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I.

EVOLUTION IN RELATION TO SPECIES.

I PROPOSE, in this brief article, to submit some objections, of a strictly scientific or logical character, against the now fashionable hypothesis of evolution as an explanation of the origin and mystery of species in organic nature. I shall take occasion also to criticise the logic of its advocates. But I shall lay no stress upon its supposed sceptical tendencies for several reasons.

One of these reasons is, that, although infidels with their keen instinct everywhere welcome and defend extreme views on this subject as unanswerable arguments against the truth of the Holy Scriptures, yet all evolutionists are not sceptics. Some of them are firm believers in the Word of God, and declare that, as they understand it, they find nothing in it opposed to evolution. Some are clear and strong Theists, whether believers in revelation or not, strenuously maintaining that the forces of nature by which the processes of evolution are supposed to be carried on, are not in any sense the properties of matter, but the uniform action or energy of the Divine will. Others, whilst claiming that these forces are truly the properties of matter, escape the gulf of scepticism by holding also that God, by an original and personal act, endowed matter with these properties. Others still exclude the human soul entirely from the hypothesis, and claim that for its existence a creative act of God must be supposed. In

## II.

### HISTORY OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH.

**T**ERTULLIAN, in one of the last years of the second century, or the beginning of the third, wrote as follows :

“The various races of the Gaetulians, the extensive territories of the Moors, all the bounds of Spain, the different nations of the Gauls, and haunts of the Britons unvisited by the Romans, but subjugated to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and provinces, and islands, many to us unknown, and which we can scarcely enumerate, the name of Christ, who is already come, has reached, and now reigns there.”

An incidental remark of Origen, written thirty or forty years later, implies the same :

“When did Britain, previous to the coming of Christ, agree to worship the one God? When the Moors? When the whole world? Now, however, through the Church, all men call upon the God of Israel.”

In both passages, it is presumed to be a fact, which none dispute, that people in Britain had, at least as early as the beginning of the third century, adopted the religion of Christ.

No distinction existed then between England and Scotland, the whole island being called by the common name Britain. Roman dominion alone distinguished the southern part from the northern, which had not been reduced to the condition of a province. A boundary line running between the Clyde and Forth, included as Roman a great part of lowland Scotland. The people consisted of various nations occupying their separately named territories, and the Romans divided their conquest into provinces, some of which were precariously held ; but after the victories of Agricola, it could not be said that any nation, south of the Clyde and Forth, had been unvisited by the Romans. Accordingly, the remark of Tertullian asserts that Christianity had, in his time, been carried north of that line. Tertullian is prone to color highly, but there is no ground for charging him with falsehood ; and when he says that there were, when he wrote, parts of Britain subdued to Christ, which were not subject to Roman arms,

we can not take him to mean less than that some Christians were to be found among the independent Britons north of the Roman provinces.

By what means Christianity had been carried into Britain is nowhere directly stated by any reliable authority; but certain probabilities are obvious. More than a hundred years before the words of Tertullian were written, Roman armies had been maintained in the land. Dispersed over the country in camps, many of which have left their names to the towns that grew up around them, and under their protection, the men necessarily came into acquaintance with the natives. And some earnest Christians were, in the second century, soldiers in the Roman ranks. Britons were also enlisted in the army, and marched to other provinces, or to the capital. And those who returned brought, some of them evil no doubt, to their homes, but others may have learned Christ, and brought back with them the message of the Gospel. From the nature of the Christian impulse, conviction of the truth of Revelation, we may safely infer, did not remain silent, amidst a heathen people visibly suffering the penalties of a cruel religion. Much may have been done by humble pious soldiers, whose names were never known to history, because they labored not by public efforts, but quietly, each in conversation within his own little circle of acquaintances. Nor is it likely among the Christian men who, in various departments of business, must have visited, and resided for years in Britain, that not one devoted himself, of more set purpose, to the work of a missionary for the heathen populace. It was a period of great activity in missionary enterprise. And speaking for Christ was not confined to the clergy.

The British churches, in after-years, bore marks in doctrine and worship, as well as in their ministry, of having been planted in an age not far from that of the Apostles.

Within the bounds of what is now Scotland, it was the part lying south of the firths of Clyde and Forth which participated in that blessing, though not to the exclusion of some conversions further north, on the eastern coast. The victories of Agricola, in that part of the island, were made between the years 81 and 85 A.D., and Caracalla surrendered the territory as far south as the wall built by his father between the

Tyne and Solway, in the year 211. During that whole interval of one hundred and twenty-seven years was the south of Scotland under Roman rule. From the latter date we hear nothing further of Britain until the appearance of Carausius in the early years of Diocletian. But that successful naval leader, whom the senior emperors thought best to recognize as an associate in government, is himself the only theme of the history which touches the country in his days. In 293 Carausius was murdered by Allectus; and Allectus, at the end of three years, was defeated by Constantius Chlorus, to whom the administration in Britain belonged by the Diocletian scheme. Constantius died at York in 306, and was succeeded by his son Constantine.

The interval from Caracalla to Carausius, about seventy years, seems to have been entirely free from northern invasion, and that part of Scotland once subject to Rome remained in peace. Christianity planted there within the preceding one hundred and twenty-seven years best accounts for the long uninterrupted tranquillity within itself.

Meanwhile, the Scots, a people from Ireland, were securing settlement, by war or treaty, among the southern Hebrides, and on the adjoining mainland. From their subsequent relations to the Caledonians, it is probable that they came as allies, and either as allies or with the same common motive with the Picts, made invasions upon their southern neighbors. Some of their settlers were Christian, but in mass the people were heathen. The name Pict, as applied to the Caledonians, appears first in the address of Eumenius to the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, upon his victory over Allectus, in 296. And Eumenius distinctly applies it to the inhabitants of North Britain, before the time of Julius Cæsar.

The army which carried Constantine in victory to Rome, and first elevated the military banner of the cross, began its march from Britain. How much of a British element it contained we cannot say. But it indicates the convictions prevailing in the province that Constantius, who treated Christians with favor, was greatly beloved by the people. And if Constantine was not then himself a believer in Christ, he evinced his belief that the Christians were the stronger party, by attaching himself to their side; and the army under his

command consisted, beyond all doubt, largely of Christian men. Eight years later, at the council of Arles, there were three bishops from the British provinces south of the Tyne, that is, south of the wall of Hadrian, but none from the north. As long as connection with Rome existed, its ecclesiastical progress was communicated to the provinces. But Christians of the further north, cut off as foreign, by the receding of Roman dominion, and by frequently recurring wars, had few opportunities of obtaining relays of religious instruction from the imperial city, and had to remain fixed in what was originally taught them, or, at least, whatever new practices grew up among them were not dictated from that quarter.

Another hundred years of imperial rule was that of Emperors professing and protecting Christianity. Roman Britain was now fully recognized as a Christian country. The north, meanwhile, was harassed by incursions of Scots from Ireland, who formed settlements in the west, and joined the Picts in raids upon the Roman provinces. Strength was thereby added to the heathen element, while the Christian was greatly diminished and depressed. On the east, the ravages of Saxons had already begun. It was in that state of things that the first positive facts of Scottish Church history emerged into light.

On the extreme south of Galloway, which looks over the Irish sea, the coast is divided into three capes by the bays of Luce and of Wigton, and the Solway firth. The middle cape terminates at Barrow Head, in an embankment of sea-worn rocks, about two hundred feet high. North-east and north-west from that point, the rugged barrier girds the coast to the extent of many miles. The general level of the country lies at a corresponding elevation above the sea, and without possessing mountains, rises irregularly into a multitude of isolated hills. Up the eastern side, about three miles from the blunted apex of the cape, there is a break and depression in the rocky wall, forming a natural harbor of small extent, made safe by a little island lying nearly across its entrance. On that point of land, and in that little harbor of Whithorn, in or about the year 390, landed the first Christian missionary to Scotland known by name.

Ninian was a native of Christian Britain, probably of North

Wales, where the British churches were in a flourishing condition, according to the venerated practices established by their founders. At Rome he had sought a more complete education than his own country could afford. His residence in that city must have been in the pontificate of Damasus I., or of Syricius, or in part of both. The constitution of Constantine was then in full force, and the hierarchical system in union with the State, although still new, had already shaped itself into the likeness of the civil government. On his return through France, Ninian visited Martin, bishop of Tours, from whom he could not fail to hear more or other lessons on the merits of sacerdotal and monastic orders. He arrived at Whithorn, there can be little doubt, with ideas of Christianity formed, to some degree, upon what was to be found in Rome under Syricius; but nothing is credibly recorded of him at variance with the simple practice of earlier Christians. He built a house for residence and worship, and preached the Gospel there, as well as elsewhere in the country of the southern Picts. Many of that people had heard the message of grace before, but, ere Ninian's work closed, all of those living to the south of the mountains of Dumbartonshire, had, in the language of Bede, "forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth." The death of Ninian is assigned to 432. His successors, and the results of his labor, are lost to the view of history for many generations. But after the establishment of Romanism in Scotland, Galloway emerges as an Episcopal diocese, with its missionary Ninian a saint.

About the time of Ninian's death, Palladius arrived as an emissary of Rome, sent not to convert heathen, but to conform existing churches to the Romish model. For, as John of Fordun writes, the Scots in Scotland had long before been believers in Christ, but had as teachers of the faith, and administrators of the sacraments, only Presbyters and Monks, following the rite of the primitive Church. Also Prosper of Aquitaine, writing in 455, says that Palladius was sent to the Scots, who believed in Christ, to be their first bishop. The enterprise failed. Even had Palladius found the people willing, his time was too brief. He died at Fordun in Kincardineshire, about a year after his arrival. The record of the attempt, however, has proved to be not in vain. It consti-

tutes undesigned testimony to the fact that some Scots so far north were already Christian, before an emissary of Rome had reached them, and also that their Christianity was not included in the Romish system, nor in all respects conformable to it, and clearly, that in their Church they had no clergy whom Rome recognized as bishops. On this head the reasoning of Skene is, for him, singularly unsatisfactory.

Roman arms and civil authority were finally withdrawn from Britain about the year 410, while heathen Picts continued to harass the Christian population, from the north, and heathen Scots from Ireland, on the west. The latter seem to have been in quest chiefly of plunder and of slaves. In one of their raids, a youth of sixteen years of age, named Succat and Patricius, was carried off and sold, or assigned to an under-chieftain of the O'Neil, in the county Antrim, who put him to the task of tending cattle. By his own account—and it is hardly worth while to adduce anything said about him from any other quarter—Patrick was a native of Britain. And that he meant the island of Britain, and not Brittany, admits of no reasonable doubt. For he writes of his wish to go from Ireland to Britain, and even as far as to Gaul, in such a way as to imply that Gaul lay at the distance of a considerable journey beyond Britain. He also uses the plural of the name, *Britanniæ*, *Britanniis*, and *Britannias*, after the custom of the Romans when speaking of their provinces in Britain, and calls that country his *patria*. Moreover, it was not until late in the next century that the name Armorica began to give place to that of Brittany, on account of the great number of British, who, by that time, had taken refuge there from the domination of their Anglo-Saxon conquerors. It is a tradition consistently retained in Scotland that the place of Patrick's birth was on the Clyde, on the western frontier of the Roman province of Valentia, and within the native Christian kingdom of Strathclyde. He was the son of a Christian family, in a Christian community, who must have derived their religious instruction from a date earlier than Ninian. Born when Ninian was only beginning his work, seventy or eighty miles away, he was instructed from childhood in Christian doctrine. His father was a deacon, and his grandfather had been a Presbyter. The hardships of bondage intensified his

early religious impressions. After six years he escaped, and carried with him the purpose of returning to Ireland to preach the Gospel. About the time of Ninian's death, 432, he entered upon the execution of that design, and, with a few assistants, landed at the extremity of Lough Strangford, in the county Down. By the divine blessing upon the energy with which he prosecuted his mission, the Gospel was soon carried over that and the adjoining counties; and in a ministry of thirty, some say forty or more, years, churches were organized in all parts of Ireland, and pastors educated for them and ordained over them.

Christianity, as preached by Patrick, observed the primitive simple rites once common to all the churches, Roman as well as the rest, but longest retained in the old, out-of-the-way British churches, within which Patrick had received his education. He went to Ireland not to propagating a sacerdotal system, but, as he writes, from love to Christ and to the souls of men. Nor does he refer his commission to any human authority, but says that it was Christ the Lord who, in a vision, commanded him to go, and the admonition of the Holy Spirit which retained him in the work he had begun. He was a Presbyter when he went to Ireland, and his Episcopal rank, whatever that amounted to, he received in his own country. Those whom he ordained to the ministry he calls by the name clerics alone. They were local pastors laboring also as missionaries to extend the bounds of the Church each in his own neighborhood, while he was the head missionary over all. By fabrication of later writers they were all constituted bishops, in the Romish sense, to the number of three hundred and fifty. Of course, in so small a country as Ireland, their number declares what kind of bishops they were. At the southwestern extremity of Lough Strangford rise certain low grassy hills called downs. On one of those Patrick chose his first preaching station. It subsequently received the name Downpatrick. At Armagh, upon the "hill of willows," and on ground given by Daire, chief of that district, he erected the edifice in which he most frequently ministered himself. His saintship and other ecclesiastical honors were conferred at a long subsequent time, when papalism, in effort for universal dominion, deemed it expedient to adopt and claim credit for



all earlier Christian achievements, disguising them with its own colors and decorations.

While Patrick was pursuing his mission in Ireland, new settlements of heathen were forming in South Britain. Saxons had commenced their invasions before the Romans withdrew; but after the Romans had finally declared their inability to protect the province, they came in greater numbers, and with more success, and soon had their colonies planted along the whole eastern coast, from Kent to Northumberland, extending successively to the countries on the Tweed and Forth, while Norsemen had begun their invasions on the further north-east. By the middle of the sixth century, what is now Scotland was the residence of at least seven different national groups—heathen Norsemen on the north-east; heathen Saxons on the south-east; on the intervening part of the east coast, Scots, with at least an intermixture of Christians; Britons, partly Christian and partly heathen in the south centre; Christian Britons and Picts of Galloway and Ayrshire; Picts, purely heathen, in the Highlands of the north; and heathen Picts with Scots, partly Christian, in the south-west Highlands and Hebrides.

At that time, the kingdom in the south centre, namely, that of Strathclyde, still retained its relations to the Britons in the north-west of England and in Wales, and the same profession of Christianity. But the Church within its bounds had suffered greatly from neglect of instruction, and long-continued warfare with heathen on both north and east, and its clergy were disorganized. It was the period of intensest conflict between Britons and Saxons—the time of King Arthur and his legendary wars, belonging to the most successful resistance ever made by the Christian natives to the aggressions of their heathen invaders. And some of Arthur's battles seem to have been really fought for the kingdom of Strathclyde. Kentigern, more commonly called Mungo, a man of eminent gifts and piety, undertook to restore Church order and the activity of religious enterprise. Called by the king, the clergy, and Christian people, and ordained by a bishop from Ireland, he entered upon his work toward the middle of the sixth century. With long-sustained zeal he labored for the revival of Christianity within his own charge, and in aid of it

elsewhere, in opposition to encroaching idolatry, and encountering much resistance from it. A number of youth, under his instruction, followed the example of his life, and aided in the execution of his plans.

While heathenism, in some parts of Scotland, was still strong, and resisting the work of Kentigern from both north and east, the princes of Ireland were defenders of the Christian faith, and some of them its ministers. It was one of the latter who recompensed the favor of Scotland to his native land, by carrying the Gospel to her western Highlands. Columba, of royal descent in the family of O'Neil, was born in or about the year 520, at Gartan, in the county of Donegal. Early in life he attached himself to the service of the Church; but his youth was greatly divided between it and the political and military conflicts of parties. Finally, as he approached middle age, he broke away from all secular interests, to devote himself solely to the work of the Gospel. From the lofty headlands of his native county, far over the intervening ocean, could be seen the grayish-blue mountains of the southern Hebrides, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, and others. On some of those Columba knew that there were colonists from Ireland converted before leaving home, but now without religious instructors. Others were descended of people who had left Ireland before Christianity reached it. And far out of sight beyond, under the cold sky of the north, on islands and mainland, lay tribe after tribe of Picts in a state of utter heathenism. Columba resolved to set apart the remainder of his days to preaching the Gospel in those spiritually destitute regions. At about the age of forty-three he found himself in condition to carry his design into effect. As a Presbyter of the Irish Church, (a higher clerical rank he never bore,) and accompanied by twelve assistants, in the year 563, he set sail in his *currach*, and, after landing at several intermediate points, fixed his residence upon Iona.

That little island, about three miles in length, and one in width, lying off the south-western extremity of Mull, from which it is separated by a sound one mile and a half wide, and on every other side lashed by the free sweep of the Atlantic ocean, was for Columba conveniently situated within the territories acquired by his countrymen, and yet not far from the

borders of the Picts, whose conversion he had in view. At that point also, he was protected by the chief of a Scottish colony, who gave him the island, and was prepared to welcome his Christian instructions. There he and his assistants erecting for themselves such houses as they needed of the humble materials of wattles and earth, Columba set up one of those missionary schools, which formed a feature of the old Irish and Scottish Church. Monastic institutions they might be called, in some sense, namely, in that their inmates lived together in common, with some degree of ascetic self-denial, and in obedience to their own superior; but not monastic in the sense of assuming the regular vows of poverty, obedience, and celibacy, or in holding relations to the papacy by sanction or otherwise. It would misrepresent their character, therefore, to call them simply monasteries. Their so-called monks were, in reality, secular clergy educated for pastoral or mission work, as the superior or fraternity saw fit to direct, or themselves might choose; or they were students in course of preparation for such work. And yet they were not common secular priests. For, they always made the college house their home. Even those of them who married, and had other residences, did not surrender their place in the fraternity. A monastery was nothing until it had received sanction from the head of the Catholic Church; in the Scottish Church, the clerical fraternities were themselves the heads of authority. Originally missionary colleges distributed over the land, as convenience seemed to require, they became the seats of ecclesiastical government.

Such an institution was now set up in Iona, from which to direct the operations of missionary enterprise, and in which to prepare men to be pastors for the new congregations. Its authority was in itself, vested by consent, or election, chiefly in its principal, who took his orders from the Lord, whose Gospel he preached. As he was not a diocesan bishop, but a Presbyter of the Church of Ireland, and as all succeeding superiors of Iona, in that line, were Presbyters, and yet, conjointly with the brethren, sent out and installed those who were called bishops, of whom he was always allowed the precedence, the style of bishops concerned was plainly that of parochial pastors. No other could belong to that connection.

As the earliest theological college, in which pastors were educated, licensed, and ordained, Iona instituted the earliest form of government in the northern Scottish Church. For, there were yet no diocesan bishops, neither were there yet any presbyteries or synods to discharge the duties of general superintendence, in that quarter. In other words, it was a missionary church, and the missionary college was the source of its ecclesiastical authority, and determined the style of its government.

The Christian enterprise of Columba and his companions encountered little opposition among the Picts, and was cordially supported by their countrymen, the Scottish colonists of the Hebrides. Meanwhile, relations were established with Mungo and the Church of Strathclyde, giving and receiving encouragement and support. In the course of little more than thirty years, the western and central Highlands were brought under Christian instruction. And these added to Strathclyde and Galloway, and the eastern Scots, by whom Christianity had been professed from before the days of Palladius, constituted all Scotland, except the Saxon and Scandinavian settlements.

Columba died in Iona in 597. His burial-place continued long afterwards to be the most venerated cemetery in Scotland—the chosen resting-place of chiefs and kings. His little isle became an illustrious seat of Christian learning, from which went out ministers of the Gospel, with evangelical and educating influences over all Scotland, islands and mainland, and far beyond its bounds.

In 635, Oswald, heir of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, having been converted to Christianity during a residence of several years among the Scots, succeeded to the throne of his fathers. Earnestly desiring to have his subjects instructed in the Gospel, he applied to the Scottish Church for a missionary. Iona sent him Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation, who was received with high respect by both king and people. Aidan's progress was rapid and of enduring effect. Oswald gave him a residence not unlike that which he had left in the Highlands. Eight miles south of Berwick, at the foot of the seaward hills of Northumberland, and separated from them by a belt of water about two miles

broad, but at one place almost entirely withdrawn at low tide, lies the island of Lindisfarne. It is only seven miles in circumference, and contains a smaller proportion of arable land than Iona. There did Aidan erect his modest house of rough timber thatched with straw; and there other Scottish clergy came to his assistance, and younger men were educated for the ministry. Lindisfarne became another seat of Christian learning—an Iona for Northumberland, and out from it proceeded missionaries, preaching the Gospel in all directions through that kingdom. In the course of a few years they exceeded those bounds, and planted churches in the heart of Mercia, and as far south as the kingdom of the East Saxons.

But another missionary enterprise was, at the same time, advancing from the south. In the year when Columba died, 597, a party of Benedictine monks, with Augustine and Lawrence at their head, landed on the coast of Kent. They came directly from Rome, sent by Pope Gregory I. Ethelbert, king of Kent, influenced, it is said, by his queen, a Christian princess of the royal house of the Franks, received them favorably, and, after a short interval, professed his belief in their creed. His example was followed by his people, ten thousand of whom are said to have been baptized on the following Christmas. Canterbury was constituted an archbishopric, and Augustine its first incumbent. The plans of the Romish monks wrought prosperously. Proceeding northward, it was not long until they encountered the missionaries of Lindisfarne. On several points their teaching and observances were found to differ. In the controversy which arose, Lindisfarne, sustained from Iona, was ill-matched with Canterbury, backed by all the weight of Rome. Before the end of the seventh century the island school of Northumbria had passed entirely under Romish control, and separated from her original connection. Accordingly, the Scottish and old British Churches, in maintaining the integrity of their own doctrine, worship, and discipline, remained apart from those of the Anglo-Saxons.

Of the Scottish Churches the central authority, in the eighth century, was still Iona; and of the old British Churches that of Glasgow for the kingdom of Strathclyde, extending down the north-west of England to Wales. Other British

Churches were those of Wales and of Cornwall. The Scottish Churches proceeding from Iona were newer than the British, but of the same historic connection, differing in form of government and some practices, but agreeing in the orthodoxy of their faith. A primary concern in the Scottish Church was to provide adequate education for the ministry. A school was accordingly the centre of its operations. The work of the school consisted in the study of the Latin language, and especially of the Latin Bible, with the doctrines of Revelation, as then classified and defined, the practice of religious duties, observances of devotion, and the training necessary to the proper exercise of their ministerial functions. Their standard of doctrine was the Bible. Much time was devoted to copying it; and in the study of it help was obtained from such commentaries and summaries as their learned had prepared. In some of their practices they differed from other branches of the Catholic Church, as in their peculiar tonsure over the forepart of the head, their observance of Easter after the example, as they understood it, of the Apostle John, and, most of all, in that they worshipped neither saints nor images. In all matters the pastors of the congregations recognized no human authority superior to the head of their school at Iona. And the school, without possessing any right of primacy, could not fail to exercise a watchfulness over the ministerial conduct of the clergy. As the bounds of the Church extended, other schools were planted at different places, and constituted on the same plan. Such were those of Abernethy, St. Andrews, and Dunkeld.

Thus, the government of the early Scottish and Pictish Churches was neither Papal, Episcopal, nor Presbyterian, as those systems now stand, but collegiate, in which theological schools were the chief rulers. They educated the ministers, assigned them to their missionary or pastoral places, were the authorities consulted when difficulties arose, and the homes to which recourse could be had for rest, or consolation.

Saxon monks, in course of time, came among them, and effected some changes in externals, and especially among the Picts, and under favor of the Pictish king Nectan, in the beginning of the eighth century, introduced some of the Romish ideas and terms; but even there the effect was only tempo-

rary. In the southern Hebrides and the opposite and more southern mainland, where the Scots prevailed, Saxon innovators met with little favor, and no success, except in some indifferent matters, like the tonsure. The Scottish royal line continued to hold its separate seat of power at Dunstaffnage in Lorn, and defended the cause of Iona.

Early in the ninth century, the Norwegian Vikings appeared among the isles. Iona was plundered, and in successive invasions completely devastated. Subsequently it revived and continued long to be a highly venerated seat of Christian influences; but its great power in the Church was now divided with Ireland on one hand, and the Scottish mainland on the other, the principal part being removed to Dunkeld, on the opposite eastern side of Scotland. In 843, the king of Scots happened to be left the nearest heir to the Pictish throne, and removed his residence from Dunstaffnage to Scone, the capital of the Picts, near Perth, also on the eastern side of the thus united kingdom. For many ages the isles were ruled, and to some extent inhabited, by Norsemen. At first those invaders were heathen; but in course of time, Scottish missionaries and intercourse with the Christians among whom they lived, brought about the conversion of their settlers, who became Christians according to the instructions proceeding from Iona. Later immigrations from Norway brought men of Christian persuasion according to the type of Romanism planted in their native land by the successors of Anshar; but that was comparatively a small element of population, and created no discord in the religion of the country.

The Saxon settlers of England had become zealous Romanists, and made repeated attempts to introduce their opinions and practices among their neighbors of earlier Christian faith. The Scottish Church enjoyed no congenial alliance save with those of Ireland and of Strathclyde. Their cause was one—that of retaining, as best they could, the doctrine and observances of their own earlier times. In that state of exposure to proselytism from England, and successive invasions from the continent, great vigilance was demanded of the Scottish ministry to maintain their cause. Aid was furnished by the monarchy in its successive steps of growth, first by the union of the Scots and Picts under the Scottish crown, then by the

conquest of the Angles between the Forth and Tweed, and then by the succession of the Scottish King Duncan to the throne of Strathclyde, whereby Scotland was extended southward to the Solway, with a claim to British dominion beyond it. Norsemen still ruled in Caithness and the isles.

From the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh is a period of deep historical darkness in the Church of Scotland, in the course of which its purity may have suffered more than can now be ascertained. No important change, however, took place. For at the end of that interval all its characteristic features emerge the same as before. It is then that we find the Scottish clergy called Culdees, a word most likely of Celtic origin, meaning servants of God, which came into use among the common people, within the unhistorical period. It is not found in any writings of the preceding.

About the same time also certain changes began to be introduced, of a nature to discolor and obscure the past, as well as to transform the future of the Scottish Church. Soon after the annexation of Strathclyde, occurred the murder of King Duncan, and usurpation of the Government by Macbeth, in 1040. Malcolm Canmore, son of the murdered king, found refuge in England, and at the end of about sixteen years, aided by an English force, succeeded in recovering the throne, through a war, in which Macbeth was defeated and slain. A friendly feeling was thereby created in the Scottish royal family toward the Saxons of England, which evinced itself when, in the Norman Conquest, Edgar Atheling, heir of the royal Saxon line, with his household, received a home in the palace of Malcolm Canmore.

The Norman Conquest did not extend to Scotland, but its effects gave occasion, in that country, to some very important changes. Upon religion the change amounted to a revolution. Margaret, sister of the fugitive Saxon prince, became the wife of King Malcolm, and had much influence with him, through the respect in which he held her Christian character. A woman of sincere piety, with a degree of ecclesiastical learning uncommon in that day, and her thinking molded by the Romish Church, she was able to defend it before the majority of men by its traditional interpretation of Scripture. It had been her wish to enter a nunnery and spend her whole



life in devotion. And hardly was she persuaded to forego that purpose by the offer of a throne, and of what must have weighed more in the estimation of such a woman, the love of a brave, true-hearted, and generous man. Becoming Queen of Scotland, she took under her special care the interests of religion.

Although, in observation of Easter and monastic tonsure, accommodated partly to the persuasion of Saxon monks, at an earlier date—and there seems to have been a falling off in zeal of piety—the Scottish Church was still, in the main, what it had been constituted by its founders. Its monasteries, so-called, were still ecclesiastical colleges, and not abodes of any monastic order. Their inmates were free to marry and to hold property. Their principals wielded each a sort of episcopal authority, and the parish ministers recognized no higher. Ascetics were to be found, who withdrew to rocky islets, or other desert places, and lived in utter solitude, but, in so doing, they were outside of the Church system—mere voluntary anchorites. The Culdees, or ministers of the Scottish Church, were supported by offerings of the pious, and their colleges were, from time to time, liberally endowed with lands. Some of those lands had been latterly appropriated by churchmen for themselves and their families; still, in the days of Queen Margaret and her sons, there was a large amount of such property in the hands for whom it was designed. Nor did the Culdees yet accept their orders from any earthly sovereign, lay or ecclesiastic, out of their own body. The king might be their friend; he was not their head. The Bishop of Rome might be the greatest among bishops; but Scotland was no province of his, nor did they hold any relations, except that of a common faith, to him. And from several of his practices they dissented. All this was fearful heresy in the eyes of Queen Margaret. Some of her innovations were real improvements, as, for example, her regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath, and the laws forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's widow, or with a widowed step-mother; but most of them enforced upon the nation hitherto unknown or unadopted superstitions of Rome. With what forms the Culdees observed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper may not be clearly or fully ascertainable, but

assuredly they were not the same as the Romish, nor did they imply the same meaning. For one of the grand points of change which Margaret introduced was rejection of the Scottish rite and adoption of the mass. Another article enforced the recognition of the Lord's real body and blood in the substantially changed elements of the eucharist. In the observance of the anniversary of the Lord's passion, the queen also innovated upon the Scottish practice, and introduced the extension of the Lent fast to forty days, beginning with Ash-Wednesday, and all the other holy days then kept by the Romish Church.

To effect those purposes Queen Margaret had councils of the clergy called, in one of which, at least, she appeared in person, and maintained her positions in oral address. Her husband sustained her throughout, and added the weight of his royal sanction to the consent of the councils. How far the acquiescence of the clergy became practical, and how far the changes were accepted into the real faith of the people, we cannot say. But it is worth remarking that the Saxon queen, with all her excellence, was not popular among the Scots, and in the high places of the subsequently introduced hierarchy Scottish ecclesiastics had little share, and that, long afterward, when the Scottish people once more took the regulation of their Church into their own hands, they rejected all the changes then made, excepting those touching marriage and the Sabbath.

Queen Margaret was the first among the sovereigns of Scotland to interfere with spiritual matters, in dictating faith and forms of worship. Rome, in whose interest her work was done, recognized the service, and rewarded it with the honors of canonization; and a learned ecclesiastic of that connection composed a glowing biographical eulogy of the royal saint, in which her good works are made to appear, as Alban Butler says, "more wonderful than her miracles," with which she was also adorned. Under her sons, Edgar, Alexander I. and David I., who successively occupied the throne, the Saxon influence at the Scottish Court continued to increase. Educated piously and with scrupulous care in the faith of Rome, those princes added to the change of doctrine and observance effected by their mother, a corresponding change in government.

Establishment of the diocesan system, according to the Rom-

ish model, was commenced by Alexander, and carried forward to completeness by his brother and successor, David. The method generally followed was that of conferring a favor upon a suitable Culdee college by creating its principal a bishop, assigning him jurisdiction over a definite extent of country, and the income of certain lands, for the maintenance of his rank. The other members of the fraternity, where desirable or willing, naturally constituted the chapter of the diocese. Where such preparation was not available, a new foundation was filled at once with a Saxon incumbent. The transformation proceeded with the greater facility that some of the sacerdotal titles, though with a different application, were already in use in the Scottish Church. By Alexander, St. Andrews was changed from a seat of Culdee learning to that of a diocese; while the See of Glasgow was founded by act of Pope Pascal II., in consecrating the first incumbent, and thereby conferring on it what was deemed a more than common importance. Early in the reign of David I., about 1127, Dunkeld was transformed, by making the principal, or abbot, of the Culdee College a bishop. The diocese of Dumblane was erected in a similar way. And the Culdee institution of Brechin was changed into the diocesan See of Brechin, by converting the brethren of the college into the dean and chapter of the diocese.

In this enterprise, the monarch's example was followed by his powerful, but refractory subject, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and his rival, Olaus (Aulay), king of the isles. By the former the diocese of Galloway was constituted, subject to the archbishop of York; and by the latter, that of the Suderies (Sodor) and Man, about the year 1134. By Suderies was meant the south Hebrides, and the Isle of Man was the royal residence of the Norse king of the isles. At the death of David, in 1153, the transformation was complete, although Shetland and the Orkney Isles, being under Norwegian rule, were not brought into the system until the next century, and the diocese of Argyll was not separated from that of Dunkeld until the same period.

In the establishment of a diocesan system after the Romish model, but copied immediately from the Anglo-Saxon, it followed that the English archbishops claimed jurisdiction over the bishops in Scotland. But to admit that, would have been to surrender the national independence, and, on the part of the

king, the control of what he had himself created. One step more must be taken. A Scottish primacy must be constituted. The necessity was early perceived, and action taken in regard to it by Alexander I., who turned the property belonging to the Culdees of St. Andrews into an endowment for the new metropolitanate. Turgot, the first incumbent, was a Saxon, who had been a monk of St. Cuthbert's in Durham. He found much difficulty in getting his office into satisfactory relations with the English metropolitans and Romish practices on one hand, and the royal authority, priests, and practices of the Scottish Church on the other. After six years of trouble, he went into England for advice, and never came back. His successor, Eadmer, also a Saxon, found the same difficulties. Some clergy of his native country advised him to comply with the usages of the Scottish Church, as far as he could "without dishonoring his character, or hazarding his salvation." In their estimate, it seems, the difference between the Scottish Church and the Romish, on some points, was vital. Eadmer preferred to abandon the strife, and returned to England. Again Alexander chose a Saxon. Why? He wanted a Scottish primacy without dependence on England; could he not find a clergyman at home able and willing to be primate? It seems not, or that he felt unwilling to trust any of them with so much power. Robert, the monk, had to contend with the same difficulties which discouraged his predecessors; but he weathered through them, and held the office until his death in 1158 or 1159. The bishop of St. Andrews, however, did not reach full recognition of his metropolitan honors, during the true middle ages. York persisted in the claim of superiority over all the new bishoprics of the north; nor would the Pope interfere to restrain his ambition, or to enforce compliance.

During the same reigns, another branch of the Romish ecclesiastical empire was planted in Scotland. The sons of St. Margaret thought the Church not complete without the monastery, and had the two set up side by side, as if they had been two halves of a unit. To neither the diocesan nor the monastic system were the Culdees held to belong. They were set aside to make way for the bishops, and totally ignored in setting up the orders. Introduction of monasteries was pushed forward with zeal and rapidity, until the land was full of them.

In 1098, Alexander founded, at Coldingham, an abbey for Benedictines, supplying it with English monks from Durham, and a priory at Dunfermline, for the same order, which was afterward changed to an Abbey, the monks being brought from Canterbury. In 1114 he erected an Abbey for regular canons of St. Augustine, at Scone, to which was attached a priory on an island in Loch Tay, in 1122, and another Abbey of the same order on Inchcolm, in 1123. But in abundance of this kind of work, David I. distanced all rivalry. In 1128 he established an Abbey of Augustinians at Edinburgh, which being dedicated to the Holy Cross, was called the Holy Rood. He built at Melrose, upon the ruins of the old Culdee institution, an Abbey for Cistercian monks brought from England; also the Abbey of Cambus Kenneth, for Augustinian monks from France, that at Kelso, that at Jedburgh, and others, besides priories in various parts of the kingdom. He furnished establishments for Knights Templar, and Knights of St. John, whom he was the first to bring into Scotland. Monastic houses for women were erected by the same pious prince. Three convents of Cistercian nuns were established at Berwick, at Three Fountains, and at Gulane in East Lothian.

Here again the example of the king was imitated by some of his wealthy nobility. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded for Premonstratensian monks the Abbey of Souleat, and another at Tunland, and one for Cistercians at Dundrennan. Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland, erected the Abbey of Dryburgh, on the Tweed, and that of Kilwinning, in Ayrshire. And Cospatrick, Earl of March, and his lady, built a convent of Cistercian nuns at Coldstream, and another at Eccles, in Berwickshire.

Iona, through repeated calamities, partially maintained her ground a generation longer; but finally, broken, plundered, and degenerate, succumbed to the common fate, and in 1203 submitted to become a seat of Romish monasticism.

In brief, within the successive reigns of those three sons of St. Margaret, twenty-seven monastic institutions were established within the bounds of Scotland, besides provision for the ecclesiastico-military orders, all of them planted with foreign monks or nuns. Native institutions were appropriated entire, and without scruple added to the wealth of the Crown,

to endow the foreign substitutes. Culdees, if they wished to retain a place in the Church, had to accept it under the new system, and abjure their own. What the sentiment of the people was we can only conjecture. For the records of Scotland now pass into the hands of defenders of Rome, who also exercised a retrospective care in manipulating those of the past.

The ancient Scottish Church may have been better than the Romish, it may have been worse, but all pretension that it was the same is certainly in error, seeing that a national revolution was needed to make it conform—a revolution imposed upon the country by powers of government in the hands of a dynasty half foreign by birth, and entirely foreign by education.

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