.

WORDSWORTH (WILLIAM).

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Chronologically arranged with all the Author's various readings, notes, etc., and many new MSS. hitherto unpublished, the whole edited by William Knight, LL.D., Secretary to the Wordsworth Society, with a Life of the Poet, Critical Essay and Complete Index, *illustrated with portrait and etchings by C. O. Murray, after original drawings made for this edition by John M'Whirter, A.R.A.*, in 9 vols. 8vo, cloth, Vols. I. to VIII. now ready, price 15s. each.

Also in Large Paper (120 copies printed) with proofs of the Illustrations in China and Holland Paper, price 28s per volume.

"With the eighth volume Professor Knight brings this most valuable edition of Wordsworth's poems to a conclusion,—an edition which contains not only the poems themselves and the various versions of them, but a whole *apparatus criticus* for understanding the allusions in them, and the circumstances under which they were written. When the ninth volume shall have given us Professor Knight's biography of Wordsworth, this goodly work will furnish an almost complete study of the poet and the poems. If the Wordsworth Society had existed for no other purpose than to assist Professor Knight in his work, it would have justified its existence better than such societies usually do justify their existence."—*Spectator* (on Volume 8).

"In undertaking the duty of preparing this edition, Professor Knight has earned the gratitude of all true Wordsworthians. . . . In every point requiring judgment, discrimination, and an intimate knowledge of his subject, Professor Knight seems to us to have done his work as well as it could be done."—*Modern Review*.

"The promises made in his (the Editor's) preface are large enough to satisfy the most exacting of Wordsworth's admirers; and it is but justice to say that these promises are being fulfilled to the letter."—*St James' Gazette*.

"It is well known among Wordsworthians that Dr Knight has taken extraordinary pains over his task, not shirking from very unusual researches and references to authorities and to zealous students of greater learning than fame. His edition grows in value as it proceeds, and will stand first when it is completed."—*Liverpool Daily Post*.

"The Edition reflects credit on the editor and publisher alike, the notes being valuable and clear, and the type, printing, paper, and general get up of the work, of the highest order of excellence."—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

"A very handsome, though not expensive edition."—*Daily News*.

Paterson's "Edinburgh Edition"

OF THE

Waverley Novels,

By SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

In 25 Vols., royal 18mo, cloth gilt, gilt tops, price TWO SHILLINGS per volume.

In Neat Ornamental Paper Boards, ONE SHILLING.

Each Novel, extending on an average to about 450 pages, is complete and unabridged, containing all Sir Walter's Prefaces, Notes, &c, which have hitherto been copyright.

A special feature of this new Edition is a Glossary, explaining the meaning of Scottish words, printed at the foot of each page where they occur; also new copyright notes.

The work is printed from a new readable type, on fine toned paper specially prepared.

The Binding is neat and tasteful, and the Volumes handsome in appearance.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"Paterson's edition strikes me as a particularly good one."—*World*.

"One of the most charming, as it is certainly one of the cheapest, ever seen.—*The Battle*."

"Possesses this advantage over many other editions — it is perfectly complete."—*Liverpool Courier*.

"An edition that no library need be ashamed of, nor any pocket afraid of."—*Literary World*.

The entire series will be published at monthly intervals in the following order:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. WAVERLEY; OR, 'TIS SIXTY YEARS SINCE. | 15. PEVERIL OF THE PEAK. |
| 2. GUY MANNERING; OR, THE ASTROLOGER. | 16. QUENTIN DURWARD. |
| 3. THE ANTIQUARY. | 17. ST RONAN'S WELL. |
| 4. ROB ROY. | 18. REDGAUNTLET. |
| 5. OLD MORTALITY. | 19. THE BETROTHED: A TALE OF THE CRUSADERS. |
| 6. { A LEGEND OF MONTROSE. | 20. THE TALISMAN: A TALE OF THE CRUSADERS. |
| 7. { THE BLACK DWARF. | 21. WOODSTOCK; OR, THE CAVALIER. |
| 7. THE HEART OF MIDLOTHIAN. | 22. THE FAIR MAID OF PERTH; OR, ST VALENTINE'S DAY. |
| 8. THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR. | 23. ANNE OF GEIERSTEIN. |
| 9. IVANHOE. | 24. COUNT ROBERT OF PARIS. |
| 10. THE MONASTERY. | 25. { THE SURGEON'S DAUGHTER. |
| 11. THE ABBOT. | { CASTLE DANGEROUS. |
| 12. KENILWORTH. | |
| 13. THE PIRATE. | |
| 14. THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL. | |

PATERSON'S GUIDE BOOKS.

UNITED KINGDOM SERIES.

UNITED KINGDOM, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

60 Coloured Maps and Plans, Roan Gilt, 10s. 6d.; 60 Maps and Plans, Cloth Gilt, 6s.

ENGLAND AND WALES. 45 Maps and Plans, Cloth Gilt, 4s.

LONDON AND THE S. AND E. COUNTIES. 23 Maps and Plans, Cloth Gilt, 2s.

MIDLAND AND NORTHERN COUNTIES AND WALES.

22 Maps and Plans, Cloth Gilt, 2s.

CONTINENTAL SERIES.

SWITZERLAND. With 10 Coloured Maps and Plans, 1s.

RHINE PROVINCES. With 10 Coloured Maps and Plans, 1s. 6d.

SCOTTISH SERIES.

SCOTLAND, 2s. 6d. and 1s.

EDINBURGH, 6d. „ 1s.

GLASGOW, &c., 6d. „ 1s.

TROSSACHS, &c., 6d. „ 1s.

LAND OF SCOTT, 6d.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND, 6d. „ 1s.

YOUNG'S GUIDE TO SUTHERLAND, 2s. 6d. (*See page 15.*)

PATERSON'S ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO THE EDINBURGH EXHIBITION.

Quarto, Orange Colours, Price THREEPENCE.

Has Portraits, Views, Plans, &c., and is the best value to the Visitor.

PATERSON'S NEW ENGLAND NOVELS.

Cloth, gilt top, 2s. each; ornamental paper cover, 1s. each.

CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING WORKS—

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

1. THE HOUSE OF SEVEN GABLES.
2. THE SCARLET LETTER.
9. MOSSES FROM AN OLD MANSE.
10. THE NEW ADAM AND EVE.
11. TWICE TOLD TALES.
12. LEGENDS OF THE PROVINCE HOUSE.
13. THE SNOW IMAGE.
17. OUR OLD HOME
18. TANGLEWOOD TALES.
20. BLITHEDALE ROMANCE.
21. TRUE STORIES.
22. WONDER BOOK.

A. S. HARDY.

14. BUT YET A WOMAN.

THEO. WINTHROP.

4. CECIL DREEME.
5. JOHN BRENT.
6. EDWIN BROTHERTOFT.
7. CANOE AND SADDLE.

O. W. HOLMES.

3. AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE.
8. PROFESSOR AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE.
19. POET AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE. (2s.)
23. A MORTAL ANTIPATHY.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

15. THE SKETCHBOOK.
16. CHRISTMAS.

In ordering, it is sufficient to note the number prefixed to the above titles.

Arcales 180

DA
775
K5
v.2

Keith, Duncan
A history of Scotland

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
