

A HISTORY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH
FROM ITS INCEPTION TO 1153

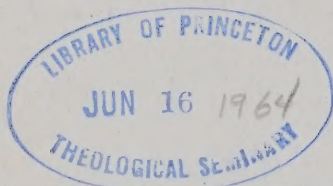
by

The Reverend

James Arthur MacClannahan Hanna

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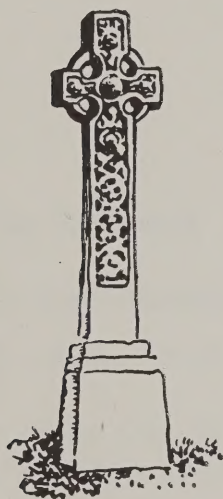
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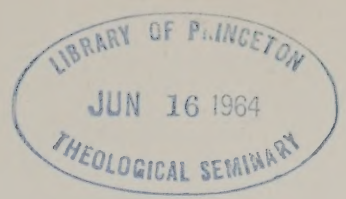


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Horeb United Presbyterian Churches,
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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James A. M. Hanna." The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the printed author information.

- With Illustrations -

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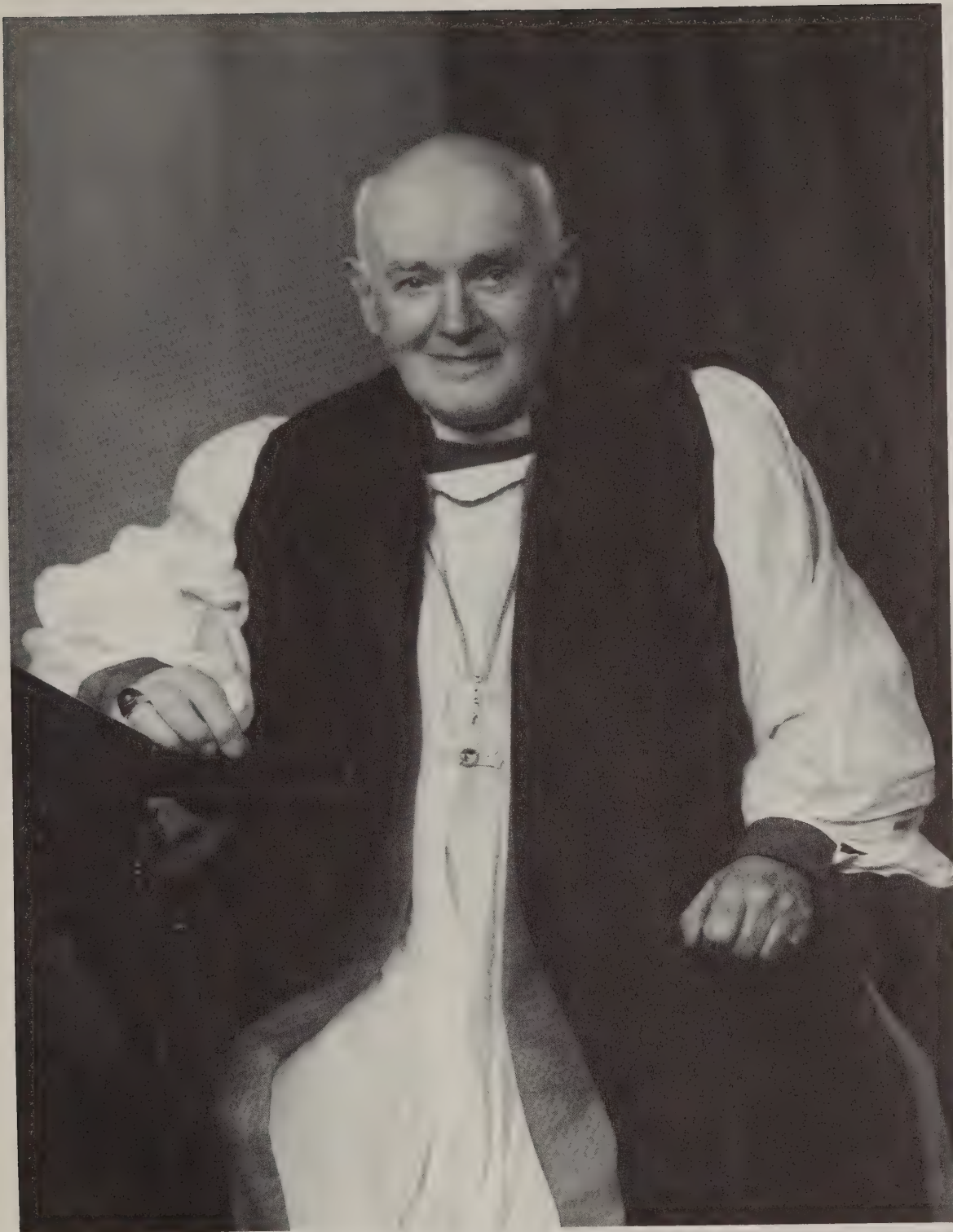
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To my kinsman and Father in God—

The Most Reverend Thomas Hannay, M.A., D.D.

Lord Bishop of Argyll and The Isles, and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Seat at
Onich, Inverness-shire.

In Succession of the Church of St. Ninian and St. Columba



The Most Reverend Thomas Hannay, M.A., D.D., Lord Bishop of Argyll and The Isles, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In succession of the Church of St. Ninian and St. Columba. His Grace is a son of John and Martha Johnston Hannay, a grandson of Andrew and Margaret MacClellan Hannay, great-grandson of Thomas and Helen MacClellan Hannay of Barwhirran and Grange of Cree.

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Many people have graciously assisted the writer in preparation of this treatise; and, while it would be almost impossible to make mention of them all, some expression of appreciation should be made to those of his faculty committee at the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, and to members of the New College Divinity Faculty at the University of Edinburgh, principally, the Very Reverend Hugh Watt. These individuals are busy, and it was because of their kindness and interest that time was taken from their crowded schedules to answer questions and to suggest leads concerning this labour. Mention here must be given to the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. William Albert Nicholson of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who permitted the writer to accompany them on many trips and pilgrimages of historical significance in Scotland and Wales from October, 1960, through May, 1961, in their "wee" Morris.

The author is indeed appreciative of the kindness and counsel, instruction and support given by the staff and faculty of the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, since 1948. Mr. Ernest Miller White, Librarian, and Miss Delia Collins, have been most helpful and prompt in all requests. Gratitude is expressed for the assistance given by New College's librarian, the Rev. Dr. John A. Lamb, and for guidance from his faculty advisory committee: the Rev. Prof. LaVere Christian Rudolph, the Rev. Prof. Norman Aste Horner, and the Rev. Prof. Andrew Kerr Rule. To these Christian professors and clergymen and to another who did not serve on the committee, a cousin, the Rev. Prof. Charles Morton Hanna, II, a sincere prayer of thanksgiving for having known them.

The original typist, Mrs. E. A. McClain, was a considerate and diligent one. The writer's congregations at Oak Hill and Horeb and his family must be praised for their understanding, patience, love, and monetary support during the compilation, research, leave of absence, and writing for the past three years.

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PREFACE

Most people who show interest in the Celtic Church are under the impression that this particular Church was simply dependent upon the Church of Rome, if not Roman Catholic itself, in its teaching and practice. Many times during this century in Great Britain, scholars, both Presbyterian and Episcopal, have gathered evidence to show that such impressions are untrue.

Writers, secular and ecclesiastical, have stated that there was an ancient Church, that it was Celtic in origin, and that it was independent of the Bishop of Rome. By this statement is clearly meant that the Church was left to manage its own particular affairs according to its own way, and that the Celtic Church completely rejected the impossible claim of the Roman Bishop to be the Vicar of Christ or the visible Head of the visible Church on earth! The author of this thesis, when he first began to pour over the pages of the history of the Celts and their Church, was unconvinced to the existence of an independent Church and expected to find his opinion corroborated by research. But this did not transpire; for as he studied, meditated, undertook further research at the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, and at New College, the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, and visited in Scotland (1960-1961) many historical places, it became crystal clear that the Celtic Church was free of any ecclesiastical control of Rome and had grown up and had gone its own way and was a vital missionary Church. As a result of a most critical enquiry and scientific investigation, this writer has arrived at the conclusion that the ancient Celtic Church was independent of the See of Rome and continually repudiated papal demands of supremacy, was in no way a part of the Roman Catholic Church's organisation, and never did acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as its visible head.

In supporting the theory that the British Church sprang from the Roman Catholic Church one finds himself in error. Let it be unmistakably clear that Rome itself was hardly Christian until the year 400. Rome was a vicious, pagan city, whilst in the East, Christianity was a living power. Rome was Christianised by men of Greek or Eastern origin. It was Celtic missionaries who carried the Holy Gospel and converted the greater part of France, Germany, and Switzerland, and even sections of Italy. The Church of Rome is indebted to British missionaries—their zeal, enthusiasm more than she is willing to admit. It is strange that the hierarchy of the Roman Church has consistently belittled the Church which actually brought the light of Christ to a large area of the world. What may have been a thorn in Rome's side was that the British Church was independent, and that it looked to Syria, Palestine, Egypt for guidance, inspiration, ritual, worship, architecture, and law, rather than conform with imperialised Rome.

Interest in the Celtic Church, which was almost completely Romanised in 1153, following the reign of Queen Margaret (1040-1093) and her sons, is still growing amongst Scottish and some British-American scholars today. Since 1900, a mere sixty-two years past, several volumes of importance have been published concerning the formation, life, and labours of the Celtic Church in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Northumbria.

Archibald B. Scott, B.D., wrote in 1918 a splendidly documented volume entitled, The Pictish Nation Its People and Its Church, followed in 1932 by The Rise and Relations of the Church of Scotland; Early Brittonic Period and St. Ninian's Period with Supplement. The late Dr. John A. Duke published in 1932, The Columban Church, followed in 1937 by a magnificent study, History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation, with a preface by the Very Reverend Dr. Hugh Watt, under whom this writer studied.

William Cumming Skinner, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., published in 1931, Candida Casa the Apostolic Centre of Scotland showing the importance of St. Ninian's labours in Scotland. The Very Reverend Dr. James Hutchison Cockburn, D.D., D. Theol., F.S.A. Scot., wrote in 1954, The Celtic Church in Dunblane; A View of The Scottish Church from St. Ninian to the Culdees and the Coming of the Roman Catholic Church, an exacting and informative volume. G. A. Frank Knight, in 1933, published Archaeological Light on the Early Christianising of Scotland; his is an excellent work based on historical and archaeological findings of this century.

W. Douglas Simpson wrote in 1940, Saint Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland. In 1923, John Stirton published, The Celtic Church and the Influence of the East. Mention must be made of the Very Reverend Dr. John H. S. Burleigh, B. Litt., D.D., Principal of New College and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh, and his recent monumental work, A Church History of Scotland, published in 1960; the early British Church comprises Part I of five parts. There is the splendid volume of F. F. Bruce entitled, The Spreading Flame; The Rise and Progress of Christianity; Light in the West.

There are a number of other works concerning this treatise, but the above listed should suffice in pointing out a genuine interest in the ancient Celtic Church.

Our brethren in the Roman Catholic Church assert that the Pope commissioned the early Celtic saints to evangelise the various tribes in Britain and that these missionaries made pilgrimages to Rome itself and did homage to the Holy Father. Evidence will show without question that the Church of Rome's claim on the British Church is fictitious. Careful study of early writings have exposed the various mediaeval fabricators. The Venerable Bede, indeed, wrote early; but his views were most unsympathetic to the Church of North Britain, and he wrote as a monk of Yarrow establishing the Church of Rome's claims. Jocelyn (Joceline) elaborated considerably on the Life of St. Patrick and the Life of St. Kentigern. Alphons Bellesheim, D.D., in his 1887 publication, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day (two volumes) follows the strict Roman Catholic line of thinking from beginning to end.

We must remember that Bede's writings were mediaeval. Mediaevalists believed they should subject themselves absolutely to the Bishop of Rome. Later copyists inserted into Bede's work that he had visited Rome; yet it is generally known he was seldom out of his own country. Likewise, further mediaeval Romanists claimed that St. Ninian was strictly Roman. Bede had little regard for St. Ninian. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was an 11th or 12th Century version; it followed Bede. William of Malmesbury wrote much of historic note, but he invented stories to his Church's liking. Ailred wrote in 1164, Life of St. Ninian in Latin, desiring to exalt the Pope and his Church. Ailred called the Roman bishop "Supreme Pontiff," lessened St. Ninian's connexion with St. Martin of Tours and the Celtic Church of Gaul, and endeavoured to transform St. Ninian and that Church into the imperialised Church of Rome. Ailred did not think too highly of the Celtic monastic missionaries of Gaul; he could not tolerate the idea of an independent Celtic Church.

This thesis deals with the arrival of Christianity in Great Britain, taking into account stories, legends, and facts. It will be shown that the Christian faith planted in the Isles affected the spread of the Church to western Europe because of missionary enthusiasm. During the years from its earliest inception to 397, Christianity was getting a slow foot-hold in Britain due to St. Ninian at Candida Casa. We can trace his missionary endeavours with joy. The work of St. Patrick in Ireland closely followed St. Ninian's in Scotland. The Columban Church period began in 563 and ended in 717; St. Columba (521-597) was the great missionary saint of Ireland and Scotland. The Pictish Church and the Scoto-Pictish Church flourished from 717 to 1070; they were full of missionary zeal and struggled to keep free of Roman Catholic domination.

During the Mediaeval Ages the Celtic Church kept alive the flame of the Holy Faith. From Candida Casa, Iona, and Lindisfarne, trained missionaries went to evangelise the heathen. Indeed, the true Church of Jesus Christ was advanced by dedicated souls. As the transition

was slowly being made from Celtic to Roman, we find still the independent spirit crying out in such a brotherhood as the Culdees.

This work will endeavour to recapture for our time, and succeeding generations, in the light of Holy Scripture and historical research, the continuing early Christian Church as founded by Jesus Christ and His Apostles, and its continuation through the Celtic Church of the British Isles from the earliest recorded saints in the second and third centuries to the Church's absorption by the Church of Rome at the end of King David I of Scotland's rule in 1153—its influence, worship, structure, missionary emphasis, evangelistic zeal, and its value; and will show evidence on which is based the firm conviction that the early Celtic Church acknowledged no authority of the Bishop of Rome and was not an integral section or branch of the Church of Rome in those historic days.

An Introduction to Chapter I will deal with, "How the Christian Church Began," and its spread.

Chapter I will be concerned with, "The Celts, Missionaries, Romans, and Others, Who Came to the British Isles." Chapter II deals with "The Great Labours of the Early Celtic Saints," which includes St. Ninian, St. Patrick, St. David, and St. Kentigern. Due mention is made of other saints who contributed so much to the Church. Chapter III is devoted to the work of St. Columba, "St. Columba (521-597), His Church, and Influence." Chapter IV deals with "The Culdees--The Servants of God." Chapter V deals with what Dr. John A. Duke rightly calls "The Scottish-Pictish Church (717-1070)." Chapter VI is concerned with "The Celtic Church--Romanised (1070-1153)" during the reign of King Malcolm Canmore, his sainted Queen, Margaret, and their sons. The last Chapter (VII) is devoted to "The Distinct Characteristics of The Celtic Church and Its Importance."

A Chronology of the Celtic Church will be found in Appendix I. Three maps of Scotland composing Appendices II, III, and IV will show Scotland in the sixth century, Wales and England in the sixth century, and "The Church in Mediaeval Scotland," respectively.

J.A.M.H.

The Manse, Oak Hill, Ohio
18th November 1962
(St. Fergus)

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
HOW THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH BEGAN

It is an old story but still beautiful—the story of Jesus Christ and His Church. The early Church called the Saviour, “the only begotten Son of God.” Prophets such as Isaiah, Amos, Micah, and Hosea, announced the coming of a Messiah to their people.

God speaks to all ages. He reveals His eternal truths through men and women whom He selects for His instruments. God’s Holy Spirit is breathed upon His Prophets, for they see things in this pilgrimage of life more vividly than others. The past, present, and future have new meaning for the Prophets; for they see them through God’s eyes. Prophets proclaim what is right and good, wrong and wicked, to their listeners; they are God’s spokesmen. Prophets declare, “Thus saith the Lord.”

Isaiah proclaimed:

A voice crying aloud in the wilderness,
Prepare a way for the Lord;
Clear a straight path for him,
Every ravine shall be filled in,
And every mountain and hill levelled;
The corners shall be straightened,
And the rough ways made smooth;
And all mankind shall see God’s deliverance.¹

Elijah, another Prophet, championed the truth and upheld justice. The religion of Jaweh was being almost overthrown, and Elijah dared to oppose a wicked queen to safeguard humble people. To this Old Testament Prophet the words of justice and mercy meant more than mere belief and ritual. When the fulness of time came, his countrymen recalled him; for they said:

When He came to the territory of Caesarea Philippi, Jesus asked his disciples, ‘Who do men say that the Son of Man is?’ They answered, ‘Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets.’²

Amos announced God as the God of Goodness and Right forever; God is one and the same to all races. Evil-doers will be severely punished and those people who believe they are safe from God’s justice will not escape if they are mischievous for they should know better. Amos’ message was disregarded by his nation, small, weak, and quite obscure. Nations have risen, flourished, waned, and collapsed since those twenty or more centuries, but God’s Word remains. God is still that One of righteousness; when present-day nations disregard Him and His claims of justice, they inevitably sign their death warrants.

Hosea’s message taught that God is just but He is more so merciful. The sins of the world cannot stifle the tremendous love of God. Man must come to grips with his suffering and must

¹St. Luke 3:4-6, N.E.B.; see William Hanna, The Earlier Years of Our Lord’s Life on Earth (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1870), pp. 1-19.

²St. Matthew 16:13-14, N.E.B.

suffer for his evilness, but God loves His creature and somehow beautifully suffers along with him. Such suffering is bound to heal and restore. Hosea gives to us this superb picture of God, realised in its fulness in Christ Jesus.

Micah announced to his time that, when man repents, God forgives. He answered the question of his time, "What does God require of me?" Men asked, "If I give my sheep, all my oil, my first-born, my body, will this please God?" The Prophet's response was one of the most cherished in the Old Testament:

He hath showed thee, Oh man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God.³

Do not these words express Christ Jesus' mind when He said, "I give you a new commandment: love one another; as I have loved you, . . . ?"⁴ God's character is revealed by the Prophet Micah and fulfilled in His "only begotten Son":

Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity and posseth by the Transgression of the remnant of Thy heritage? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because He delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, He will have compassion upon us; He will subdue our iniquities. Thou will cast all our sins into the depths of the sea.⁵

The supreme reference to the Messiah is found in Isaiah, Chapters 7-9. Isaiah caught a glimpse of the future. He dreamed of a heavenly King, a glorious future for Israel. Isaiah's dream was fulfilled when Christ came. True, our world has not fully accepted Him; but we hope someday that mankind will be redeemed and Christ shall reign over this globe, and peace, justice, and love will forever prevail.

His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; and the government shall be upon His shoulders.⁶

Indeed, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew, "the fulness of time" had come. He employed the phrase, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet" nearly twenty times in referring to Christ's coming. St. Mark, whom we believe wrote even earlier than St. Matthew, used the phrase only twice, while St. Luke spoke of it thrice. St. John, the beloved Apostle, used the phrase seven times.

St. Matthew recorded that Christ was born into a royal clan.⁷ St. Joseph was descended from Abraham, being the twenty-eighth in lineage. The lovely, inspiring story of the Wise Men is told by St. Matthew, pointing out that these religious leaders were to pay greater homage than was ever shown before. The new king would be born in Bethlehem of Judaea.⁸ The Wise Men found the Child and worshipped Him.

The wicked King, Herod, desired the death of the Child and demanded of the Wise Men His whereabouts; but they were afraid and returned to their own land, refusing to report their findings. Jeremiah had prophesied this:

A voice was heard in Rama, wailing and loud laments; it was Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing all consolation, because they were no more.⁹

³Micah 6: 7-8, K.J.V.

⁴St. John 13: 34, N.E.B.

⁵Micah 7: 18, K.J.V.

⁶Isaiah 9: 6, N.E.B.

⁷St. Matthew 1.1-17, N.E.B.

⁸Micah 5: 2; St. Matthew 2: 6. N.E.B.

⁹Jeremiah 31: 5; St. Matthew 2: 18, N.E.B.

The Holy Family were warned by their God and hastily retreated to Egypt. When news of King Herod's death was forthcoming, they returned to Palestine and settled in Galilee. Hosea had prophesied:

I called my son out of Egypt.¹⁰

Christ Jesus began His Holy Ministry in Galilee. He did not labour, at first, amongst the leaders in Jerusalem, which was the capital. His home in Galilee was made at a fisherman's in Capernaum. Isaiah had prophesied:

. . . the land of Zebulun, the land of Naphtali, the road by the sea, the land beyond Jordan, heathen Galilee, . . . 'The people that lived in darkness saw a great light; Light dawned on the dwellers in the land of death's dark shadow.'¹¹

Quite unfortunately the Holy Word tells us very little of Christ from the age of twelve to the age of thirty. We do not get a picture of His early manhood.

Our Saviour healed, and His miracles were broadcast throughout the land. Again, Isaiah had foreseen this and wrote:

When evening fell, they brought to him many who were possessed by devils; and he drove the spirits out with a word and healed all who were ill, to make good the prophecy of Isaiah: 'He took away our illnesses and lifted our diseases from us.'¹²

Christ taught in parables, and some features of the Kingdom of God were explained. In St. Matthew's thirteenth chapter there are recorded seven parables. Isaiah again is quoted:

'I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things kept secret since the world was made.'¹³

Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem was made after His ministry in Galilee had been accomplished; it was a triumphal entry. Christ entered as a ruler but yet unlike one; there was no royal fanfare. He entered on a donkey. St. Matthew 21 well describes the scene. The Old Testament Prophet Zechariah had written:

O daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh unto thee, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.¹⁴

Our Lord's remaining days on earth moved rapidly to a terrible fate. Isaiah had written that the Saviour would "go like a lamb to the slaughter" (53:7). Christ would be betrayed, scourged, and crucified. St. Matthew told the betrayal in his twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh chapters. Could the Master have saved Himself from the horrible death? Yes, He could have; but Holy Scripture had to be fulfilled.

Judas Iscariot betrayed His Lord for some pieces of silver, thirty, to be exact. But Judas became remorseful and returned the money to the head-priests who had secured his services. The money was cursed, for it was priced with blood; it could not be used for holy work now. St. Matthew recorded (27:5-7) that the chief-priest bought a potter's field to bury strangers. Once again Jeremiah's saying was fulfilled:

¹⁰St. Matthew 2: 15; Hosea 11: 1, N.E.B.

¹¹Isaiah 9: 2 St. Matthew 2: 16, N.E.B. See William Hanna, The Ministry in Galilee (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868).

¹²St. Matthew 8: 16-17; Isaiah 53: 4, N.E.B. See William Hanna, The Close of the Ministry (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1870).

¹³Psalms lxxviii. 2; St. Matthew 13: 35, N.E.B. See William Barclay, And Jesus Said (Glasgow: Mac Corquodale, 1954).

¹⁴Zechariah 9: 9, K.J.V. See William Hanna, The Passion Week (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1870).

‘They took the thirty silver pieces, the price set on a man’s head (for that was his price among the Israelites), and gave the money for the potter’s field, as the Lord directed me.’¹⁵

The scene on Golgotha is no lovely one. It is almost final, this Calvary. Christ, still the Man to the very last, hung, dying upon His Cross. Beneath, hardened soldiers of Rome’s Legions gambled for His garments. We find in Psalm 22:18, “They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.”

But Holy Writ does not leave us comfortless. Following our Saviour’s Glorious Death on Calvary, there remains The Resurrection and the Forty-days. Here is one of the very central points of our faith and one which so many theologians reduce as to make the Crucifixion—important as it was and is—foremost! The Resurrection story is supreme, and the Forty-days following brings Christ’s Church into being. We read of the Glorious Resurrection in St. Matthew (28:1-10), St. Mark (16:9-11), St. Luke (24:1-9), and St. John (20:1-18). Holy Writ gives witness to Christ’s appearance to Mary Magdalene (St. Matthew 27:62-66), His walk to Emmaus (St. Luke 24:13-33), an Evening Supper (St. Mark 16:13-14; St. Luke 24:33-49; St. John 20:19-23), St. Thomas’ Unbelief (St. John 20:24-29), On the Lake of Galilee (St. John 21:1-14), St. Peter and St. John (St. John 21:15-23), The Great Commission to His Church (St. Matthew 28:16-20), and His Glorious Ascension (St. Luke 24:44-53; Acts 1:3-8).

After Calvary followed Easter. The Cross became empty, signifying that our Holy Faith hinges on Christ, who is alive. The empty Cross means that our Lord is living, that He is active in the scheme of things. The Acts of the Apostles (written by St. Luke) began from this foundation. St. Luke recorded (Acts):

He showed himself to these men after his death, and gave ample proof that he was alive: over a period of forty days he appeared to them and taught them about the kingdom of God.¹⁶

Indeed, the faith of the Christian is an Easter faith. Here was something which was not wishful-thinking on the part of His followers, but actual experiences of His disciples.¹⁷ Christ came to found His Church, and He did so. The first feature of the Church is not to teach, preach, or proclaim a sweet, mellow, tender memory of a dead Teacher, but to have living communion with a Risen Saviour and know His sustaining power, and the hope of a life beyond the grave. The Apostles’ Creed ends not with, “. . . crucified, dead, and buried,” but rather “. . . He rose again from the dead.” The Holy Gospels, as well as the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, are vibrant because of our Master’s great promise “Because I live, ye shall live also.” What was this Promise? Was the Glorious Resurrection enough to carry them and their Church into the world? Something was needed to inspire them, these one hundred and twenty members (Acts 1:15). The Church was to remain in Jerusalem, for the Saviour had said:

‘You must wait,’ he said, ‘for the promise made by my Father, about which you have heard me speak: John, as you know, baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit, and within the next few days.’¹⁸

Pentecost (Whitsunday). What is it? Christ’s promise took place on Sunday (the Christian Sabbath), seven weeks following Easter. He had given instructions during those Forty-days (Acts 1:3) and then ascended into heaven (Acts 1:9). For the next nine days things remained

¹⁵St. Matthew 27:9-10, N.E.B. See William Hanna, The Last Days of Our Lord’s Passion (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1868), pp. 9-35. See also Zechariah 11:12-13.

¹⁶Acts 1:3.

¹⁷William Hanna, The Forty Days after Our Lord’s Resurrection (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1866), pp. 2-24.

¹⁸Acts 1:45, N.E.B. See St. John 14:16-17, 26. Consult Robert Hastings Nichols, The Growth of The Christian Church (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1941), pp. 16-20.

calm. His followers spent this time in waiting, fellowship, and prayer. They met in an upper room (Acts 1:13). The Holy Ghost (Spirit) came on Whitsunday (Pentecost). Pentecost was a Hebrew "harvest festival" or thanksgiving. The city of Jerusalem was thronged with Jews from every section of the known world (Acts 2:9). The band of one hundred and twenty met in their upper room with a feeling of expectancy, perhaps brought about by the joyful festival. Undoubtedly their hearts were heightened. Then the Promise rang true:

While the day of Pentecost was running its course they were all together in one place, when suddenly there came from the sky a noise like that of a strong driving wind, which filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them tongues like flames of fire, dispersed among them and resting on each one. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to talk in other Tongues, as the Spirit gave them power of utterance.¹⁹

St. Peter gave the first Christian message we have on record (Acts 2:14-40). He proclaimed Christ alive on that occasion. He told his listeners to repent and be saved and that power would come upon all believers. St. Peter caught the tempo of the hour by going right to the spiritual happenings which laid beneath the external signs. St. Luke recorded (2:4) the external facts but inserted the important, inner truth, "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, . . ." This was a great day and we are told that the Church had grown from one hundred and twenty to three thousand (Acts 2:41).

We must deal here with the Holy Spirit and its guidance, because the Church which Christ Himself had organised by the calling of the Twelve, was baptised by it. This spiritual baptism fitted the Church for its commission. The Acts of the Apostles recorded that the Church was filled with the Holy Spirit and that it spoke the Word of God fearlessly (Acts 4:31). St. Stephen, who had the power of the Holy Ghost, rendered witness to Christ and His Church by his teaching and his martyrdom (Acts 6:10, 7:55). St. Philip was chosen to convert and baptise the Ethiopian eunuch by the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:29-39). There are many other examples of Christians being "full of the Holy Spirit."²⁰ The Acts of the Apostles fulfills the Promise of our Saviour and His Commission.²¹ It is this self-same Spirit which guides the Church today.

This Spirit led St. Paul to become the greatest missionary. He was first known as Saul of Tarsus. He was a son of the Dispersion, a Jew born and reared abroad. When he was about thirteen, St. Paul came to Jerusalem to study under Gamaliel (Acts 22:3, 34-39). He became a rabbi and was an exclusive Pharisee. Finding himself in open opposition to the new faith, he took a leading hand in the stoning of St. Stephen and wanted to root out the heretics (Acts 8:3; 26:10-11; Galatians 1:13). St. Paul harried the Church like the Duke of Cumberland did to the defeated Highlanders following Culloden (1746). He was overly zealous in his method, more active than his fellow-religionists. Yet he no doubt had an inner disturbance. He could never forget the death of the beloved St. Stephen (Acts 22:20). On the road to Damascus, when he planned to enslave the Disciples of the Nazarene, something wonderful transpired—he was confronted by Christ Jesus! Holy Writ reads:

'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' 'Tell me, Lord,' he said, 'who you are.' The voice answered, 'I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting. But get up and go into the city and you will be told what you have to do.'²²

Who was this arrester? It was none other than Christ the Lord! This Heavenly Voice well knew what was in Saul's troubled heart; that Voice addressed the would-be-persecutor in his

¹⁹Acts 2:2-4. The gift of "speaking on tongues" was known in the earlier days of the Church, but we must note its importance was lessened by St. Paul (I Corinthians 14). St. Paul felt interpretation was needed. There are, however, degrees of spiritual insight when people are expecting to hear a message from God. They did understand the wonderful works of God.

²⁰Acts 10:1-48; 11:12; 13:1-14; 16:6-8.

²¹Acts 1-8. See Hans Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church (London, Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 104-106.

²²Acts 9:5-6.

own tongue, Hebrew. Saul questioned, "Tell me, Lord, who are you" (Acts 9:4), as his own conscience had been struggling with it. The answer was probably no surprise! Being blinded, Saul was taken to the city and before a Hebrew Christian, Ananias. Ananias laid his hands on Saul and said, "Saul, my brother, the Lord Jesus, who appeared to you on your way here, has sent me to you so that you may recover your sight, and be filled with the Holy Spirit."²³ Then St. Paul arose and he could see again. Ananias baptised him. Like St. Stephen before him, St. Paul had seen God's glory revealed in Christ Jesus; he now could say, "This is the Son of God."²⁴

St. Paul was born in Tarsus about A.D. 3, and in A.D. 34 he became a Christian. In A.D. 65, at the age of 62, in Rome, Emperor Nero had him beheaded.²⁵ He became the early Church's greatest missionary. Previously committed to winning the world to Judaism, it was his fond desire that the world would accept his Christ Jesus. His power moved forward; his initiative never abated. His energies were channeled into Christ's Church. In spite of his defect, perhaps physical, he wrote, ". . . I am well content, for Christ's sake, with weakness, contempt, persecution, hardship, and frustration, for when I am weak, then I am strong."²⁶

The Apostle's missionary enterprises are amazing. In II Corinthians he makes mention of eleven episodes. He was lashed five times by the Jewish tribunals, and scourged thrice with Roman rods. His first tour covered nearly 1,400 miles.²⁷ What caused this zeal and drive to continue? St. Paul's strength was to be found in Christ, ". . . The Lord stood by me and lent me strength, so that I might be his instrument in making the full proclamation of the Gospel for the whole pagan world to hear."²⁸

St. Paul desired to care for all the Churches. This was a tremendous burden but a constant joy; here was a man who felt so responsible to his Creator. In the new parishes he established he instituted presbyters or bishops. Bishops (or presbyters) were submitted before God with prayer and fasting. This was the permanent form that the Apostle used.²⁹ At heart, he was a traveller. We find him in Arabia (Galatians 1:16), Damascus (II Corinthians 11:32-22), Jerusalem (Galatians 1:18-20; Acts 22:18), and his return to Tarsus (Galatians 1:21). The missionary founded the Church at Antioch, and he and Barnabas were sent out as missionaries by prayer, fasting, and consecration.³⁰ He brought the Holy Gospel to Europe (Acts 16:9-10). I and II Thessalonians may be the earliest letters in our New Testament, for they were written by St. Paul while at Cornith during his second missionary journey.³¹

St. Paul's friends and missionaries were: St. Timothy, Titus, Aquila, Priscilla, and Apollos. They were leaders with whom he laboured. They worked hard, sought little or nothing for themselves. The Apostle's inspiration for the Holy Gospel led them forward and his enthusiasm and service to the Lord Jesus Christ made them his willing "slaves of Christ."³²

Brief mention must be made of St. Peter in the earlier Church. It was he who left the Church in Jerusalem and evangelised Joppa, Caesarea. St. Peter laboured in Syria, maintaining Antioch as his seat. He is reputed to have journeyed to Rome on the invitation of St. Paul. Rome was burned shortly thereafter, and Nero immediately persecuted the Christians. St. Peter was arrested and was crucified head downward at his own request, believing that he was

²³Acts 9:17.

²⁴Acts 9:20.

²⁵J. Aulay Steele and A. J. Campbell, The Story of the Church (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, Ltd., 1954), p. 45.

²⁶II Corinthians 12:7, N.E.B. See W. M. Ramsay, St. Paul The Traveller and The Roman Citizen (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896), pp. 94-97.

²⁷Steele and Campbell, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

²⁸II St. Timothy 4:17.

²⁹Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

³⁰Acts 13:2-3.

³¹Steele and Campbell, op. cit., p. 67.

³²E. J. Hagan, Makers of The Early Church; Studies of The Apostolic Age (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, Ltd., 1948), p. 76.

not worthy to die in like-manner of Christ.³³ The date was A.D. 64, and his body was laid near the Neronian Circus on the Via Cornelia.³⁴ While St. Peter assumed somewhat the leadership in the founding of the Church in Jerusalem, it is wise to remember that St. James, the very brother of our Lord, was the first Bishop (or presbyter).³⁵

St. John was one of the "inner circle" disciples of our Lord. His brother was St. James, who was slain by Herod Agrippa. It was this "disciple whom Jesus loved" who lived so long. It was he who stood at the foot of the Holy Cross and took the Mother of Christ into his own home. He was a leading disciple and actually ranks with St. Peter. Jerusalem was burnt in A.D. 70, and St. John is reputed to have gone to Rome. The Emperor Domitian persecuted the Christians; and he was exiled to Patmos, later settling at Ephesus where he bishoped the labour of all the Churches in Asia.³⁶ St. John was surrounded by a band of men, drawn close because of his intimate contact with the Saviour, one being Polycarp (70-156), and another John the Presbyter.³⁷ St. John died at an advanced age.

Christ's Gospel was a simple but important one. It was one which could set men's minds free; it was one of salvation. Our Lord taught of a spiritual kingdom; a kingdom in which God tells us of His love and desires our obedience. It is a Kingdom whose members love God and are His servants. Christ taught some parables of the Kingdom and to belong to it is a most precious privilege not to mention its cost.³⁸ Our Lord taught that the Kingdom of God grows and each of us are "leaven" in it.³⁹

Men's minds are set free when they become citizens of God's Kingdom, and Christ describes such character; the various qualities of this character may be found in the Beatitudes.⁴⁰ The Master sets men's minds free when they come to grips with spirit and flesh. He told them that God is a loving Father and that His sons must be like their Father.⁴¹

Summary

We have seen how the Church began when our Lord Christ Jesus came to earth. The Old Testament was fulfilled in His Person. The Church which Christ founded brought to light the Twelve Apostles, who, along with others, were given power by the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. There were a number of important leaders in the Apostolic Church such as: St. James, St. John, St. Peter, but the one which stands out is the greatest missionary we have yet known, St. Paul. Dr. Watt said:

From this rapid survey of the salient features of the Apostle's life we proceed to ask, "What did the Church at the end of the first century owe to Paul?" It is hardly too much to say that to him it owed its very existence. But for his unwearying activity it would have been a feeble plant, if it had survived at all. All the outstanding churches at the end of the first century were either founded by Paul, or established in cities in which he had ministered. And but for his conception of the nature of the Church, some more circumscribed body would have been the fruit of Christian preaching. He was not the first to discover the universal note of the Gospel; even the earliest Jerusalem community had recognised that. He was not the first to follow this into its practical implications; the work in Antioch was in being before he was called in to assist. But the Gentile church, free from any entanglement with Jewish law, delivered from everything extraneous to its central faith in the sufficiency and power of Jesus Christ, would never have become the

³³Hagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

³⁴Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

³⁵Acts 21: 18-19.

³⁶Hagan, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁸St. Matthew 13: 44-46.

³⁹St. Matthew 13: 33.

⁴⁰St. Matthew 5: 3-12.

⁴¹St. Matthew 5: 45.

main stream of Christianity had it not been for his clear-sighted resoluteness and his incessant watchfulness against unnecessary complines and a return to bondage.

To him it owed also the strength of its Christian witness. His generous optimism in regard to the attainments and the possibilities of his converts, his refusal to keep them in leading-strings, his deafness to their clamour for a detailed Christian law, built up, out of very imperfect men and women, communities which in the main were able to stand the strain of persecution and to commend the Christian life to many who counted their belief foolishness.⁴²

It was the gift of the Holy Spirit which set men's minds free as it dealt with spirit and flesh so simply. This message was, and is, one of salvation. The foundation of the Church was laid by our Blessed Lord; and we shall soon see it at labour amongst our ancestors, the Celts of the British Isles, taken there by men and women who were imbued with the breath of God's Spirit.

⁴²Hugh Watt, Representative Churchmen of Twenty Centuries (London: James Clarke and Co., 1927), pp. 20-21.

CHAPTER I

(Continued)

THE CELTS, MISSIONARIES, ROMANS, AND OTHERS WHO CAME TO THE BRITISH ISLES

I. THE CELTS

The origin of the Celtic people was the north Alpine area in central Europe, as far as we can ascertain. This section is known as "the Celtic Culture Cradle." Their influence spread into what is known today as Germany and eastern France.¹ They settled in Italy during the sixth century B.C., and later destroyed Rome. About 279 B.C. the Celts pushed further south into what is today Greece and settlements were made in present day Turkey, then Galatia. Much of Germany, Belgium, and Holland was under Celtic domination.² Migrations to France originated before 500 B.C., and before that date Celts occupied and controlled northern Spain.³

We are able to learn something of the Celts from the accounts of old Greek and Roman scribes. Britain produced tin, especially in Cornwall.⁴ Phoenicians may have worked these mines or those of the Islands of Cassiterides near Spain, or both, Pytheas, a Greek writer, mathematician, and explorer, makes mention of the British Isles in 330 B.C. Later, Posidonius, Cicero's tutor, tells us more; and Caesar gives a full account. True, these are fragmentary accounts, but they do provide historical records of Britain.⁵

The Celts learned to use iron; they knew how to mix copper and tin to make bronze. Their dead were cremated and buried in roundgraves.⁶ Three groups of people, all Celts, came to the Isles. First came the Goidels (Gaels) settling in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the western parts of the Highlands of Scotland; their tongue is Gaelic and Erse.⁷ The second group of Celts were the Brythons (Britons) who pushed the Gaels north and west; today we call them Welshmen. The inhabitants on the west coast of England are Brythons (Welsh).⁸ The third and last group were known as the Belgae. When the Roman onslaught came, they were killed; but some of them fled to unite with their kinsmen, i.e., the Brythons and the Gaels. Previously they had occupied the eastern and southern part of England.⁹

Duke said that North Britain (Scotland) was settled by four different peoples which had founded four separate kingdoms: Britons, Picts, Scots, and Angles.¹⁰ The Britons, as Cross stated, were the first to arrive, about 400 B.C.; and they were Celts. Their kingdom was known

¹Donald A. Mackenzie, Scotland: The Ancient Kingdom (Glasgow: Blackie & Son Limited, 1933), p. 44.

²Ibid., p. 45. T. G. E. Powell, Ancient Peoples and Places: The Celts (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958), pp. 15-64.

³Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁴Arthur Lyon Cross, A History of England and Greater Britain (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), pp. 13-14.

⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. See Frank Adam, The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of The Scottish Highlands (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnstone Ltd., 1952), p. 4.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰John A. Duke, History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1937), p. 3.

as the Kingdom of Cumbria (Cambra) or Strathclyde; the capitol was Dumbarton (Dun Breatann, All Cluade—"The Rock of Clyde").¹¹ The Picts were Celts. The Roman orator, Eumenius, mentioned the Picts in A.D. 297; the Romans named them. North of the Grampian Mountains lived the Northern Picts, and south of these ranges lived the Southern Picts. Their capitol was Inverness; the kings also reigned from the Forth to the Orkneys.¹² Adam believed that the Picts entered Scotland from the north-east, having come from northern Europe.¹³ He wrote:

That the Picts, including the tribe of the "Catti," came in from across the North Sea, seems preserved in tribal legends referred to in a source not usually consulted by pre-historians, named Nisbet's System of Heraldry, which records this as the tradition alike of the Catti, the Sutherlands, and the Murrays, original inhabitants of the province of Moray, and that they were divided into kindreds and clans. Curle's map shows that the race which produced the pre-Christian characteristically "Pictish" sculptured stones were settled on the Elgin and Sutherland coasts of the Moray Firth (especially at what I might call the Duffus and Dunrobin centres and these, be it noted, are respectively the duthus of the two clans mentioned by Nisbet) in Mar and in Strathspey. Whilst, inter-mixed with early Christian versions, other slightly later groups of their monuments occur in Angus and around St. Andrews.¹⁴

The Scots were likewise Celts. They came to Scotland from Ireland, which was known as Scotia; they were called Gaels. About A.D. 495-501, under King Fergus Mor, they captured Argyllshire and called their new homeland Dal Riata (Dalradia). The capitol was at Dunstaffnage on Loch Etive, but some say it was near Crinan.¹⁵ Lastly, Duke stated that the Angles came to occupy North Britain; they were Teutonic, not Celtic. Their origins were in Schleswig. The Anglian leader, Ida, founded his Kingdom of Bernicia, which extended from the Tees to the Firth of Forth; later the kingdom was expanded from the Humber to the Forth and was named then the Kingdom of Northumbria.¹⁶

The Celtic peoples worshipped the gods of nature. Lesser divinities were created for localities; each grove was identified; each stream or spring had a guardian spirit; the land was peopled with pixies, dwarfs, fairies, and elves. Their world was mingled with wonder and fear; thus, their worship endeavoured to satisfy the storms, thunder, lightning, etc. Human sacrifices may have been offered at various seasons of the year; fire held reverence in their festivals. Wishing wells and cursing stones were held in reverence. Mistletoe was venerated, for it had magic connected with it.¹⁷

Who were the Druids? The incomers, Gaels (Goidels), borrowed from the ancient Iberians a priestly system and ceremonialism known as Druidism. The Druids were exempt from public duties; they were a privileged body ranking with the nobles. It was they who sacrificed, practised magic, told fortunes, served as judges, and were keepers of wisdom. They chose their own successors.¹⁸ Adam said that the Druidical order consisted of three classes. First, the Bardi, or Poets; second, the Vates, or Priests, and the highest order, the Deo-Phaistein, who served as lawgivers and instructors in religion. An Archdruid was head of this hierarchy. The Druids forbade history to be written; it had to be memorised. Laws had to be preserved in rhyme and orally mastered. Genealogies of kings, chiefs, etc., were orally handed down by high and tribal sennachies.¹⁹

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Adam, op. cit., p. 4. Duke also holds this view, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹⁵Duke, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 14-15. Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 109-125.

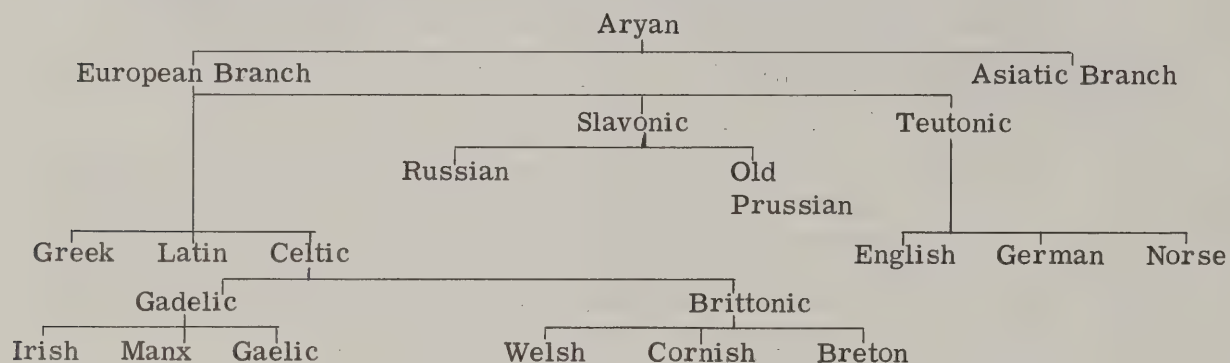
¹⁸Cross, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁹Adam, op. cit., p. 10.

The Celts were hardy, rude, but hospitable and kind in manner. They lived in huts of logs, or of reeds, plastered with clay. They chose marshes and lakes for their habitation and built their homes on piles or platforms for defence. On Salisbury Plain at Stonehenge we find great stone circles, which may have been used for temples (or sepulchres), which the Celts built.²⁰ The Scots and the Picts tattooed and painted their bodies. The Britons made necklaces from amber and gold; they made swords and shields from bronze.²¹

Celtic peoples settled in Brittany (north-western France), and as we have seen, in Cornwall and Wales. To this day there is much affection between the Bretons of Brittany (known as Armorica) in France and their Welsh cousins. The same is to be said of the Cornish, whose tongue is almost extinct. Among the Celtic French and their Scottish, Highland, Irish, and Manx cousins, there is a close tie. The armorial fleurs-de-lys of the various Royal arms were looked upon as a symbolic link. The Scots were held in highest esteem, for they enjoyed the right as naturalised subjects of France.²² Welsh was heard in Cornwall until 1700. Shepherds in Cumberland still count their sheep in Welsh.

The following chart illustrates the affinities of language:²³



II. THE ROMANS

Julius Caesar conquered Gaul in 50 B.C. In taking eight years to subdue the Gauls, he learned that his enemies received assistance from their kinsmen in Britain. He was determined to cut off their supply of men, so he attempted an invasion and destruction of the Celts. Too, Caesar may have been attracted by the need of wealth and plunder to reward his soldiers and followers in Rome. He had heard of tin, gold, silver, pearls, and slaves, and of what tremendous prices they would all bring. Caesar counselled with merchants who well knew the Celts, gained information from them, and planned his invasion. In August, 55 B.C., he set sail from France to subjugate the Britons. His army was composed of two legions containing 10,000 soldiers; a cavalry; was held up by winds and waves. The autumn gales were rough, and the season was late; so he returned to Gaul. The winter was devoted to gathering men and material for another attempt. By July of 54 B.C., he had 800 ships and about 34,000 soldiers and horsemen. His opponent was Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), whose centre was St. Albans. Caesar defeated him and gained a foot-hold in Britain.²⁴

In 44 A.D., Emperor Claudius sent General Aulus Plautius to secure a firmer foot-hold in Britain. A Roman province of Britain was created in the south-eastern section of England. By 71 A.D., the Roman army had conquered York. Agricola reigned from 78 to 85 and desired to

²⁰Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

²²Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²³Magnus Maclean, *The Literature of the Celts; Its History and Romance* (Glasgow: Blackie and Son Limited, 1902), p. 4, 19.

²⁴Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. See John H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 3.

conquer all of Britain. By the end of 83 A.D., he had erected forts between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde. In 84 he defeated an army of Britons under Calgacus at the important Battle of Mons Grampius in Angus, between Forfar and Brechin.²⁵ The Emperor Domitian, partly because of jealousy, recalled him. Agricola did send a fleet to circumnavigate the Island; and this determined, for the first time, its geographical character.²⁶

Agricola's successors built their northern line of defences against the Celts, 140-141; the wall was turf of squared sod. The Romans could not hold the country beyond the Tyne and the Solway Firth. About 120, Emperor Hadrian built his famous southern line of forts. This stone wall (Hadrian's) was begun about the time of Septimius Severus (208) to check the Celts of the north. Parts of this wall still remain.²⁷

For the next two centuries there was great unrest throughout the Roman Empire, and we hear little of the Picts for a time. Britain was subjected to weak emperors, and there was much laxity as well as confusion. Ambitious Roman rulers tried to seize the crown. As early as the third century Franks and Saxons raided the eastern coasts of Britain. The Picts, who were supported by their kinsmen recently from the north of Ireland, made forays on the Scottish-English borders. The Count of Saxon Shore was created, but the first two counts chosen declared independence instead of safeguarding their coasts.²⁸

After 284, Diocletian of Rome reorganised his administrative system, making Britain (Britannia) a diocese of the Prefecture of Gaul. In 287 the diocese created Carausius (Carawn) its Emperor, who was the British admiral of the English Channel Fleet. He was murdered. In 296 Constantius, father of Constantine I, restored Roman authority which lasted another hundred years.²⁹

Pressure was mounting on the Roman Empire; revolts within and attacks without were constant. Maximus proclaimed himself Emperor in 383 and in 387 marched to Rome, but he was defeated in northern Italy.³⁰ Constantine, another self-raised Emperor, marched British troops into Gaul and was defeated. The Germanic barbarians overran the Empire, and in 410 Alaric sacked Rome. The Britons now had to defend themselves, and in this they failed. Germanic tribes crossed the Channel constantly.³¹ Some type of resistance was organised by Cunedd (Kenneth), son of Coel Hen (Coel the Old, or Old King Cole), a chieftain of Ayrshire. There were other chieftains who tried to stop the invaders: Owain ap Maxim, son of Maximus; Emrys Wledig (Aurelius Ambrosianus); Uthyr; and King Arthur of the Knights of the Round Table, a cousin in old Welsh (Cymric) records to St. David. It is unfortunate that we know little of this period.³²

III. STORIES OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN

There are many legends, or stories, of how the Christian faith came to Britain. Traditions die hard, but they are not to be discounted; for in them one may gain a grain of truth. One story related that St. James, the brother of our Lord, preached in Britain around A.D. 41, and went to France and to Venetia; later he returned to Jerusalem.³³ Simon Zelotes was supposed

²⁵Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-64.

²⁶Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *The Foundations of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1957), pp. 16-18.

²⁷*Ibid.* Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 20. See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-79.

²⁹Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁰Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 21. See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, pl 4.

³³Thomas MacLauchlan, *The Early Scottish Church: The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the First to the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Co., 1864), p. 38. See Edward James Jonas, *Some Accounts of the Nature and Constitution of the Ancient Church of Scotland* (London: Joseph Masters & Co., 1886), p. 14; G. A. Frank Knight, *Archaeological Light on the Early Christianising of Scotland* (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1933), I, p. 87.

to have taught in Britain and was crucified and buried there. St. Peter was supposed to have preached in Britain, founded Churches, ordained bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and returned to Rome.³⁴ In regard to St. Paul's having come to Britain, MacLauchlan stated:

It is not impossible that Paul may have preached in Britain, but there is nothing to prove it, and the probability is strong on the other side.³⁵

Agnes Mure Mackenzie declared that in 51 A.D. Caractacus (Caradog), a resistance leader in Britain, had been betrayed into Roman hands and sent to Rome. Caradog (Caradoc) and his family were in Rome the same time as St. Paul. When Caradog returned to Britain as a Christian, he brought with him four missionaries, one being Arwystli (Aristobulus of Romans 16: 10); the Greek Martyrology refers to him as a Bishop of the British.³⁶

The traditional account of the Holy Faith coming to Britain has won the admiration of many scholars. Hughes stated that Christianity was introduced by released prisoners of war who were taught by St. Paul himself in Rome.³⁷ Tacitus, the great Roman historian, said that Britons were carried as prisoners to Rome. Like Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Hughes related that Caradoc was taken prisoner to Rome captured in a struggle at Caer Caradoc, Shropshire in 40 A.D. At his release he was ordered to return to Wales as a prince, subject however, to Rome. Caradoc's imprisonment in Rome is contemporary with that of St. Paul's.³⁸ St. Paul spoke of his access to the court and of saints, "chiefly those that are of Caesar's household."³⁹ The Triads bear some marks of probability. Certain British hostages were identical with St. Paul's friends, and they bore the same name. Martial, a Roman poet, in his ode extolled the character of Claudia, a British lady, who was married to Pudens, one of the earliest Roman governors of Great Britain; this agrees with those references of St. Paul in II Timothy 4: 21. Should we infer that St. Paul and the poet are speaking of the same people, we can say that Pudens was a Christian—an inference justified by Martial speaking of him as Claudia's 'saintly husband'—as Christians were generally addressed as 'saints' in the primitive Church.⁴⁰ The Triads say that Llin (Linus) and Gwladys (Claudia) were Caradoc's children, who, with Bran, became his hostages and, when they returned to Britain, taught the faith.⁴¹ Claudia's children were: St. Timotheus, St. Novatus, St. Pudentiana, and St. Praxedes.⁴² Aristobulus was a brother of St. Barnabas and father-in-law to St. Peter and was ordained by St. Paul as first Bishop of the Britons, leaving Rome with Bran, Caradog, and the royal family for Siluria.⁴³ A farmhouse in Glamorganshire, Wales, named Trevran, is supposed to be the place where Bran once lived, and St. Donat's Castle, nearby, is the site of Caratacus' palace.⁴⁴

³⁴Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵Ibid., p. 40.

³⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 16. See R. W. Morgan, St. Paul in Britain; or, The Origin of British as Opposed to Papal Christianity (London: The Covenant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1925); Rev. Morgan tends to show that Britain's evangelical faith came from Jerusalem and the East and, therefore, from the lips of the Holy Apostles and Christ Himself, rather than from other lands. He maintained that St. Joseph of Arimathea introduced the faith into Britain and that Simon Zelotes and Aristobulus were active in the promulgation of the faith. Morgan traced the ancient Church of Britain to its roots of the Holy Apostles, maintaining that St. Paul taught in Britain and was connected with the royal family there and is actually buried there. Morgan's work has not to this day been refuted!

³⁷William Hughes, A History of the Church of the Cymry from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (London: Elliot Stock, 1894), p. 12.

³⁸Ibid., p. 13.

³⁹Philippians 4: 22.

⁴⁰Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The Welsh Triads are dated as early as 1800 B.C., and are reputed to have been formulated by Hu Gadarn (Hu the Mighty); they record laws, customs, science, arts, philosophy, religion, and in general, the wisdom of the ages.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 13.

⁴²E. J. Newell, A History of the Welsh Church to the Dissolution of the Monasteries (London: Elliot Stock, 1895), p. 5.

⁴³Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 5.

The loveliest story is that of St. Joseph of Arimathea, who provided the tomb for the body of our Lord (St. Luke 23: 50-56). It was said that he sought refuge in Britain from his enemies and brought with him the Holy Grail (Chalice) from which the wine at the Last Supper was poured. St. Joseph was supposed to have founded the abbey of Glastonbury.⁴⁵ He was accompanied by Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Philip. Though this legend has little historical evidence, there is little doubt that Glastonbury's claims to be the site of the first British Church are strong.⁴⁶ Glastonbury continued throughout the destructive period of the English conquest made by Danes, Angles, Saxons, and Normans. The story of St. Joseph of Arimathea is deeply written on the ornate, still remaining, ruins of the dismantled building there.⁴⁷ One story goes on to say that our Lord consecrated the chapel of Avalon (Glastonbury) Himself!⁴⁸

A conjecture is made that the British Church may have been founded by the Greek colony of Lyons, France. Persecutions in Rome and Asia Minor, numbering among its victims Justin Martyr and Polycarp, died out, when in 177 A.D., it then broke out in southern France. The possible date of the establishment of the British Church would be immediately anterior. There was a remarkably close relationship between the Gallican and British Churches. The British Church looked upon its Gallican neighbour as "the Mother Church." A number of British Churches were "dedicated" under Gallican names, e.g., St. Martin, St. Germanus, and St. Lupus; this shows that these saints were revered by the daughter churches in Britain.⁴⁹ Stirton said that the Roman Church was really a Greek one as its language, organisation, and Holy Scripture were Greek.⁵⁰

The Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, the works of Justin Martyr, of Caius, and Hippolytus, are in classic Greek. The ritual of the Church was in Greek; vestiges of it still remain—in the Roman liturgy, i.e., "Kyrie Eleison."⁵¹ In Gaul (France) the earliest Christians were mostly Greeks, for Marseilles had been founded by Greeks from Asia Minor six hundred years before our Lord.⁵² Lyons was an important Greek centre in the second century, and Christians were located there. St. Pothinus (martyred 197) was the first Bishop of Lyons; his successor was Irenaeus (martyred 202), a disciple of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who in turn was a disciple of the beloved Apostle, St. John.⁵³ As late as the fifth century, Greek was spoken in southern Gaul, particularly around Arles. St. Hilary of Poitiers (Poitiers), who was called "The Athanasius of the West", and Rhodanus of Toulouse were both exiled to Phrygia in 356. St. Hilary (died 368) returned to Poitiers in 361 and brought with him, in renewed measure, the doctrine, culture, and asceticism of the East.⁵⁴ In St. Hilary, Stirton asserted, two streams of Eastern tradition congealed, one from the Greeks of Lyons and the other from Phrygia.⁵⁵ We shall soon see how important these streams were in the Celtic Church in Britain as opposed to Romanised Christianity.

Summary

The Celts who were to play such an important role in the development of our Mother Country (Great Britain) had their origins, as far as can be ascertained, in Central Europe. Three branches of this language family reached Britain following B.C. 400, the Britons, Picts, and

⁴⁵Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 22. That St. Joseph of Arimathea preached in Britain was told, also by William of Malmesbury (died 1143), see MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴⁶Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁰John Stirton, *The Celtic Church and the Influence of the East* (Forfar, Scotland, 1923), p. 13.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

Scots. Celtic peoples worshipped the forces of nature for whom they found gods. The Druids played an important part before the Christian era. Celtic people to this day may be found living in the Highlands of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.

The Romans entered Britain about B.C. 55 and the natives were subdued by Julius Caesar to some degree. Roman armies never penetrated the Highlands of Scotland, the vast mountains of Wales, or Ireland; and Rome was forced to build walls and forts to protect their gains from the Celts. The power of mighty Rome declined, due to pressures within and without; and her armies were withdrawn from Britain following 407.

The legends of Christianity being established in early Britain cannot fully be discredited, yet there is a distinct lack of historical evidence. That the British Church may have been founded by Greek-thinking (Eastern) missionaries rather than Latin (Roman) is possible; that the Celtic Church was influenced more by Eastern thought in contrast to Rome cannot be disputed in the light of historical evidence.

Christianity was likewise introduced slowly into Britain by Roman merchants, officials, and soldiers from Gaul, too. Cross stated:

The Britons are first claimed as subjects of Christ by Tertullian and Origen, two Church fathers writing in 208 and 239 respectively, while the first evidence of any organized church is marked by the presence of three British bishops at a synod held at Arles in Gaul in 314. Within a century and a half the Teutons came and thrust a "wedge of heathendom" between the Christians of the Island and the Continent. During the long years when they were cut off from the mother church at Rome they developed forms of worship and government distinctly peculiar to themselves in many respects. When they are next heard of, there was a British and a Scotch-Irish Church. The former held sullenly aloof from the conquerors, the latter spread from Ireland to western Scotland, reached down into England and across the Continent, and became for a time a powerful rival to the Roman missionaries in converting the pagan German peoples. Both branches of the Celtic Church were independent of the bishop of Rome. Both differed from the Roman usage in their method of computing the date on which Easter fell. Both, too, had a peculiar form for the clerical tonsure; while the Romans shaved the crown in a circle, the Celts shaved the front of the head from ear to ear. In some respects the two Churches differed not only from the parent Church, but from each other. The British had their own special form of baptism. On the other hand, among the Scotch-Irish the supreme governors were the priestabbots of the monasteries, while the bishops, subject to their authority, confined themselves to ordaining priests, consecrating churches, and doing missionary work.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. Cross may be on dangerous ground by inferring the Roman Church was the Mother Church of the Celts, although he correctly points out the differences. Nowhere can we find references that Rome was ever the "Mother Church" to the Celts. The Celtic Church was linked with Eastern Christianity, i.e., Greek, Asian, and Egyptian.

CHAPTER II

SOME EARLY CELTIC SAINTS AND THEIR LABOURS

Recall to mind the fact that, though the Empire of Rome covered the known civilised world, it did at no period include Scotland.¹ True, Roman generals led their armies into the country; walls were built and fortified, but the natives harassed all incomers. The actual borderline was between the Solway Firth and the Tyne in northern England and southern Scotland.² The Romans, however, exerted great influence on people's lives. This influence spread beyond their conquests. Christianity spread to Persia, Armenia, to the German tribes, and to Scotland in this manner.³

Roman soldiers had withdrawn in large numbers from northern England and southern Scotland. A bishop was left to work among his people, and his labours were more lasting than all the armies of the Roman Empire; for he taught rather than fought; his weapon was the sword of the spirit.

I. ST. NINIAN (360-432)

St. Ninian was born in 360 in southwestern Scotland, the Province of Galloway.⁴ His name is spelled with many variants.⁵ Remember that in Britain there was a well-established community of believers, and records tell us that there were martyrs to the faith in the planned persecutions of 306 and 324.⁶ Tertullian, who wrote in the third century, spoke of "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."⁷

St. Ninian was the son of a Christian prince.⁸ Being born and reared in a Christian home, he was baptised early. As a youth he was devoted to religion. His reverence for the Church and followers of Christ was noted. He took little food; he was quiet, studious, and most agreeable in manners. His soul was devoted to the faith; he was a student of the Word and desired further instruction which would help promote Christ's Church and make him a worthy minister.⁹

¹George D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland, a Short History (Glasgow: Gilmour & Dean Ltd., N.D.), p. 10.

²Ibid., p. 10. See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 30.

³Ibid.

⁴Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 30, gave 362; James Rankin, A Handbook of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons), p. 3; Rankin gave 360; D.D.C. Pochin Mould, Scotland of The Saints (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1952), p. 35, gave 362; J. D. Mowat, A Text-Book of Scottish Church History (Edinburgh: Robert Grant and Sons, Ltd., 1939), p. 20, gave 350; James Hutchison Cockburn, The Celtic Church in Dunblane; A View of The Scottish Church from S. Ninian to the Culdees and the Coming of the Roman Catholic Church (Edinburgh: C. J. Cousland & Sons, Ltd., 1954), p. 16, gave 362.

⁵William Cumming Skinner, Candida Casa The Apostolic Centre of Scotland (Dundee: David Winter and Son, 1931), p. 3, gives some variants: Bynia (Bede); Nynia and Nyniga (Alcuin); St. Ringan or St. Ringen (in Scotland); St. Trinyon and St. Trinan (England); in Ireland he was St. Monenn, St. Macineann, and St. Moninn; Sanct Niniane (Bellenden). Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 30, gives: Nenn, Neman, Nennius, and Ninianus.

⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 30.

⁷Ibid., p. 30, "Places of the Britons, out of the reach of the Romans, conquered by the true Christ."

⁸Skinner, op. cit., p. 5; Rankin, op. cit., p. 3; George G. Cameron, Highlights of Our Heritage; Some Landmarks in Our Church's Advance (Edinburgh: MacCorquodale & Co., Ltd., 1953), p. 12.

⁹Ibid., p. 6.

The centre of the Empire was Rome; and, since travel was comparatively easy, St. Ninian went there to study. Carefully here, we must note that Rome was not the Rome of the mediaeval period, but that of the time of St. Jerome and St. Augustine. The "See of St. Peter" was unheard of.¹⁰ He was about twenty-five years of age when he went to Rome. Could he have encountered there such famous men as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, or heard the preaching of St. Chrysostom? It is inspiring to think that he may have.¹¹ St. Ninian may have read St. Athanasius's work about St. Anthony, which was written as a true teaching as opposed to all innovations. St. Athanasius had died ten years before St. Ninian came to Rome.¹² He studied in Rome nearly ten years and was greatly impressed by the city of Caesar. Pagan temples were still standing, but quite deserted. Christians were everywhere and were growing. At Rome, the centre of the Christian world, St. Ninian met religious leaders from all sections.¹³ The Bishop of Rome at this time was St. Siricius.¹⁴

His schooling completed and his ordination as a bishop made, St. Ninian returned to Britain to evangelise his people.¹⁵ On his way home he stayed with St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (316-397), a heroic figure. St. Martin was born in Steinamangen, Hungary, according to Knight.¹⁶ He was the son of a soldier, had entered the army, and had become a cavalry officer. He was a kind man. St. Martin renounced army life and embraced the faith in 354.¹⁷

St. Martin desired, along with his followers, to recapture the primitive simplicity of Christ and His Apostles.¹⁸ He had become a disciple of St. Hilary while garrisoned at Amiens, France. As he so strongly felt the need for reform, he was impressed with the monasticism then rising in favour; he hailed it as a means of correcting abuses in Gaul. St. Anthony, an Egyptian of noble birth, was born at Comer, Egypt, and had promulgated the type of monasticism which St. Martin adopted.¹⁹ When St. Anthony died, Pachomius succeeded him. A monastery was founded on the Island of Tabennae in the Upper Nile. There were seven thousand members in this community which was headed by an "abbas" (Syriac--father).²⁰ The fame of this early monastic group spread and similar communities sprang up. St. Martin received his training and inspiration from St. Hilary of Poitiers at Lyons. Let us glance at this figure, St. Hilary.

St. Hilary was Bishop of Poitiers from 353 to 367. He wrote during his banishment, 358, *De Synodis*.²¹ He was born about 299 of pagan parentage. St. Hilary knew Greek and was a student of Holy Writ; his sympathies were "Eastern."²² He was a furious fighter against Arianism and won the title, "Athanasius of the West." In 356 (358) he was banished, along with Rhodanius of Toulouse, to Phrygia, where he studied anew the Eastern Church's doctrine and organisation; and he returned to Poitiers in 361. In St. Hilary we find two channels of the Eastern tradition; one from Lyons, the other from Phrygia.²³ St. Hilary was taught and inspired by St. Athanasius, who was known for his zeal for the Nicene Creed (325).²⁴ As is

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 13; Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹³Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵John A. Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1937), p. 7, hereafter cited as Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*. See Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁶Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 117. See Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Stirton, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 117. See Stirton, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹⁹Stirton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 31.

²¹Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²²Stirton, *op. cit.* p. 29.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁴Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 104. It is interesting to note that St. Athanasius spoke highly of the British Church's work and its support of the orthodox cause during the Arian controversy; three British bishops, a presbyter, and a deacon attended the Council of Arles, 314; at the Council of Ariminum in 359 British clergy were present; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

well known, St. Athanasius was the bishop (presbyter) of Alexandria who became the centre of opposition to the views of Arius. He was one who knew science and logic; in 336 he was banished to Treves in Gaul and again banished in 339.

Returning to St. Martin, the cloak of leadership of the Gallican Church passed to him. His was a great connexion. Indeed, the connexion of Touraine with Scotland goes back before either Scotland and France were truly nations. Perhaps Scottish Christianity has its organised form in St. Martin's abbey, which still stands at Tours on the Loire River.²⁵ The Gallican Church derived its being from Eastern sources rather than from Rome. Potinus, a missionary to Gaul, was a follower of St. Polycarp of Smyrna; and St. Hilary had long been in Phrygia.²⁶ St. Martin brought into being monasteries from the East in the Western Church. His community became famous, and scholars came to Marmoutier, near Tours, from all over the known Christian world.²⁷

St. Ninian returned to Scotland in 397 and received a joyous welcome from the Christian people of Wigtownshire.²⁸ He was a nephew of St. Martin, and obtained masons who built Candida Casa (White House) at Whithorn (Whitherne). This white Church was "dedicated" to St. Martin, who died while the Church was being constructed in 397 (or 399).²⁹

On the Isle of Whithorn are the ruins of a small thirteenth century chapel which may mark the actual site of Candida Casa. Actually this small Church may have been built by Premonstratensian canons of Whithorn Priory as a chapel of ease to serve the local needs of the community there.³⁰ This proposed site of organised Scottish Christianity is rugged, lonesome, yet grand.

Another site which has been suggested for Candida Casa is in the ancient, charming town of Whithorn itself, a royal burgh, which lies about three miles inland from the Isle. During the author's visit to Whithorn and the Priory Kirk (November 27, 1960), excavations were under way, being undertaken by the Kirk of Scotland, which may well one day establish the fact that St. Ninian built there first. The claim of Whithorn in being the original Candida Casa rests upon the fact that one of the oldest of the early Christian monuments in this area, a Latinus stone, the lettering of which indicates that it is contemporary with St. Ninian, was found there.³¹ Archibald B. Scott, however, pointed out that there is no true conflict between the claims of Whithorn and the Isle as both sites were probably elements in the same enterprise.³²

St. Ninian's Cave was viewed in the evening by the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. William Albert Nicholson and the author. It was the usual practise in the Celtic Church for the missionary to retire for rest and spiritual guidance periodically. This cave still remains for the traveller, or pilgrim, to see. It is a dark cleft in the rocky coast beyond the mouth of the romantic Physgill Burn, round Burrow Head, about three miles west of the Isle of Whithorn. Simpson wrote:

The cave has yielded a considerable assemblage of Celtic Crosses, incised on the walls or upon loose stones, the oldest of them dating back perhaps as far as the eighth century. These three sites—the diocesan centre of Whithorn, the monastery on the Isle, and the hermitage at Physgill—together give us a unique picture of primitive ecclesiastical arrangements. Associated as they are with the beginnings of Christianity in Scotland,

²⁵Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁹Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

³⁰W. Douglas Simpson, *Saint Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), pp. 71-72. The author of this treatise, along with Rev. Dr. and Mrs. William Albert Nicholson of Pittsburgh visited the Isle of Whithorn, Whithorn Abbey, and St. Ninian's Cave, Sunday, November 27, 1960.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 75.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 76. Dr. Archibald B. Scott referred to by Simpson suggested that Candida Casa is a Latinised transportation of a Celtic name, "Locoteiacum" or "Locotigracum," attached to St. Martin's first monastery near Poitiers (Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 79).

they form a trio of localities which in historic importance and in sanctity are unsurpassed in the kingdom.³³

St. Ninian and his followers founded the Great Monastery (Magnum Monasterium). Here his future missionaries were educated; and they, in turn, taught others in sacred and secular knowledge. This was an imitation of St. Martin's Marmoutier.³⁴ Students were attracted to its monastic training. The building was stone and was large enough to house a large population.³⁵ St. Ninian's school (or college) was famous; fleeing scholars from over-run Gaul studied there; and others came from Ireland, such as: St. Tighernac, St. Kieran who founded Clonmacnoise; St. Finian; St. Kevin; St. Finbarr of Moville, the instructor of St. Columba the founder of Dornoch Cathedral; and Caranoc, who baptised Scottish-born St. Patrick. Women were included in this school as well.³⁶ St. Ninian conducted a mission to the Picts of Alba (Scotland) as well as to the Picts of Ireland. Some of the scholars of Candida Casa became zealous missionaries who carried on long after St. Ninian's work.³⁷

Opposite Candida Casa in Ireland lies Strangford Loch, where a missionary station was planted in the fourth century. The first president of Aondrium was St. Mochaoi. This school was closely connected with Candida Casa. St. Finbar studied at St. Ninian's school.³⁸ St. Finbar established an order at Maghfile in the sixth century, and St. Comgall founded the famous Pictish community at Bangor.³⁹ We can readily see the close connexion with the Pictish schools in Scotland and Ireland.

Education at Candida Casa was provided for all classes of people. High, middle, and low were trained in agriculture. In this way St. Ninian and his followers carefully and faithfully followed St. Martin's example.⁴⁰

St. Ninian was a bishop. It is wise to remember at this time that such monarchic or diocesan bishops did not exist within the Celtic Church.⁴¹ St. Ninian believed that the Church was the people, the brotherhood and sisterhood of converts, cemented together by the pledge of devotion and service to their Lord.⁴² His Church was governed by a free, provincial council. This Church was composed of religious brothers who formed a congregation. The government and discipline of the Church was monastic. St. Ninian permitted three designations for ordained clergy: deacons, presbyters, and bishops. Deacons at Candida Casa, and generally in the Celtic Church, were juniors; presbyters were presbyters in the Scriptural sense; bishops were "brothers," usually seniors in the monastic group. A bishop might or might not celebrate a sacrament, as any presbyter could perform that as well.⁴³

St. Ninian's bishops were not ruling dignitaries; there were no actual dioceses, as we have seen. The "president" governed the family and arranged for missionary services in various sections of the country. He was oftentimes either a deacon, or a presbyter, or a bishop, which was exactly the same position St. Martin of Tours held when he presided at "Leukotiac." The president (or even moderator) was called "papa," or "abbas," or "antistes," or simply "senior," and he was the guiding, or leading "brother" among other "brothers."⁴⁴

³³Ibid., pp. 76-77. Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 12, said that Candida Casa in a translation of "Leuko-Teiac" or "White House," the name gives to St. Martin's first building on St. Hilary's farm at Ligege. In Wales it is "Ty Gwyn," and St. Paul Hen founded "Ty Gwyn ar Dav" in Caermarthen.

³⁴Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Mould, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42. See Archibald B. Scott, The Pictish Nation: Its People and Its Church (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1918), pp. 90-106.

³⁵Ibid., p. 13.

³⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁷A. B. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 91-92.

³⁹Ibid., p. 92.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 95.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 97.

⁴²A. B. Scott, The Rise and Relations of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliott, 1932), p. 184.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 184-185.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 186. See Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

The Sacraments in St. Ninian's Church followed the Apostolic practise. Holy Baptism was celebrated, and the candidate was questioned upon what was contained in the Apostles' Creed. The Celtic Church did not hold that man's nature was corrupted in primal times. It was the Roman imperialised Church which held this doctrine. The Celtic Church did believe later on that man could be depraved, as shown clearly by the ravages of "Christianised barbarians." The Celtic parish dedicated their children to the Church, supervised their upbringing, but according to Scott delayed Holy Baptism until maturer years.⁴⁵

The Eucharist (The Lord's Supper) was a fellowship of baptised men and women. When St. Ninian taught the Northern Britons, the Holy Communion was a "Fellowship of Brothers." Apostolic names given to the Holy Communion were known to the Celts *εὐλογία* (I Corinthians 10: 16) and *εὐχαριστία* ("Eucharist," I Corinthians 11: 24). "Mystery" (*μυστήριον*) did not refer to any effects of bread and wine in the communicants, nor to any occult transformation of these elements on the Holy Table. Offering was applied to two different features of the Holy Supper: first, something presented and made clearly manifest; the Lord's Supper was celebrated when Christians provided loaves of bread and wine—this was the "offering" of the congregation. Then gifts were displayed before the people and over them the "good word" and the "benedictio" were said by the minister who took what he needed for the service. What remained was distributed to the sick. Unused, blessed, bread was eaten by the brothers.⁴⁶

Monastic communities grew, and the "offerings" multiplied; the "good word" said over the gifts became a preparatory service to the Eucharist, and the name *εὐλογία* was given. When the ministrant had taken what he desired, the word "offering" was extended to the raising of the "fine thankfulness" (*εὐχαριστία*), the great commemorative thanksgiving for Christ's life of sacrifice and service. The people chanted from the Psalter. Acts of praise consecrated the elements of bread and wine in the special use of the Eucharist. After the Thanksgiving, the bread was broken (representing Christ's Body) and distributed; and the wine (representing His shed Blood) was divided among the brothers and sisters in His Name. The Eucharist was completed. The ministrant had "manifested down" to the participants and through them to others the precious memory and declared purpose of their blessed Saviour's death.⁴⁷

The main service was on Sunday as the Lord's Supper was celebrated. It began with the "Te Deum Laudamus," a morning hymn. A bishop, or a presbyter, celebrated the sacrament.⁴⁸ On week days the morning service would include an Ambrosian chant, "Splendor Paternae Glorise," or a hymn by St. Hilary, author of several hymns for the morning; his Whitsunday hymn is, "Beata nobis gaudia." The evening worship was probably closed with St. Ambrose's, "O Lux beata Trinitas." As the monasteries increased, and as the years rolled on, Divine Worship took on more elaborate forms.⁴⁹

St. Ninian's Influence. St. Ninian and his followers worked among the Picts in the wild areas. He was a tireless worker. Drust the Great was king. The Venerable Bede named the tribes whom St. Ninian evangelised and who lay on Bede's side of Drumalban (Loch Lomond to Sutherland), the "Southern Picts." We must remember that Bede had Ptolemy's map, whereby Scotland is portrayed as lying eastward into the North Sea, and at right angles to England; the west was north, and the east was south. St. Ninian converted the Eastern Picts.⁵⁰

This saint's mission to the Picts may be traced as the Churches he established were named for him; to this day they are preserved as place-names. This missionary was truly inspired by God's Word; his driving force was tremendous and his zeal unflagging. His endeavours took him to the east coast road to the north and beyond to the extreme north to Orkney, Shetland,

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 189-190.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴⁸Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 26; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; Mould, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

west, and down the Great Glen.⁵¹ A summary of sources would indicate that St. Ninian was probably the founder of the following Churches:⁵²

<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. Candida Casa	Isle of Whithorn, or Whithorn
2. St. Ninian's Cave (His traditional retreat)	Port Castle, Glasserton
3. Tipia Ninian	Kirk-medan
4. Church of St. Ninian	Penningham, Wigtownshire
5. Cruives of Cree	Penningham, Wigtownshire
6. Kincase	Ayrshire
7. Monkton	Ayrshire
8. Dundonald	Ayrshire
9. Colmonell	Ayrshire
10. Kil Sanct Ninian	Armillar, Ayrshire
11. St. Ringan's Chapel	Halydene, Bowden, Roxburgh
12. St. Ringan's, Peebles	Tweedgreen
13. Chapel Ninian	Kirkcaldy, Fife
14. St. Ninian's Church and Well, Abereloth	Aber-Eloth (Arbirlot), near Arbroath, Angus
15. Capella, St. Niniana, Keithik	Keithoc, Brechin, Angus
16. The Cell of Ninian (Cillan Trinnian)	Templehouse, Glen Urquhart

Sites of St. Ninian's foundations may be found in the Enzie, Rathven, Banffshire; Urquhart on Loch Ness; Old Fearn, Parish of Edderton, Ross-shire; North Head, Wick Bay; and St. Ninian's "Isle" of Dunrossness, Shetland.⁵³

When this great missionary's labours were fulfilled in Scotland and in Ireland, he retired to his Candida Casa and died September 16, 432, at the age of seventy-two. He was buried in a stone coffin and laid near the altar of his beloved church at Whithorn, named for St. Martin of Tours his teacher.⁵⁴

II. ST. PATRICK (389-461)

St. Patrick was born near the present town of Dumbarton, Scotland, in 389,⁵⁵ the son of] Calpurnius and Concessa, both Christians.⁵⁶

Odissus
|
Potitus, a presbyter (?)
|
Calpurnius, a deacon—married—Concessa
|
ST. PATRICK (or Succat)

⁵¹Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 40-42; Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-37; Knight, *op. cit.*, I, p. 133; Mowat, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

⁵³Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-37.

⁵⁴Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵Although scholars are not entirely in agreement, the majority believe that St. Patrick was born in 389.

⁵⁶John A. Duke, *The Columban Church* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 145, hereafter quoted as Duke, *The Columban Church*, as not to confuse Duke's earlier work, *History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation*; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Black, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 44; F. F. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Knight, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 168-169; Charles Henry Robinson, *The Conversion of Europe* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), pp. 49-50.

Interestingly enough, Succat (his British name) has been claimed by other countries, namely: England, Wales, France, and Ireland. His birth-place has been set in four areas: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Daventry (France), Northamptonshire, the Severn Valley in Wales, and near Dumbarton. At about the age of seven he was seized one day by a band of Irish pirates and taken to Ireland and sold as a slave. He worked as a shepherd and swineherdsman to an Irish chieftain. As Succat had been brought up as a Christian, he shared his faith with his captor's children. Young Patrick devoted himself to prayer. He went to France and studied on St. Honorat's Isle, where he became a monk. St. Honorat (Honoratus) had established a community in Gaul on the Island of Lerins. This centre became famous and its pattern quickly spread throughout western Europe. St. Vincent was a learned doctor of this monastery, known for the definition of the true creed: "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum sit." St. Patrick came to Lerins and studied the asceticism which had been brought from Egypt. Returning to Britain, he found some of his relatives and at the age of forty returned to Ireland to evangelise.⁵⁷

Arriving in Ireland, he met King Laoghaire (Leary), son of Niall, progenitor of the O'Neills of Ulster. The king was sympathetic to St. Patrick's mission, in spite of the open hostility of the king's Druids; the Druids feared their days were now numbered, and they were correct. Before St. Patrick's arrival, the Druids had had some contact with other Christian evangelists.⁵⁸

The Scottish-born saint was successful in his missionary endeavours by winning over to his side the Druids. He showed to his opponents beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Christian Gospel was superior. He and his companions landed on the eastern section of Ireland and established contact with the Christian Church which St. Palladius (died 432) had in 431 founded and strengthened. Later, we find him going to Strangford Lough and receiving a generous welcome from Dichu, a chieftain, who received Holy Baptism.⁵⁹

St. Patrick spoke to clansmen through their kings and chieftains. It was his intention to engraft the Gospel upon the Druidic religion. Pagan festivals were adapted and associated with Christian ones. But this did not mean that he was a missionary of "Laissez-faire." We have records of the saint at Tara attacking paganism by burning the Druidical books.⁶⁰ While in County Cavan, he toppled the idol Crom Cruach, employed as an object of savage rites.⁶¹ King Laoghaire's two daughters were baptised by St. Patrick, thus bringing the royal family into the Christian fold.⁶² He spent seven years teaching and preaching in Connaught, particularly County Mayo. We find him in 443 in Ulster establishing a Church and monastery at Armagh. King Daire gave him land. The saint wanted Armagh to be his episcopal seat and the See of the Irish Church. Tradition says that the bones of St. Peter and St. Paul were deposited by St. Patrick at Armagh, which relics he brought back from his recent visit to Rome.⁶³ We have no mention of Rome, however, in the saint's writings. Indeed, MacLauchlan declared that St. Patrick was never in Rome and was a mere presbyter.⁶⁴ It is true that such men as St. Ninian, St. Patrick, St. Palladius, St. Columba, etc., were not labouring to yoke an iron-clad organisation upon their converts which one day would enslave them. These men loved Christ and the souls of men and were mere ministers of the Holy Gospel.

⁵⁷Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-104. See Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Stirton, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 34. St. Patrick studied at Auxerre and was ordained presbyter by Amator, bishop and predecessor of St. Germanus.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 104-105; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 106. That there were Pictish Christian of Dalaradia (County Down and County Antrim, Ulster) long before St. Patrick cannot be denied.

⁶⁰Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 28; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁶²Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 109; Stirton, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁶⁴MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 18.



Statue of Saint Cuthbert, with King Oswald's head in his left hand, in niche on the exterior of the east end of Melrose Abbey, looking towards Ancient Mailros and the scenes of his labours



In this woodcut, Saint Patrick is depicted in a traditional pose holding a shamrock to illustrate the Trinity. The shamrock and other legends such as driving the snakes from Ireland arose long after Patrick's death and are unsubstantiated by his life and works.

St. Patrick, the presbyter, based his episcopal organisation on the clan (tribe) divisions of the various areas of the country. The monasteries served for episcopal sees, as there were no large cities. The earliest bishops, presbyters, etc., were Gaulish and British co-adjutors who came from Ireland itself. St. Patrick's fellow-student, Iserninus, founded a Church at Aghade on the River Slaney.⁶⁵

In his later years the saint wrote his Confessions; it was a necessary work to establish his claims of promoting the Holy Gospel. From this brief work we have first-hand information about St. Patrick and God's gracious Hand upon him. Like St. Paul of old, the Scottish-Irish saint told of himself being an unworthy instrument whom God used to convert wicked men.⁶⁶ We obtain another glimpse of our saint in his "Letter to the Subjects of Coroticus." It appeared that a raid had taken place in Ulster by Coroticus's soldiers, and some Christians had been slain. St. Patrick protested this outrage and sent a presbyter to the raiders, demanding release of the survivors and return of the loot, but to no avail. Coroticus shared the responsibility and later made amends.⁶⁷ In this letter the Scots were mentioned as pagans and the Picts were described as apostates. Evidentially many of them had not been fully converted by St. Ninian or St. Palladius.

In 457 St. Patrick resigned his episcopal seat (or bishopric) at Armagh and was succeeded by Benignus. On a visit to Saul he died on the 17th of March 461. His grave is at Downpatrick.⁶⁸ Thus died the Scotchman who is today the patron saint of Ireland, a man of steadfastness and one who rekindled the light of the Holy Gospel which had been almost extinguished in other lands!

St. Patrick has left the following hymn which is sung by Christians today:⁶⁹

I bind myself today to a strong virtue, an invocation of (the) Trinity. I believe in a Threeness with confession of an Oneness in (the) Creator of (the) Universe.

I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Christ's birth with his baptism,

To the virtue of his crucifixion with his burial,

To the virtue of his resurrection with his ascension,

To the virtue of his coming to the Judgment of Doom.

I bind myself to-day to the virtue of ranks of Cherubim, in obedience of angels,

(In service of archangels),

In hope of resurrection for reward,

In prayers of patriarchs,

In predictions of prophets,

In preaching of apostles,

In faiths of confessors,

In innocence of holy virgins,

In deeds of righteous men,

I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Heaven,

In light of sun,

In brightness of snow,

In splendour of fire,

In speed of lightning,

In swiftness of wind,

In depth of sea,

⁶⁵Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 110. See Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 111. See Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶⁸Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 112; J. W. Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales* (London: D. Nutt, 1897), p. 8, gave St. Patrick's death as 493 (*Annals of Ulster*).

⁶⁹Maclean, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

In stability of earth,
In compactness of rock.

I bind myself to-day to God's virtue to pilot me,
God's might to uphold me,
God's wisdom to guide me,
God's eye to look before me,
God's ear to hear me,
God's word to speak for me,
God's hand to guard me,
God's way to lie before me,
God's shield to protect me,
God's host to secure me,
Against snares of demons,
Against seductions of vices,
Against lusts (?) of nature,
Against every one who wishes ill to me,
Afar and anear,
Alone and in a multitude,
So have I invoked all these virtues between me (and these)
Against every cruel, merciless power which may come, against my body and my
soul,
Against incantations of false prophets.
Against black laws of heathenry,
Against false laws of heretics,
Against craft of idolatry,
Against spells of women, and smiths, and Druids,
Against every knowledge that defiles men's souls, Christ to protect me to-day.
Against poison, against burning, against drowning, against death wound,
Until a multitude of rewards come to me!
Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me, Christ in me!
Christ below me, Christ above me, Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height!
Christ in the heart of every one who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every one who speaks to me,
Christ in every eye who sees me,
Christ in every ear who hears me.
I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation of (the) Trinity,
I believe in a Threeness with confession of an Oneness in (the) Creator of (the) Universe
Domini est salus, Domini est salus, Christi est salus,
Salus tua Domine, sit semper nobiscum.

III. ST. DAVID OF WALES (472-554)

St. David (Dewi Sant), the Patron Saint of Wales, was born in 472 at St. Davids.⁷⁰ He was baptised at Parth Clais by the Bishop of Munster, Albeus (Aelocus). Reared in Hen Meneu, he later received his early religious training in the school of St. Illtyd, and afterwards in St. Paulinus's school at White House on the Tave.⁷¹

⁷⁰W. J. Rees, *Lives of The Cambro-British Saints* (Llandovery: William Rees, 1853), p. 402. According to the "Annales Cambriae" (Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 74), St. David died March 1, 601; Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79, gave his death as March 1, 554, aged 82, according to Ussher.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 402.

He was the son of Sant (Sandde), grandson of King Ceredig, and great-grandson of Cunedda Wledig; his mother was Non, the daughter of Gynyr of Caergawch in Menevia.⁷² Being reared in Old Menevia, St. David settled in Glyn Rosyn, where he established the monastery of Menevia.⁷³ A leader in the Celtic (Welsh) Church, he attended the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi, and in 569 we find him at the "Synodus Victoriae" in Caerleon.⁷⁴

One of the features of the Celtic Church was its affection for monasteries. The Celts believed holiness could best be led by "a life of association" and not as the Roman monastic system, which said holiness could be best led by a life of isolation.⁷⁵ The Roman Church had hermits; the Celts lived in groups of families settled on tribal (or clan) lands, and both sexes were represented. Near the end of the Celtic Church only men were permitted in their monasteries, and lastly, before its collapse, complete solitariness was ordered.⁷⁶ Early Welsh saints, abbots, presbyters, never made pilgrimages to Rome; they never subscribed to Rome's authority. Interestingly, St. David is said to have been consecrated archbishop by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was not in orders until that time.⁷⁷ The Celtic consecration of bishop was in this manner: first, oil was poured on the new bishop's head; second, the Holy Ghost was invoked by prayer; third, the consecrating bishop laid his hands on the candidate and pronounced his blessing; fourth, there was no delivery of the Holy Bible; fifth, there was no oath of obedience; sixth, there were no other forms of authority and subjection as found in the Latin service.⁷⁸ Welsh bishops married as did the other clergy.⁷⁹

The Church of St. David was supported from produce from the lands which formed the possession of the tribes. The Church laboured in groups; groups of settlements, Churches, and bishops. Wales was divided among religious establishments. Churches were divided into sections and to a particular monastery, and a specific group (presbytery) of Churches would belong, irrespective of importance or of a given situation; that is, the Churches of Teilo belonged to Llandaff, and Dewi Churches were connected with St. Davids.⁸⁰ Welsh saints were restricted to those persons who belonged to the religious tribes without regard to any particular holiness of life.⁸¹ From the earliest inception of the Holy Faith into Wales to the year 597, the Church was completely independent; its dealings were only with Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany. From 597 to 1100, the Welsh Church refused, time and time again, to submit to the rule of St. Augustine of Canterbury and to Rome. During this period, when many Celtic Churches adopted Roman Easter and Celtic bishops were consecrated by Roman prelates, the Church of Wales was still free. Bund declared that the Welsh Church has never admitted Rome's authority and was never a part of the Latin scheme.⁸² Bund is partly supported by Newell who stated: "Until the end of the sixth century the Church in Wales had come into no direct contact with the See of Rome."⁸³ Hughes asserted that Wales was not completely integrated in the Province of Canterbury until its final conquest and subjugation under England in 1284.⁸⁴

⁷²Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷⁵Bund, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 45. Pope Calixtus canonised St. David in 1120 hoping to win the rebellious and independent Cymry to Rome.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 467.

⁸³Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

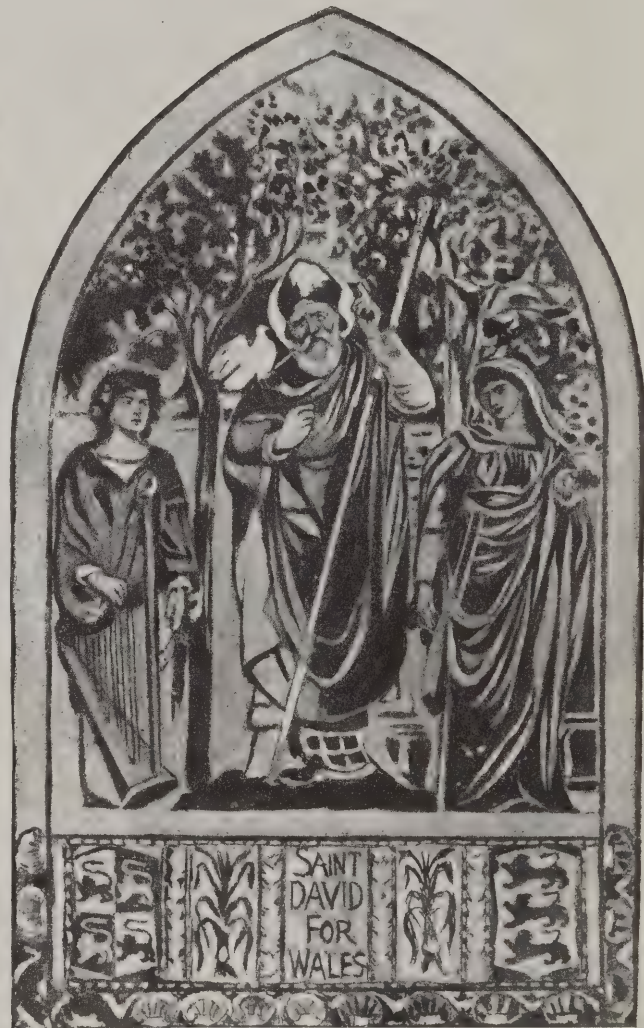
⁸⁴Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 134.



Cemetery and Parish Church, Mochrum,
Wigtownshire.



Whithorn, The Cradle of Christianity



St. Edward Poynter's Mosaic of St. David.
In the Central Hall of Parliament.

IV. NOTED WELSH SAINTS

St. David towers above all the Welsh saints. We cannot afford to leave the Church of St. David, however, without making mention of a few of the many saints of The Church of the Cymry.

St. Gildas (516-570). He was a monastic leader and the author of History and Epistle. He was the son of Caw, a prince of North Britain and a student under the famous St. Lllyd. He visited the Celtic settlements in Brittany.⁸⁵

St. Dyfrig (Dubricius). He died November 14, 612. He established colleges at Henllan and Mochros, both situated on the River Wye, and one at Caerleon. He was the first bishop of Llandaff; in 1120 his bones were placed in the cathedral there.⁸⁶

St. Teilo. He was a relative of St. David, tracing his descent from Ceredig, son of Cunedda. He succeeded St. Dyfrig as Bishop of Llandaff and is reputed to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁸⁷

St. Dunawd Fyr (son of Pabo Post Prydain). He founded the monastery of Bangor Iscoed on the River Dee, Flintshire, near Wrexham.⁸⁸ From this place came many learned scholars who accompanied Welsh bishops in their conference with St. Augustine. St. Dunawd was once a chief of North Britain and a warrior. His brother was Sawyl Benuchel, the Patron Saint Llan-sawel in Carmarthenshire. St. Dunawd's son was St. Asaph, successor of St. Kentigern, Bishop of Llanelwy. Another son was Deiniol Wyn, who established the monastery of Bangor Deiniol, or Bangor Fawr, now Bangor in Carnarvonshire; he died in 584 and is buried at Bardsey.⁸⁹

St. Brynach. He flourished in the fifth century. He married a daughter of Brychan and had one son, Gerwyn, and three daughters, Mwynwen, Gwennan, and Gwenllieo. He founded the Churches of Llanfrynach, Brecknockshire; Llanfrynach (Penlin), Glamorganshire, and Llanfernach, Dinas, and Nevern in Pembrokeshire. He was the spiritual instructor of Prince Brychan of Brecknock. His Feast Day is April 9th.⁹⁰

St. Beino. He was the son of Hywgi (Bugi ap Gwynlliw Filwr) and Perferen, daughter of Llawdden Luyddog of Dinas Eiddin of the North. He was a relative of Cattwg and St. Kentigern and lived in the sixth and seventh centuries. In 616 at Clynog Fawr, Caernarvonshire, he founded a religious society. He taught St. Winefred. Eleven Churches were dedicated to him. His festival is April 21st.⁹¹

St. Cadoc (Cattwg). He was the eldest son of Gwynlliw Filwr and a brother to St. Beino, who flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries. His maxims and moral sayings in prose and verse are preserved. He was abbot (principal) of Llancarfan, a college. He founded many Churches in Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, and Carmarthenshire.⁹²

St. Carannog. He was a son of Corwn, grandson of Ceredig, and a relative of St. David. He founded the Churches of Llangrannog, Cardiganshire.⁹³

St. Illtyd. He was an Armorican and a son of Bicanys, by a sister of Emys Llydaw, whom John of Teignmouth called Riengulida, and was therefore a great-nephew of St. Germanus. St. Illtyd may have been a soldier in King Arthur's forces. He was persuaded by St. Cadoc to devote himself to the Church in 520. He founded Pembre Church, Carmarthenshire; Illston and Newcastle Churches, Glamorganshire, and Llantrisant, along with St. Tyfodog and St. Gwyn in the sixth century. His festival is February 7th.⁹⁴

⁸⁵Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 78.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁹⁰Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 398. His festival is given both as June 17 and May 16.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 465.

St. Cubi. He was the son of Selyf ab Geraint ab Erbin; and his mother was Gwen, the daughter of Gynyr of Caer-gawch, and sister of Non, mother of St. David. He was present at the Synod of Brefi. He founded the Church of Llangyhi, near Caerleon, and established a religious society at Caergyhi, or Holyhead in Anglesey, where he served as abbot. He founded Llangybi in Carnarvonshire. His festival is November 8th.⁹⁵

St. Padarn. He was the son of Pedrwn (Pedredin ap Emyr Llydaw). He was a member of Illtyd College and became first bishop of Llanbadarn-fawr in Cardiganshire. He founded Churches in Cardiganshire and Radnorshire.⁹⁶

St. Winefred (Gwenfrwi). She owes her celebrity more to the well which is called after her name. She is mentioned in the Welsh pedigrees of the saints. Much of her life is legendary of the accounts we have.⁹⁷

There are other Welsh saints, too numerous to list here, but a few will suffice: St. Cadfan, St. Aidus, St. Brendanus, St. Tathan (son of Ammwn Ddu and Anne, a member of St. Illtyd College), St. Margaret, St. Catherine, St. Gwynllyw Filwr (festival March 29th).⁹⁸

V. OTHER CELTIC SAINTS OF IMPORTANCE

St. Kentigern (Mungo) was the son of Ewen (Owen ap Urien), a British prince, and a princess, St. Thenew (Tanew), a daughter of the King Loth of the Lothians, born 514. He was reared in the faith by St. Serf at Culross. He settled near Glasgow and made missionary tours in Strathclyde. Falling into disfavour with the king, he fled to Wales, preaching in Cumberland and the area around Carlisle on his way. St. David welcomed him, and the Welsh king granted him land. Here he founded the monastery of Llanelwy (later St. Asaph). Conditions became better in Scotland (cir. 573); and he returned, preaching in Dumfries-shire for a time. He spent the remainder of his life working in Glasgow. Jocelyn has St. Kentigern making a pilgrimage to Rome; and there is recorded a meeting with St. Columba, missionary work amongst the barbarians in the wilds of Albania, and expeditions to the Orkneys, Norway, and Ireland.⁹⁹

St. Kentigern's "pet name" was St. Mungo, meaning "dear friend." He re-evangelised the Britons of Strathclyde for thirty years. He is buried in Glasgow Cathedral, which was dedicated to him. His mother's name, St. Thenew, survives in the form of St. Enoch. Traditions of St. Kentigern's life are commemorated by the bell, robin, and hazel in the coat-of-arms of the City of Glasgow.¹⁰⁰ He died November 13, 603.

St. Palladius, a deacon, died in 432 in Ireland. He was the fore-runner of St. Patrick. It is recorded that the Bishop of Rome sent him to convert the Irish. The Bishop at this time was Celestine.¹⁰¹ Christianity had been introduced into Ireland, but the first recorded attempt to evangelise the country was St. Palladius's mission in 431. His mission was short-lived and ineffective,¹⁰² probably because he had preached destruction of paganism.¹⁰³

According to Skinner, St. Palladius died July 6, 430.¹⁰⁴ Removing to Scotland, he founded the Church of Fordun. "Padies' Fair" and "Padies' Well" are named for him. He was said to have died at Longforgan.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 495.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 502.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 515.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 449-580.

⁹⁹Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 10-11; Black, op. cit., p. 15; Skinner, op. cit., pp. 9-11; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 21. Rees, op. cit., p. 300, said that St. Kentigern was related to St. Cattwg and St. Beino. In Welsh, St. Kentigern is St. Cyndeyrn.

¹⁰⁰Bruce, op. cit., p. 124.

¹⁰¹Burleigh, op. cit., pp. 7-8; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 39-41.

¹⁰²Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁰³Bund, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁰⁴Skinner, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 44.

St. Cuthbert (died 687) was born on the lovely Tweedside, Scotland. He entered Melrose Abbey as a young monk and was instructed by the Abbot, Eata, a disciple of St. Aidan. Later he was placed at Lindisfarne.¹⁰⁶ St. Cuthbert was called to be a holy man at eight years of age.¹⁰⁷ He became an evangelist and taught and baptised in the rocks and hills. He went to Ripon and later to Lindisfarne. He was made a bishop at the Synod of Twyford, Northumbria, and consecrated by St. Theodore, who had been brought from Tarsus in Cilicia to fill the bishopric of Canterbury.¹⁰⁸ The County of Kirkcudbright today bears his name.¹⁰⁹

St. Cuthbert became Prior of Lindisfarne under Eata by selection of King Oswin. He continued his evangelisation. In 670 he occupied a cave near Lindisfarne, which was the custom of the Church, called "Cuddy's Cave." In 676 he removed to an island of Farne, spending eight years there. In 685 he was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne and died there, March 20, 687. In 875, during a Danish onslaught, his body was removed by the monks and in 995 entombed at Durham; the body and the original wrappings are still to be seen in the cathedral library of Durham.¹¹⁰

St. Columbanus (543-615). He was born in Leinster, Ireland, 543. He was trained at the monastery of St. Sinell at Cluain-innis in grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, and theology. He studied at St. Comgall's school in Bangor, reading Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew.¹¹¹ With twelve disciples in 590, he sailed from Bangor to France, where the state of affairs was dreadful.¹¹² The priesthood had become demoralised; priests were ignorant, uneducated, and immoral, taking after their Frankish masters. These Celtic missionaries crossed the country and taught. They settled, first, at Anegray, Haute Saone, in the Vosges Mountains.¹¹³

St. Columbanus attacked the Church in France for simony and observing Easter at a different time. He addressed strong letters to the Bishop of Rome, later Pope Gregory The Great, but no reply came. He exhorted Boniface IV to be more watchful over his conduct and to cleanse Rome from gross error.¹¹⁴

St. Columbanus placed the dignity of Rome under that of Jerusalem, where Christ had risen. He scolded the Church of Rome for proudly claiming a greater honour and dignity than other Churches because of a saying of Christ that the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven had been given to St. Peter.¹¹⁵ Naturally, it happened! He was imprisoned at Besancon and banished. He left Luxeuil and started for Ireland, but changed his mind and returned to Mayence and journeyed to Tuggen. For three years he taught at Bregenz, but the Burgundian king forced him to flee to Lombardy. Here he retired to a wild gorge in the Apennines between Genoa and Milan where he built the monastery of Bobbio. He died November 21, 615.¹¹⁶

St. Rule (Regulus) of Murcross was an Irish monk who came to Scotland and visited along with St. Columba at Drumceat in 573. According to the legend, St. Rule (cir. 360) flourished at Patras in Greece and was the custodian of the bones of St. Andrew. Sailing with the relics, he was wrecked at Muckcross, or Kilrymont, where in 369 he erected a Cross. Later he met King Hungus's sons. The king gave him a grant of land at Kilrimont (or "The Boars Chase"). St. Rule was supposed to have dedicated a Church at Monifieth.¹¹⁷ There are other accounts of St. Rule and his work which are placed at later dates.

¹⁰⁶MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

¹⁰⁷Henry Caswall, *Scotland and The Scottish Church* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰⁹Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹¹Wright, *op. cit.*, II, p. 378; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

¹¹²His twelve disciples were: Attalus, Columbanus junior, Cummian, Dogmal, Eogain, Eunan, Gall, Gurganus, Libran, Lucid, Polentus, and Sigisbert (Wright, *op. cit.*, II, p. 379); Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹¹³Wright, *op. cit.*, II, p. 379.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 381.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 381.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 381-382. Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-86, called St. Columbanus the "Representative Churchman" for the sixth century.

¹¹⁷Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

St. Adamnan, Abbot, was born of the princely race of Cinal in Ireland, 624. He died September 23, 704.¹¹⁸ In 679 he was chosen abbot of Iona. About 680 he wrote The Life of St. Columba, the basis of our early Celtic Church history. There are in this work many superfluous miracles. About 686, after a visit to Northumbria, he adopted the Roman views of Easter and tonsure, but did not commend them to Iona.¹¹⁹ St. Adamnan was the ninth abbot of Iona (674-704), being the fourth in succession of St. Columba.¹²⁰

Further mention should be made of the other, early, Celtic Saints, but space does not permit such an account; however, a list with some other saints, dates of their death, and location of missionary work will take into account other worthies:¹²¹

<u>Saint</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Location of Missionary Work</u>
St. Adrian	March 4, 9th c	Ireland and Scotland
St. Aidan	Aug. 31, 651	Iona, Lindisfarne
St. Aidus	Jan. 31, 628	Tay
St. Baithen	June 9, 690	Scotland
St. Baldred	March 6, 756	Tynninghame
St. Barchan	April 6, ---	Orkney, Tain
St. Barr (Finbarr)	Sept. 25, ---	Ireland, Scotland
St. Bean	Oct. 26, 920	Scotland, Wales
St. Bega (Bees)	Sept. 6, 698	Scotland
St. Blaise	Feb. 3, 316	Arran
St. Blane	Aug. 10, 590	Scotland
St. Boisil	Feb. 23, 664	Melrose
St. Boniface	March 16, 630	Rosemarkie
St. Brandon	May 16, 577	Scotland
St. Brioc	April 30, 500	Scotland
St. Cadoc	Jan. 24, 517	Cambusland
St. Cainnech	Oct. 11, 598	St. Andrews
St. Cathan	May 17, 710	Bute
St. Ciaran (Kerron or Macintyre)	Sept. 9, 548	Kintyre, Islay
St. Coan (St. Comgan)	Oct. 13, ---	Argyll
St. Coemgen (Kevin)	June 3, 618	Leinster, Kintyre
St. Congall (Comgall)	May 12, 602	Ireland
St. Constantine (King and martyr)	March 11, 596	Kintyre
St. Constantine	Dec. 6, 943	St. Andrews
St. Cormac	June 21, ---	Orkney
St. Cumine	Feb. 24, 688	Leinster
St. Cyrus	June 16, 304	Scotland
St. Devenic	Nov. 13, 887	Caithness
St. Donald	July 12, 712	Forfarshire
St. Donnan	April 17, 617	Eigg
St. Ebba, abbess	Aug. 25, 683	Coldingham
St. Giles (Egidius)	Sept. 1, 714	Greece, France
St. Fergus	Nov. 18, ---	Muthill, Caithness, Buchan
St. Fillan	June 22, 520	Abernethy

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 33; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 45.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 33; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 30; Duke, The Columban Church, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 33.

¹²¹Ibid., pp. 33-46.

Saint	Date	Location of Missionary Work
St. Fillan, abbot	Jan. 9, 703	Glendochart
St. Finnan	Feb. 17, 662	Lindisfarne
St. Kentigerna	Jan. 7, 733	Lochlomond
St. Kessog (Mackessog, MacIsaac)	March 10, 520	Luss
St. Machutus	Nov. 15, 565	France, Wigtown
St. Maelrubha, abbot	April 21, 722	Scotland
St. Manir	Dec. 18, 824	Scotland
St. Marman (Ernan, Marnock)	March 1, 625	Loch Fyne
St. Modwenna	July 5, 519	Ireland, Scotland
St. Molocus	June 25, 577	Rosemarkie
St. Mundus (Mun)	Oct. 21, 635	Iona
St. Nathalan (Nachlan)	Jan. 8, 678	Deeside
St. Nidan	Sept. 30, ---	Wales
St. Oswald (King and martyr)	Aug. 5, 642	Scotland
St. Ronan (Rowan)	Feb. 7, 737	Lennox
St. Serf (Servanus)	July 1	Culross
St. Ternan	June 12, 431	Banchory
St. Thenew	July 18, 514	Glasgow
St. Vigean (Fechin)	Jan. 20, 664	Arbroath
St. Voloc (Twelfth abbot of Iona)	Jan. 29, 724	Iona
St. Wynnin (Gwynnin, Finan)	Jan. 21, 579	Ireland

CHAPTER III

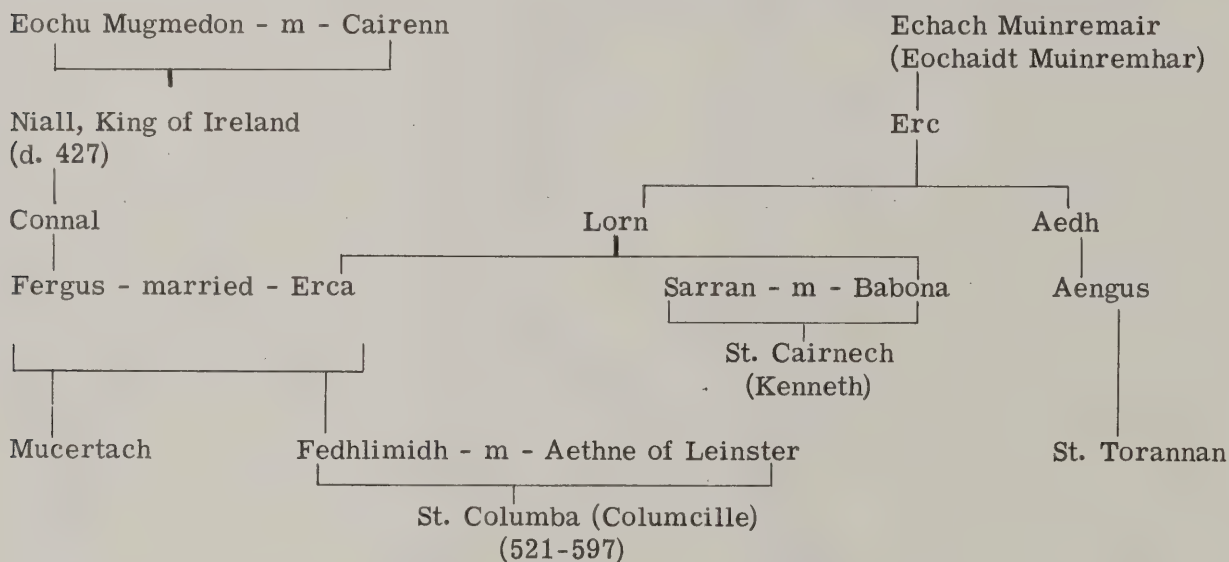
ST. COLUMBA (521-597), HIS CHURCH, AND INFLUENCE

Mould wrote:

Colum macfhelim Macfergus, poet, Scottish Nationalist, politician, priest, and saint, was not only one of the most remarkable men that the Irish-Scots have ever produced, but also one of the most attractive. The great patriots, Bruce and Wallace, have never had his standing in the people's hearts; the romantic Stuarts had not half his charm; Burns and Scott never captured his trick of stringing words into song.¹

I. ST. COLUMBA

St. Columba (Columcille) was born of royal blood at Gartán, Lough Gartán, County Donegal, Ireland, Thursday, December 7, 521.² He belonged to the Clan O'Donnell. His father was Feidlimidh, the great-grandson of King Niall, and his mother Aethne, descended from the king of Leinster.³ The chart will give his descent:⁴



At his baptism he received the name Crimthann which meant "a fox." Another name which was given to him was Columba, meaning "a dove." His best known name in Scotland is Columcille.⁵

¹Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

⁴E. E. Leal, *The Christian Faith in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1885), p. 81; Mould, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Colum Cille means "Colum of the Churches."

⁵Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.



St. Ninian's Chapel, Whithorn



The last hour of Saint Columba: From the painting by John Duncan, R.S.A.

The Irish-Scots princes were reared by foster-parents: a presbyter by the name of Cruithann (Cruithnechan, meaning "Little Pict") had baptised St. Columba and reared him. When he was old enough, he entered a monastic school. At Moville, St. Columba studied under St. Finnian (or St. Finbar), who had spent twenty years at Candida Casa, Wigtownshire, and had evangelised the eastern coast of Scotland. From St. Finnian, Columcille gathered information of the Picts.⁶

St. Columba studied at Clonard under another St. Finnian.⁷ He also studied at Glasnevin under St. Mobhi (died 545). At Leinster he was taught by the aged Gemman.⁸ From Gemman he acquired many poems, sagas, and a love for music.⁹ St. Columba was ordained a deacon, then later a presbyter.¹⁰ He wrote many poems, some in Gaelic, others in Latin. From them we can get an insight into the saint's character.

Completing his education, he returned to Ulster and began his work. While there, he taught his people about the God he adored and founded Churches and monasteries. His first monastery was Derry, 546. Later he founded the monasteries of Durrow and Kells. "The Book of Durrow" and "The Book of Kells", both beautifully illuminated books, are reputed to be his.¹¹

A series of legends have grown up suggesting why St. Columba left his native Ireland. St. Adamnan stated that St. Columba desired to go on a pilgrimage for Christ, that at the Synod of Tailte he was excommunicated for an excusable reason, and that the excommunication was withdrawn due to the intercession of St. Brendan of Bive (493-573).¹² Another story said that St. Columba copied, without permission, St. Finnian's (Finnbarr) Psalter and Gospels and became violently involved in a heated dispute with King Diarmaid (Dermot) of Ireland, who was of the other branch of the reigning family.¹³ St. Finnian appealed his case to King Diarmaid MacCerbhall at Tara, demanding St. Columba's copy of the Psalter and Gospels; and the king gave his famous judgement: ". . . to every cow belongs its calf."¹⁴ The decision was in favour of St. Finnian. To make matters worse, some of the soldiers of King Diarmaid had killed Curnan of the Clan Niall, after he had taken sanctuary with St. Columba, following his being involved in an accidental death of another competitor in the games at Tara. The two feuding families brought about a battle at Cooldrevny (Cul Dreimhne) in 561. St. Columba and his clan (Niall) defeated the king's army.¹⁵

The events of 561 had an influence on St. Columba's life. He may have been attracted by the tremendous challenge that Dalriada presented in missionary work. The inhabitants of this kingdom were his own people, and they were struggling with the Picts. His connexion with his native Ireland was never broken, and his supervision of those Churches which he had established were noted. During his abbotcy at Iona, from 563 until 597, he received visitors from Ireland and was able to return those visits. In Irish civil affairs, as well as Church, he maintained a pre-eminence.¹⁶

⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁷This St. Finnian, like the other, was an Abbot and taught St. Columba. One established a school at Molville., Co. Down, and the other at Clonard in Meath (Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

⁸Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 80. The school at Clonard was founded by St. Finnian in 520.

⁹Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁰Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹¹Duke, *The Columban Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹²Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 81. See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 81. See Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 25, gave "to every cow, her little cow; and to every book, its little book."

¹⁵Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-54; Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁶Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

In the year 563 St. Columba and twelve disciples left Ireland in a ship and landed on an island called Iona (I, Ia, Yona, Hii).¹⁷ It was on Whitsunday, May 12, 563, that the Saint founded his Church. Here was an ideal location for missionary endeavours, for within easy access were the Scots of Dalriada, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the Picts over the mountains.¹⁸

King Conall of Dalriada, a kinsman, gave the island to St. Columba, and labour on the monastery began. The original buildings were perhaps made of wood or wattle. The monastery was enclosed by an earthen rampart for protection and within were the crude huts for the disciples. Other buildings included: a refectory, guest house, Church with side chapel, and St. Columba's own house. Without the wall were: a barn, byre, kiln, and the fields. There was a small mill near the harbour.¹⁹

St. Columba's monastic group increased to one hundred and fifty from the original twelve. The Seniors were the oldest disciples and attended to the religious services and copied Holy Writ. The second class were called the Working Brothers as they did manual work of the school. Lastly, the Juniors (novices) were under instruction. They were all monks and wore a cowl, white tunic, and leathern sandals. Their hair was cut from ear to ear, according to the Celtic tonsure.²⁰

From Iona, the Saint sought out King Brude (Bruidhe) at his capital near the present day town of Inverness. It was his intention to reconcile the Picts and his own people, i.e., the Scots of Dalriada. With two companions, St. Comgall and St. Cainnech (Kenneth), St. Columba visited Brude.²¹ These two men may have had to serve as interpreters as a certain difference may have existed between the Pictish language and the Gaelic.²² Brude was converted to the faith in spite of the stiff opposition of his Pictish priests. Christianity became the official religion of Pictavea.²³

St. Columba was an instructor of missionaries as well as being one. Through his great efforts old Churches received new transfusions. We recall the methods of evangelising used by St. Ninian, and St. Columba and his disciples followed the pattern laid down by the earlier saint. A few of his disciples were: St. Machar of Aberdeenshire, St. Cormac of Orkneys, St. Moluag of the western Isles.²⁴ His contemporaries were: St. Baithen, St. Cainneach, St. Ciaran (515-549), St. Colum of Ela (555-611), St. Donnan (d. 617), St. Molaise, St. Molaise of Innismurry, and St. Molaise of Lughlin.²⁵

His fame spread beyond Scotland. He was visited by missionaries and kings. We read that even the Bishop of Rome sent him a gift, a Cross, and that St. Columba wrote a Latin poem in return. Iona was a spiritual centre for the Irish-Scots, western and eastern Picts, and the Welsh.²⁶ King Conall died in 574; and St. Columba anointed King Aidan his successor, for Aidan was a kinsman. Aidan was the first king in the British Isles to be consecrated by a presbyter.²⁷

St. Columba died on Iona, June 9, 597, aged seventy-six. His Life was written by his eighth century successor in the abbotcy of Iona, St. Adamnan, born of the same lineage as St. Columba

¹⁷Cooke, op. cit., p. 55; Mould, op. cit., p. 82, gave the following disciples: Ernan (his uncle), Baithene (cousin), Cobthach (cousin, brother to Baithene), Diormit, Rus and Fechno (brothers), Scandal macBresail, Luguid Mocuthemme, Echoid, Tochannu Mocufircetea, Cairnaan Mac Branduit, and Grillan (d. 623).

¹⁸Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 27; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁹Duke, The Columban Church, op. cit., pp. 68-69; Cooke, op. cit., p. 62.

²⁰Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 27; Cooke, op. cit., pp. 64-65; Cameron, op. cit., p. 22.

²¹Bruce, op. cit., p. 120. Brude died in 585.

²²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 48. See Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 29.

²³Ibid., p. 48. See Bruce, op. cit., p. 121; Mowat, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁴Ibid., p. 48.

²⁵MacLauchlan, op. cit., pp. 199-204.

²⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁷Bruce, op. cit., p. 122. See Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 31; Cooke, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

himself, in County Donegal. St. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba is written in three parts, dealing with prophetic revelations, miracles of divine power, and angelic visions.²⁸ He was the author of "Altus Prosator" ("High Creator"), an acrostic poem, each stanza of which begins with the appropriate letter of the Latin alphabet. Bruce said that it is a miniature "Paradise Lost."²⁹ He also wrote the hymn, "In Te Christe" ("In Thee O Christ"). The following is ascribed to St. Columba:

Iona of my heart, Iona of my love,
Instead of the voice of monks there will be the
lowing of cows;
But before the world comes to an end,
Iona will be as it was.³⁰

The Rule of Saint Columba. This rule was first printed by Dr. Reeves from a manuscript in the Burgudian Library at Brussels, with a translation by the late Professor O'Curry, in the appendix to Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society. It was again printed in Haddan and Stubbs' Councils, vol. II, p. 119. The translation alone is here given:

The Rule of Colum Cille Beginneth.

Be alone in a separate place near a chief city, if thy conscience is not prepared to be in common with the crowd.

Be always naked in imitation of Christ and the Evangelists.

Whatsoever little or much thou possessest of anything, whether clothing, or food, or drink, let it be at the command of the senior and at his disposal, for it is not befitting a religious to have any distinction of property with his own free brother.

Let a fast place, with one door, enclose thee.

A few religious men to converse with thee of God and His Testament; to visit thee on days of solemnity; to strengthen thee in the Testaments of God and the narratives of the Scriptures.

A person too who would talk with thee in idle words, or of the world; or who murmurs at what he cannot remedy or prevent, but who would distress thee more should he be a tattler between friends and foes, thou shalt not admit him to thee, but at once give him thy benediction should he deserve it.

Let thy servant be a discreet, religious, not tale-telling man, who is to attend continually on thee, with moderate labour of course, but always ready.

Yield submission to every rule that is of devotion.

A mind prepared for red martyrdom.

A mind fortified and steadfast for white martyrdom.

Forgiveness from the heart to every one.

Constant prayers for those who trouble thee.

²⁸Ibid., p. 25. See Henderson, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

²⁹Ibid., p. 126.

³⁰Ibid., p. 126.

Fervour in singing the office for the dead, as if every faithful dead was a particular friend of thine.

Hymn for souls to be sung standing.

Let thy vigils be constant from eve to even, under the direction of another person.

Three labours in the day, viz., prayer, work, and reading.

The work to be divided into three parts, viz., thine own work, and the work of thy place, as regards its real wants; secondly, thy share of the brethren's work; lastly, to help the neighbours, viz., by instruction, or writing, or sewing garments, or whatever labour they may be in want of, ut Dominus ait, 'Non apparebis ante me vacuus.'

Everything in its proper order; Nemo enim coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit.

Follow almsgiving before all things.

Take not of food till thou art hungry.

Sleep not till thou feelest desire.

Speak not except on business.

Every increase which comes to thee in lawful meals, or in wearing apparel, give it for pity to the brethren that want it, or to the poor in like manner.

The love of God with all thy heart and all thy strength.

The love of thy neighbour as thyself.

Abide in the Testaments of God throughout all times.

Thy measure of prayer shall be until thy tears come;

Or thy measure of work of labour till thy tears come;

Or thy measure of thy work of labour, or of thy genuflexions, until thy perspiration often comes, if thy tears are not free.³¹

II. THE COLUMBAN CHURCH (563-717)

The Columban Church was simply a continuation of the Celtic Church of St. Ninian, St. Patrick, through St. Columba and his followers. It has caught the imagination of Churchmen of various ecclesiastical leanings—Presbyterian, Episcopal, Church of Rome, and Congregational. While these organisations bear remarkable resemblances to the ancient Celtic Church and claim a certain share in its true spiritual inheritance, none can claim to be the sole possessor of it. It would appear to many, as it does to this writer, that the present day Scottish Episcopal Church is the Celtic Church's closest descendent; however, this does not entirely rule out the aforesaid Churches.

The Church of St. Columba was monastic and built solidly upon the foundation-stone of the clan (or tribe) society which existed amongst the Picts, Scots, and Britons. The monastery was the centre of religious life, as we have seen, but it was not a place for recluses. The Church had anchorites, but it had missionaries as well. Celtic missionaries laid stress upon the sacraments, but this was connected with service. They asked of their evangelists, faith, worship, and work. Such a spirit formulated the missionary enterprise on Iona and Lindisfarne.³²

³¹Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-143.

³²F. Marian McNeill, *Iona: A History of the Island with Descriptive Notes* (Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1959), pp. 36-37; Duke, *The Columban Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 119; MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Bund, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

The Columban Church, then, was formulated on the clan system, with the abbot as the head; and this office was hereditary for over two hundred years. The clergy married and had children, as shown by many of the surnames of Scotland to this day:³³

Macnab	son of the Abbot
MacBriar	son of the Prior
MacTaggart	son of the Priest
MacKellar	son of the Superior
MacVicar	son of the Vicar
MacClannahan	son of the gillie of Onchu, an Irish saint
MacAnaspie	son of the Bishop
MacGilchrist	son of the gillie (or servant of Christ)
MacLennan	a devotee of St. Finnan
Macpherson	son of the parson
Maclean	son of the servant of St. John
Gilfillan	servant of St. Fillan

The Celtic Church was in its organisation episcopal, but not necessarily diocesan, as we have pointed out. Worthy clerics were elevated to the episcopate for their labours. As the bishop's position was known, there was no argument; each order, presbyters, bishops, priests, deacons, had their particular stations. A bishop ordained men to the Church. An abbot, regardless of his high position, would not ordain.³⁴ Bishops lived in the same monastery and shared the same life as the other clerics. Stewart said that the Celtic Church in its beginning had one order of clergy, but agreed with Shepherd, Stirton, McNeill, and MacLauchlan, that different functionaries were connected with the monasteries, such as:³⁵

1. Bishops. They were inferior to presbyters, who served as abbots.
2. Scribes (or writing-masters). They were respected and important in communication.
3. Readers (Ferleighinn). Various books were read by the Readers at meal times and at the end of a day's labour.
4. Dewars (Deorich) and the Culdees (Cuiltich). The Dewars were men who devoted themselves to God and to austerities; they passed from cell to cell and retired in a given location. The Culdees lived in one location and resided there until the parent monastery recalled them. The Culdees took their name from cuile, meaning "a recess" or "retired spot." Cuiltish means, "men of the retreat or recess."³⁶

Skene, one of the greatest scholars of Scottish history, wrote that the monastic Church at Iona resembled the Irish-Scot Church of St. Columba's era:

Like that Church, it was essentially a monastic church, and also like it we find in it neither a territorial episcopacy nor anything like Presbyterian parity, but the same anomalous position of the episcopal order. The bishops were under the monastic rule, and as such were, in respect of jurisdiction, subject to the abbot, even though a presbyter, as the head of the monastery; but the episcopal orders were fully recognised as constituting a grade superior to that of the presbyters, and the functions which, by the general law of the church, were the exclusive privilege of the episcopate, were not interfered with. Thus while Bede, on the one hand, tells us that the monastery founded by Columba in Iona was wont to have always at its head a presbyter-abbot, to whose jurisdiction the whole province and even the bishops themselves were by an unusual arrangement subjected,

³³Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 400; Stirton, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
³⁴Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.
³⁵Charles Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 43.

Adamnan, on the other hand, records two instances of the exercise of episcopal functions, in which they are plainly recognised as the exclusive privilege of a superior ecclesiastical grade.³⁷

Religious Customs. It was true that the Celtic Churches of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland had been in remote contact with the Church of Rome missionaries; yet they clung to their primitive beliefs and practises.³⁸ They stood quite by themselves, while the Western Church came gradually under the control of the Bishop of Rome.

At Candida Casa, Iona, Lindisfarne, the Christian year was carefully followed, and the greater festivals were carried out by ritual. The Eucharist was celebrated each Sunday. The clergy taught the Real Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament, yet we find no hint, or doctrine of Transubstantiation.³⁹ The laity received both bread and wine. Before the celebration, bread, wine, and water were brought in vessels and placed on the altar. Once St. Columba asked Cronan to celebrate, thinking he was a presbyter, and Cronan requested that St. Columba approach with him that, "at the same time, as two presbyters they might break the Lord's Bread."⁴⁰ The bishop broke bread in the episcopal rite. In the act of consecration the celebrant stood before the altar; there were intonations and the prayers remembered those departed while the "cantors" sang. The brethren came to the altar to receive both elements.⁴¹

Along with the Lord's Supper, matins and vespers appeared. Too, confession (always voluntary) and absolution was held; confession being made before all the brethren. When a brother had made confession and had been restored he was forgiven. Penance was practised at Iona. Fasting was common, coupled with prayer, especially in times of drought or adversity. Wednesdays were fast days, and followers of St. Columba fasted also on Fridays. Prayer was a dynamic force in the life of the Celts. In all times of trouble, prayer was their succour. Some of the brethren went into the Church to pray, others went into a thicket. There is no mention of prayers to or any worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴²

The Celtic missionaries taught the blessing of the spoken word (or the spoken word of blessing). When a brother would make a journey or pilgrimage, it was the presbyter's custom to bless that individual. The sign of the Cross was employed, and it was believed to be a sustaining and protecting power. The gifts of miracles, healing, prophecy, and the "discerning of spirits" were devotedly believed.⁴³ It was held that the Holy Angels met the souls of the faithful departed and carried them to "the heavenly fatherland," and that the wicked angels met the souls of the wicked. The day of a faithful man's death was called his "natal day."⁴⁴

In contrast to the Latin (Church of Rome) Church's religious customs from 563 to 717, we can find no uniform liturgy for the Celtic Church.⁴⁵ The Eucharist was given to the sick, but there is no mention of its Reservation.⁴⁶ The Gregorian Chant was used in the Church of Rome but certainly not in the Celtic Church until the year 700, for it was introduced into England in 678. The Celtic Church may have employed the Gallican Chant of an Eastern origin.⁴⁷ Holy Baptism was for both infants and adults; it was also administered before death, but

³⁷William F. Skene, Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alba (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887), II, p. 94.

³⁸Shepherd, op. cit., p. 21.

³⁹Ibid., p. 22; Leal, op. cit., p. 148.

⁴⁰Leal, op. cit., pp. 148-149. See Duke, The Columban Church, op. cit., p. 121.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 149.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 151-153. See Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

⁴³Ibid., p. 154.

⁴⁴Ibid. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 22. The Celtic clergy taught the ministry of angels and saints intervening on the Christian's behalf, but there was no mention of the Church of Rome's later doctrine of purgatory. There was a belief in the efficacy of prayers for the faithful departed (Shepherd, op. cit., p. 22; Duke, op. cit., pp. 56-57).

⁴⁵Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 54.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 56.

there is no mention of Extreme Unction in the Celtic Church.⁴⁸ Holy Orders were conferred by a bishop. Many times three bishops were present, but this rule was not always followed.⁴⁹

The following nine points denote several differences between the beliefs and usages of the Celtic Church and the Church of Rome:⁵⁰

<u>Celtic Church</u>	<u>Church of Rome</u>
1. Had one order of clergy to begin; later had an order called bishops, but were inferior and subjected to presbyter-abbots.	1. Held to the doctrine of diocesan and pre-latic episcopacy.
2. Clergy permitted to marry. Later, clergy were allowed to marry but women were not permitted in monasteries.	2. Marriage was forbidden for clergy.
3. Celtic Tonsure.	3. Roman Tonsure.
4. Celtic Easter.	4. Roman Easter.
5. Service of baptism and mode of preaching the Word of God.	5. Same
6. "Rule of Faith," The Holy Bible alone.	6. "Rule of Faith," Holy Bible and tradition interpreted by the Church.
7. Gaelic, or in the language of the people.	7. Latin (only).
8. Clan or tribal system.	8. Non-tribal.
9. Monasteries were dwellings built separately; a small single apartment house; known as a kil or cell (beehive).	9. Monasteries were usually one and very large.

Its Independence. As has been pointed out, the Celtic Church was completely independent of the Church of Rome. In the days of St. Columba's Church the Bishop of Rome, one who later became Pope Gregory the Great (590), held little power in Rome. Within the dioceses (or provinces) in the early history of the Church of Rome papal dictums were almost unheard of. The Bishop of Rome was simply a distinguished man in the great empire city.⁵¹

Indeed the title Pope in the early days of the Christian Church was incorrect and really un-historical. Papal bulls cannot possibly make the office retroactive as the various Popes would seemingly have their followers believe. Early Celtic Christianity in Britain held, "the Bishop of Rome was at most 'primus inter pares' and not the sole governor which his Church has built him up to be."⁵²

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Charles Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26; Bund, *op. cit.*, p. 318; Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 94-95.

⁵¹Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 17. See Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Steele and Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

⁵²Ibid., p. 17. Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, stated that the Cymric (or British) Church was the Church of Cambria, also of West Wales, and the Cornish peninsular (confined mostly to Wales); the Gaelic Church was that of Ireland, Scotia, Pictavia, and northern England.

The Columban Church was far removed from Rome, so far removed that it was left to go its own way. Actually, it was from the Eastern influenced Gallic Church that it obtained any direction or assistance.⁵³

Again, St. Columba's Church, which had its roots in Ireland, was a part of St. Ninian's Church, which was certainly independent of the See of Rome. St. Palladius may have been sent from Rome to convert the heathen in Ireland, but he failed. The Scotch-born St. Patrick never held a commission from Rome and neither did St. Ninian.⁵⁴ All the writings of St. Ninian, St. Patrick, and St. Columba, mention nothing of the authority of the Bishop of Rome.⁵⁵ The Apostle of Ireland (St. Patrick) sought no papal authority to make himself its missionary. St. Columbanus evangelised the Swiss and Germans on his own; there was no papal blessing here. St. Columba converted the Picts and took the title of Primus without the Bishop of Rome's consent.⁵⁶

The independent Celtic Church of Iona sent their own missionary to convert King Oswald's people in Northumbria upon his request. The matter was never referred to Rome. The Celts ordained, consecrated, and commissioned themselves to occupy new lands of missionary endeavour.⁵⁷

The Celtic (Gaelic) Church faced the Church of Rome in England at the Synod of Whitby in 664. There was hostility; the Roman Church was hostile, and the Celts were defiant. The Celts there acknowledged Holy Writ and the teaching of the Holy Apostles; the authority of the Church centered in Rome meant little to them, and they returned to Iona. And on another occasion when King Nechtan ruled against the Celts, they still refused to bow to Roman authority and retreated to Iona.⁵⁸

When the Celts finally succumbed to Roman tonsure and Roman Easter, the spirit of independence yet remained. Duke said:

And when they finally gave way it was not in deference to Papal authority. What they refused to the commands of Kings and Popes they yielded to the persuasion of a humble English monk--and even then it was at the cost of schism; and long after the Roman Easter was celebrated in Iona the spirit of independence still lingered in the remnants of the Columban Church. And when the Columban Church itself passed away it lingered still. It was the legacy which the Church of St. Columba bequeathed to the Church which was afterwards to arise in Scotland, which was to be built at the Reformation upon the ruins of the Church of Rome.⁵⁹

While the Church of Rome's domination was accepted in the various Celtic Churches, this by no way choked the independent Celtic spirit. Following those dates, in the table below, we hear rumblings of discontentment; and the various independent groups began to show themselves long before the time of John Wycliffe. In the following Celtic Churches, Roman supremacy gained the upper hand at those dates listed:⁶⁰

634	South Ireland	
688	Strathclyde	
		St. Adamnan conformed to Rome, but Iona refused.
692	North Ireland under persuasion of St. Adamnan at the Synod of Tara; Roman domination not complete, however, until 1150.	

⁵³Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 59; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 25; Cockburn, op. cit., p. 124.

⁵⁴Cockburn, op. cit., p. 132; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

⁵⁵Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 60.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 60-61. See Cockburn, op. cit., p. 128; Skinner, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁰Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 124-125; Knight, op. cit., II, p. 361; Newell, op. cit., pp. 130-132; Bund, op. cit., p. 467.

705	.....	South England
710	.....	North Britain; but non-conformity is found late into the 13th century.
768	.....	North Wales
777	.....	South Wales
1000	.....	Cornwall

III. THE ISLE OF IONA

We have seen that Iona was well located for a centre of evangelisation, and this Isle remains highly cherished in the hearts of Christians. A look at the map of Scotland, and one will see that Iona rests in the Inner Hebrides, approximately seven miles south of the Isle of Staffa and nearly two miles west of the Ross of Mull. Tiree and Coll, islands, lie to the west. The Atlantic Ocean is between Iona and Labrador. Iona is nearly four miles long and nearly two miles in width.⁶¹

Iona in Gaelic is called Ioua; St. Adamnan employed this spelling. In Irish it is known as Hy or Y. The modern Gaels call it I (pronounced a' E). In Gaelic it is known, too, as Innis-nam-Druidbneach—"Island of the Druids." On the appearance of St. Columba it was called, I-Chaluim-Chille—"Island of Columba of the Church (or Cell)." The Hebrew for Dove is "Iona," the Latin, "Columba." It has been called, "Isle of Dreams," "Isle of Saints," and "Isle of the Sculptors."⁶²

The Gaelic name suggests that Iona was a place for Druidic worship before Christ's Birth. There is the story that the island was one of the Druid's sacred places of worship before the time of St. Columba, but this notion may have come at a later period; however, druid still refers to clergymen, and the name may well mean "the isle of priests."⁶³

Iona has had its troubles. Scarcely were internal affairs settled when a series of fresh invasions was made by the Danes. The island was robbed in 797; the monastery was burned in 801-802; and sixty-eight monks were slaughtered at Martyr's Bay in 806. The Church gave its primacy to Kells in Ireland, but the monks remained on Iona and rebuilt. Another Danish invasion occurred in 825, and the presbyter Blathmac and several others were killed.⁶⁴

The primacy, or bishopric, passed to Dunkeld, a place removed from direct foreign invasions, where King Constantine of the Picts had erected a monastery. From here the bishopric passed to Abernethy and in 908 to St. Andrews.⁶⁵ In 818 the bones of St. Columba were laid to rest on Iona again, but, in 825, they were hidden due to further raids; some of his relics were taken to Dunkeld Cathedral by King Kenneth MacAlpine in 843.⁶⁶

Danes from Dublin in 986 killed the abbot and fifteen monks on Iona and a place now called White Strand of The Monks (Tra Ban nam Manach). St. (Queen) Margaret restored the monastery in 1074; and this noted the change from the Celtic Church to that of Rome, as it was dedicated to St. Augustine's Order. In 1098 King Magnus Barefoot of Norway included Iona under the primacy of the Archbishop of Trondheim.⁶⁷

Somerled was king of the Scottish Isles south of Ardnamurchan and in 1164 repaired the monastery of Iona. In 1203 Reginald, Lord of the Isles, rebuilt the monastery and gave it to the Order of the Benedictines; and they dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This time Iona was given to the Pope of Rome, and the last remaining Celtic monks were expelled or absorbed. Reginald established a convent; and his sister, Beatrice, was first prioress. Following 1247, the Bishop of Dunkeld governed Iona before the Norwegian Diocese of the Isles trans-

⁶¹McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-85.

⁶²Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 46; McNeil, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁶³McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 9. See Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45. See Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁶Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

ferred it back to Scotland in 1266. A new Scotch Bishopric of the Isles was established in 1430, the seat being on the island but the abbey was under Dunkeld until 1507. Iona became the seat of the bishop, and the abbey became a short-lived cathedral until 1561.⁶⁸

The Reformation of 1560 gave no evidence of attempting systematically to destroy the building on Iona. The land and island passed to Maclean of Duart. Andrew Knox in 1609 was made bishop of the Isles in the temporary episcopate established in 1610 and held a convention of Highland chieftains on Iona. "The Statutes of Icolmkill" were drawn up. The abbey was attached to the bishopric of the Isles in 1617. Iona was transferred to the Campbells of Argyll in 1693 and still remains in the hands of their chieftain, the Duke of Argyll. In 1899 the abbey Church and other buildings were given to the Church of Scotland by the famous eighth Duke of Argyll, George Campbell.⁶⁹

The Isle of Iona Today. The abbey Church is used as a place of Divine Worship today. In 1894 the Scottish Episcopal Church consecrated a chapel in the Bishop's House. A library was established, and in the village Celtic designs are being reproduced in lovely articles of silver, brass, and wood; the most famous being Iona silver jewellery.⁷⁰

The Iona Community was established in 1938 by The Very Reverend Dr. George F. MacLeod. It evolved from Dr. MacLeod's eight year's experience in one of the hardest struck areas in Great Britain during the Depression of the 1930's, Glasgow and Govan districts. The Iona Community is a brotherhood of ministers and laymen who are deeply aware of the present times and who dare to experiment with new methods in meeting problems of the day.⁷¹ They presently number about 150.

The Community was integrated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1950. MacLeod firmly believes that "mankind's primary problem is how to plan society and at the same time preserve the rights of the individual. In the Christian Church—provided she can be wed again to 'the common life'—lies the only key to the world problem."⁷² MacLeod declared that new approaches to worship are needed to carry the Gospel to people in our time. He went on to say:

The presence of the craftsmen as full fellow members with the ministers symbolises the priesthood of all believers: making realistic our discussion of how again, in the world, all work may become a vocation and a ministry. The presence of the parsons as labourers to the craftsmen on the walls symbolises the truth that we are not a caste apart. Together, on the walls and in the Abbey, we seek to forge a new vocabulary of work and worship.⁷³

Many of the craftsmen work on Iona the entire year. The clergy members have two year's training after leaving Divinity Halls, spend their first three months on Iona, and return to the mainland to work with the parish under the parish minister to which they are appointed. Following this, they enter the ministry in the normal manner. There are no full-time life vows; members are mostly married. June is the conference and retreat month for all members.⁷⁴

Experiments are made in new housing schemes; downtown Churches are re-fashioned; parishes are organised in the small industrial towns. Both industrial evangelism and problems

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 10; McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.

⁶⁹McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 206. George, the eighth Duke of Argyll, died in 1900 (succeeded to the Dukedom in 1847) and was succeeded by his son John, who had married Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise. John, the ninth Duke, died in 1914, and was succeeded by his nephew, Niall Diarmid Campbell, the tenth Duke, who died in 1949. Ian Douglas Campbell, cousin of Niall, became eleventh Duke upon Niall's death.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 52.

⁷¹Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷²Ibid., p. 27.

⁷³Ibid., p. 28.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 28; MacNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

of the rural parish are concerns of the community. There are youth camps, fishing camps on Iona. During the summer months over one hundred young people, men and women, come each week. They are integrated in the worship, study, discussion, and labour of the community. For nearly one thousand young men and women each summer comes a high moment in their lives, for each Sunday the Holy Communion is celebrated in the Abbey Church. Each Thursday evening there is an Act of Belief for those who desire to personally dedicate themselves to the service of Christ's Church, Scotland, and the world.⁷⁵

Another part of the labour is that of reconstructing the ruined sections of the abbey, coupled with that of Divine Healing. From 700 to 1700 Iona was an island of healing. Prayers were said by the faithful there and many were cured. Prayers for Divine Healing are made for souls who request it each Wednesday at 9:00 P.M. in summer-time. At other times prayers are said at the headquarters on the mainland.⁷⁶

Prayer for the Iona Community⁷⁷

O God, our Father, who didst give unto Thy servant, St. Columba, the gifts of courage, faith, and cheerfulness and didst send men forth from Iona to carry the Word of Thine Evangel to every creature; grant we beseech Thee a like Spirit to Thy Church in Scotland, even at this present time. Further in all things the purpose of the New Community that hidden things may be revealed to them and new ways found to touch the hearts of men. May they preserve with each other sincere charity and peace, and, if it be Thy Holy Will, grant that a place of Thine abiding be established once again to be a Sanctuary and a Light. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

IV. LINDISFARNE (HOLY ISLAND)

St. Columba died in 597; and the Angles, who resided south of the Firth of Forth, were not Christian. They belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom. The Celtic Church had a mission to perform, and a new missionary centre on the eastern coast was established on the Isle of Lindisfarne. From this island the Holy Gospel could be carried to the Angles and on into England.⁷⁸

St. Augustine came from Rome and landed in Kent, 597, just after the death of St. Columba. Paulinus was a disciple of St. Augustine and converted King Edwin (Eadwine), who was later slain in the Battle of Hatfield near Doncaster in 633 by King Penda of Mercia and his ally King Cadwallon of North Wales.⁷⁹ Christianity was quickly stamped out and Oswald, heir to the throne, fled to Scotland, where he was educated at Iona.

In 634 King Oswald defeated King Cadwallon at Heavenfield, and he began immediately to restore the Christian faith. St. Aidan of Iona was called to Lindisfarne in 635 where an abbey was founded. King Oswald accompanied St. Aidan on his missionary journeys and interpreted his teachings to the people. Many Scotch missionaries followed St. Aidan to Lindisfarne, the new mission; two of his successors were St. Finan and St. Colman. Whitby was a daughter-house of Lindisfarne, and Melrose was another which gave us St. Cuthbert.⁸⁰

In a short time St. Aidan and King Oswald had restored the faith to Northumbria, and for the next one hundred years Northumbria was the religious centre of England, almost rivalling Iona, Irish schools, and others, and sending scholars to Europe. Oswald's reign was ended at Maserfield where he was slain by King Penda in 642; and Bernicia and Deira, which he had united, became divided. St. Aidan died in 651; his work extended into heathen Mercia. The

⁷⁵McNeill, op. cit., p. 53; Morrison, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

⁷⁶Morrison, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁷⁸Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 34-35; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 56.

⁷⁹Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 55; Duke, op. cit., p. 37.

⁸⁰McNeill, op. cit., pp. 39-40; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

first Mercian bishop was Diome, the Scot, sent with Oswiu's daughter who had married King Penda's son. Oswiu was the brother of King Oswald.⁸¹

King Oswiu killed King Penda at the Battle of Winwald in 655, and Christianity became the dominant religion. All the Northumbrian states were reunited and the Celtic (Gaelic) Church evangelised Mercia. When King Oswiu died in 671, the Celtic Church was supreme in England from the Thames River to the Firth of Forth; above the Thames only in East Anglia did Canterbury have any authority.⁸²

In due time Celtic and Roman missionaries came into contact, and there arose the differences over certain practises of the two Churches among which were the tonsure, baptism, confirmation, the celibacy of the clergy, and the date for Easter.⁸³ The Church of Rome and other Christian Churches in Europe had adopted a new method of calculating Easter, 463, but the Celts of Ulster, Scotland, and Wales, retained the old computation which had been derived from the Apostle John.⁸⁴

The Church of Rome used the coronal form of the tonsure, i.e., a circle upon the top of the head was shaved, leaving a fringe of hair around it to symbolise Christ's Crown of Thorns; while the Celtic monks cut their hair from ear to ear, a semi-circle of hair was still retained in front.⁸⁵

In regard to baptism or confirmation, the Celtic Church, like the Eastern Church, allowed presbyters to perform the act of anointing in confirmation, whereas the Church of Rome restricted this function to the bishop.⁸⁶

The dating of Easter was the sore spot for the two Churches. The Celts used a cycle of eighty-four years. In 525 a nineteen-year cycle was accepted at Rome as the proper basis of reckoning. Canterbury and other Churches used this. The Welsh, Irish, and Scots continued as Easter Day the Sunday which fell next after the Spring equinox, between the 14th and 20th days of the moon. Roman computations fixed Easter on the Sunday which fell next after the Spring equinox between the 15th and 21st days of the moon. The Celts regarded 25th March as the Spring equinox while the Romans held the 22nd March.⁸⁷

As the matter of Easter came to a head, King Oswiu called the Synod of Whitby in 664 over which he presided. St. Wilfrid spoke for the Church of Rome and Colman for the Celts. Supporting St. Wilfrid, who was trained at Lindisfarne and Rome, was a Scot, Ronan, and the Irish-trained Agilbert, who later became bishop of Paris. Supporting Colman of Lindisfarne were St. Chad of Essex and St. Hilda of the abbey of Whitby.⁸⁸ Bede fully recorded the meeting, and Colman was no match for St. Wilfrid. The king pronounced in favour of Roman customs, stating that Christ had given the "keys of the kingdom of Heaven" to St. Peter; and Colman could make no such claim on behalf of St. Columba.⁸⁹

As King Oswiu conformed to Roman tonsure, Easter, etc., so did St. Hilda. Lindisfarne divided, and St. Colman returned to Iona with some of his followers; and the abbot of Melrose succeeded him.⁹⁰ Some of the English monks remained at Melrose under the Abbot Eata, a pupil of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, Prior.⁹¹

⁸¹Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁸²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁸³McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-172.

⁸⁶Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 145-146; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Knight, *op. cit.*, II, p. 157; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁸⁸Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 65; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 26; McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

⁹⁰Caswall, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹¹Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

The new uses won their way in time. South Ireland had adopted Roman Easter earlier, and within a century the Celtic Church in general was to do so. The Welsh held out until 768, and the Cornish branch until 1000.⁹²

⁹²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 65; G. G. Coulton, Mediaeval Panorama (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER IV

THE CULDEES

The name Culdees (Keldees) refers to a group of Christian men who lived in Ireland, Scotland, and nearby islands.¹ These "servants of God" believed that they had received their worship from the followers of St. John the Apostle.² Their name was derived from the Celtic Cele De (Celi De) which means "companion, or servant, or follower of God."³

Monasteries tended to fall away during the Norse invasions. Monks began to lead more worldly lives, but there were many who desired to preserve the simplicity of the monkish ideal; they scorned easy living and self-indulgence, for they were truly dedicated and consecrated to God, His Church, and His Service.⁴ The Culdees were not a Church, nor were they a canonical order under the Church of Rome.⁵ They came forward out of the confusion of the time to cleanse the Church.⁶

The Society of the Culdees were the conservative section of the Pictish Church. By their own labours did they continue. Those persons who sympathised with them sent gifts, turned land over to them, and granted them property. The Culdees lived in groups of twelve, each cleric having his own room (or cell). The basic work was the study of Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Gospel. They followed a list of simple rules, had worship, and did works of charity.⁷

Rankin said that their name was unknown to St. Adamnan or the Venerable Bede, as it appeared in Scotch history when the monks of St. Columba were expelled in 717.⁸

The Culdees in Ireland. The Cele-De appeared in Ireland in the eighth century. The Celtic Church in Ireland had "clochans" (or, "carcaus"), carcer or prison, representing bee-hives. They are found in Arran, Devenish in Loch Earn, and in Eilan-na-naomh in the Garveloch Isles. Around 670 the Ceile De were found on Lindisfarne, on St. Cuthbert, and even earlier on Tiree. The Ceile De are akin to the Deicolae of France.⁹

St. Mael-Ruain (d. 792), who founded Tamlachta (Tallacht) monastery near Dublin, was the first recorded Irish Culdee.¹⁰

The first time the mention of Culdees (Keledei) appeared in Scotland was with St. Serf's (Servanus) Community on Loch Leven in 843.¹¹ King Brude of Pictland gave the island of

¹John Jamieson, A Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona and of Their Settlements in Scotland, England, and Ireland (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1890), p. 15.

²Ibid., p. 17.

³McNeill, op. cit., p. 48; Rankin, op. cit., p. 27; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 36; said: "The name, a corruption of Keledei (friends of God)."; Cameron, op. cit., p. 30; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 68.

⁴Cameron, op. cit., p. 30; Black, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

⁵MacLauchlan, op. cit., p. 401.

⁶Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

⁷Ibid., p. 188; Cameron, op. cit., p. 30; Rankin, op. cit., p. 26; Skinner, op. cit., p. 203; Mowat, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

⁸Rankin, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

⁹Ibid., p. 27; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 68-69. The General Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816-817, confirmed the bishop of Metz in his institutions of secular canons which brought together secular clergy who lived by themselves and who were brought together in a monastery, a dormitory, a refectory, and a chapel—they were called "Deicolae" (Rankin, op. cit., p. 27).

¹⁰Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 69; McNeill, op. cit., p. 48.

¹¹Skinner, op. cit., p. 203; Rankin, op. cit., p. 28.

Loch Leven to the Culdee band living there.¹² The ruins of Portmoak Priory, the oldest Culdee establishment may be seen on Loch Leven today. St. Ternan belonged to this society and was educated by the Culdees of Culross. St. Serf's foster-son was St. Kentigern, who introduced the society to Glasgow.¹³

The Work of The Culdees. The Culdees possessed nothing of their own, but we have record of their name in the eighth century concerning land.¹⁴ They continued their activity to a large degree until 1150 when they were absorbed by the Order of St. Augustine and were transformed into Canons.¹⁵ They were not a Church but a strong society, or element, within the Celtic Church which gave it life and vigour. In each school of the order there was one abbot and twelve men, the number being twelve because of the Holy Apostles. An abbot was chosen by the chapter. Cockburn said that the Culdee society resembled the presbyterian form of government remarkably.¹⁶ Some were entitled "Bishops of the Scots"; but they were not necessarily diocesan ones.¹⁷ They were selected and ordained at Iona and went forth; most were presbyters. St. Colman, successor to St. Finan, said he received his episcopate from his College of Elders (Culdees).¹⁸

St. Kentigern (514-603) probably was a Culdee, and his disciples were men educated to a life of sanctity in thought, word, and example. His disciples followed St. Kentigern's life and teaching very carefully. They fasted, maintained sacred vigils, sang psalms, offered prayers, and were constant in meditation. Their dress, or habit, was simple; and their partaking of food sparingly. Certain hours of the day were spent in work. They fashioned themselves closely on the Church of the Apostles, possessing little or nothing of their own. St. Kentigern and his disciples dwelt in singular huts. An excellent picture is given to us of the Culdees in Jocelyn's Life of St. Kentigern.¹⁹

Rankin listed fifty Celtic (Culdee) institutions, but we shall note thirteen important ones below. In Scotland the early monasteries were founded in clan areas, or districts, belonging to distinct tribes. Later, they became the territorial divisions or Earldoms.²⁰

<u>Culdee Monasteries</u>	<u>Clans or Earldoms</u>
St. Andrews (Celtic monks under St. Kenneth, 598)	Fife
Dunblane (capitulated in 1250)	Stratherne; Menteith
Dunfermline (Culdees under Malcolm III)	Fife
Scone	Gowrie

¹²Duke, op. cit., p. 69.

¹³Skinner, op. cit., p. 203.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁵Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 29; Skinner, op. cit., p. 205; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 36; Cockburn, op. cit., p. 195.

¹⁶Cockburn, op. cit., p. 36. Isabel Hill Elder, Celt, Druid and Culdee (London: The Covenant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 99, vigorously supports the idea of a Culdee Church rather than a society; wrote she: "The name by which the British Church was known in these islands was the Culdee Church, the natural result of Christianity having been introduced by the Culdich or 'refugees.' The ecclesiastics of this Church, composed chiefly of Christianised Druids, became known as the Culdees, and not until the Latin aggression, five centuries later, were they referred to as the British clergy, in contra-distinction to the clergy of the Roman Church. The fact is well established from the testimony of early writers and councils that, through the Culdee Church, the National Church of Britain is the Mother Church of Christendom."

¹⁷Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 69; Skinner, op. cit., p. 204; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 36.

²⁰Rankin, op. cit., pp. 31-32. See MacLauchlan, op. cit., p. 191.

Culdee Monasteries

Brechin
Monymusk
Mortlach
Birney (Moray)
Rosemarkie, Fortrose
Dornoch
Iona
Dunkeld (founded 8th century)
Melrose

Clans or Earldoms

Angus; Mearns
Mar
Buchan
Moray
Ross
Caithness
Garmoran
Atholl; Argyll
Galloway

Boece's Claim for The Culdees. The Culdees have been made the object of much controversy, as though they were some brand new religious body injected into the life of the early Celtic Church. Some writers try to make them a distinct religious group of men who appeared on the pages of Scottish Ecclesiastical History between the time of St. Columba and St. Kentigern in the sixth century and the Church of Rome and St. Margaret and her successor-sons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This we must recognise: the only thing new is the name, Culdees.²¹

Duke stated that an historian by the name of Hector Boece simply found a place for the Culdees in an invented history.²² Boece believed the Culdees existed when Christianity was introduced into Scotland, 203 (the date which Fordun gave).²³ Boece placed between the years 203 and 431 monks which he labelled Culdei, stating their names were Cultores Dei (worshippers of God). He went on to declare that these were the first clergy of the faith in Scotland and their successors survived.²⁴ Boece wrote in the sixteenth century, that period which found Scotland in the throes of the Reformation. Duke stated that Boece's picture of the Culdees was greatly coloured as the controversy between the Protestants and Romanists was severe.

Boece's "fable" was like this: St. Palladius was the first bishop to the Scots in 431; and, as there were Christians there already two hundred years before, the early followers of Christ must have been Presbyterians; and the earliest Church of Scotland was Presbyterian and its clergy Culdees.²⁵ No one could then defeat the argument, and so the "invention" grew.

Another argument loomed on the horizon when the Culdees were connected with the disciples of St. Columba. It is easy to see how this developed: St. Columba was a presbyter; he never held a bishop's rank, and his Church was Presbyterian; between the Presbyterian followers of St. Columba, there were little or no differences. When St. Columba's Church was going down before the Church of Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, those who desired to remain true to the old Presbyterian teachings and traditions of the Church of Scotland were the Culdees. When the Reformation of the Church of Scotland had taken place in 1560, it was simply the

²¹Ibid., p. 26; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 67.

²²Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 67.

²³Ibid., p. 67. Elder, op. cit., pp. 99-100, went further back than Boece or Fordun; she wrote: "Eurgan, daughter of Caradoc, and wife of Salog, Prince of old Sarum, founded a college of twelve Christian Druids (Culdee initiates) at Caer Urgan, or Llantwit Major. This college must therefore have been established in the first century, as Caradoc flourished A.D. 60."

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

restoration of the Church to its original state of purity and simplicity which had been enjoyed under the Culdees until it was down-trodden and corrupted by Rome.²⁶

Presbyterian writers (and others) who had "a bone to pick" accepted Boece's interpretation whole-heartily. Many scholars employed this "acceptable piece of 'history'" until the great Anglo-Irish scholar Dr. Reeves settled it with unusual clarity in the nineteenth century. Many writers of the twentieth century regard the Culdees as descendants of the Church of St. Columba.²⁷ Skene wrote:

. . . the Culdees originally sprang from that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell as the highest form of religious life, and who were termed Deicoloe; that they then became associated in communities of anchorites, or hermits; that they were clerics, and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks; that they made their appearance in the eastern districts of Scotland at the same time as the secular clergy were introduced, and succeeded the Columban monks who had been driven across the great mountain range of Drumalban, the western frontier of the Pictish kingdom; and that they were finally brought under the canonical rule along with the secular clergy, retaining, however, to some extent the nomenclature of the monastery, until at length the name of Keledeus, or Culdee, became almost synonymous with that of secular canon.²⁸

²⁶Ibid., pp. 67-68. See Shepherd, op. cit., pp. 25-26, said that long before the Bishop of Rome had forced his rule on Scotland it was solely the Culdees who upheld the Gospel. Although Hector Boece has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the Culdees succeeded the delapidated Celtic Church, Shepherd refused to acknowledge such an inference.

²⁷Ibid., p. 68. Elder, op. cit., p. 152, maintained that the Reformation restored the early British Church; wrote she: "The character of the early British Church was now in a great measure restored. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Church at no time was without its protestors, the Culdees, worshipping God according to the practises of the primitive Church in these islands, and frequently in the same Church with Latin priests. As related in the previous chapter, they were known to have existed down to the seventeenth century."

²⁸William F. Skene, Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban, (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887), II, pp. 276-277.

CHAPTER V

THE SCOTTISH AND SCOTTISH-PICTISH CHURCH 717-1070

Iona succumbed to Roman Easter and the tonsure and other rites in 714. Scotland is somewhat left without a religious historian following the death of St. Adamnan (d. 704), and the Venerable Bede of Yarrow stopped his history in 731. From 731 until 1070, little history can be found written by Irish and Scottish historians. We do have a few dates, names of kings, bishops, and abbots. There is evidence of raids, battles; dates of the establishment of a monastery here and there and the erection of Churches. Little information concerning the Norse invaders is given. Duke agreed with Hill Burton in calling this period "The Dark Age of Scotland's History."¹ Agnes Mure Mackenzie called the years from 843 until 1034, "The United States of Scotland."² This very important period was one in which the Picts, Scots, and Cyrmy were consolidating their countries by dynastic inheritance and fighting.³ During this period of consolidation politically, we find the emergence of what is called Ecclesia Scoticana, or the Scottish Church.⁴

Recall to mind that Scotland was composed of four peoples, the Angles on the eastern coast were the only ones who had close contact with the Roman See. The Angles of Bernicia (later the Lothians) were a part of the kingdom of Northumbria and had been converted by St. Wilfrid.⁵ It was he who Romanised Northumbria and, with the assistance of St. Benedict Biscop, procured skilled workers along with pictures, books, etc., from Europe. St. Wilfrid was no lover of Celtic monasticism and substituted the Benedictine type for it. He believed his type of monasticism was more "group-minded" and disciplined than that of the Celts. Benedictine foundations in North England were famous for scholarship. Whitby, founded by St. Hilda, was the home of Caedmon, an English poet. Jarrow was likewise a monastery made famous by the Venerable Bede (673-735).⁶ Crosse gave honour to the Celtic missionaries in Scotland, because they were "Christ-like" and had a "burning zeal and love of souls." However, as they cared little for "Church order and organization which prevailed in the south", he held that unless order and organisation were maintained the English Church could not have united itself or with other Churches.⁷ Thus was the See of Northumbria under Rome. Only a few monasteries remained tied to Iona and continued the particular traditions of St. Columba's Church.⁸

I. WHITHORN AND IONA

As early as 606 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laurentius, asked the Abbot of Whithorn (Candida Casa), St. Dagan, to conform to Rome; but he refused. St. Wilfrid, in 680, at the Council of Rome claimed to speak for his Church there, but this was "mere bluff."⁹ Our

¹Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 62.

²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 79-101.

³Ibid., pp. 79-80.

⁴Burleigh, op. cit., p. 37.

⁵Gordon Crosse, A Short History of The English Church (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 16.

⁶Ibid., pp. 16-17. See Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 63.

⁷Ibid., p. 13.

⁸Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 63.

⁹Skinner, op. cit., p. 157.

records tell us plainly that the Strathclyde Britons refused to conform to Roman customs until 704. We recall that Iona remained aloof until 716. The Galloway Britons did not bow until 730.¹⁰

Pechthelm ("Protector of the Picts") was consecrated bishop of Whithorn in 731,¹¹ thus re-viving St. Ninian's bishopric. At the close of the eighth century, the Northumbrian bishops of Whithorn were consecrated at York; but, when Galloway was besieged by the Norse and Celts, Whithorn's bishops are not recorded.¹² Skinner, however, said that Candida Casa continued her labours in spite of Norse and Celtic invasions.¹³ In the latter part of the ninth century, Whithorn was in communion with Lindisfarne; because the Bishop of Lindisfarne, Eardulf, went there with the relics of St. Cuthbert. In the tenth century those Vikings and Picts whose fathers and grandfathers had destroyed and ravaged the Churches and settlements were not Christianised. They built Churches and named them for the saints: St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Bridget.¹⁴

Whithorn. The See of Whithorn (Whitherne) was founded, according to Walcott, in 397 by St. Ninian and again in 1143 during the reign of King David I by Fergus of Galloway. It was later connected with the Chapel Royal deanery in Stirling until the deanery was granted to the Bishop of Dunblane. Whithorn was restored to the See of Galloway in 1606.¹⁵ The bishops of Galloway (or Candida Casa) were:¹⁶

St. Ninian	450
Octa	
Plethelm	730-735
Frithwald	735-763
Pechtwine	763-777
Ethelbert	777-791
Baldulf	791-803
Heathored (?)	821 (?)

Iona. St. Columba's Isle (Iona) finally accepted Roman tonsure and Easter in the year of 716. Only in these two instances did she conform. To Iona's monastic government, her autonomy, and her Scottish and Irish individual mannerisms did she cling. When the Vikings had cruelly descended upon Iona's domain, the Columban Church took refuge in Ireland; and there her abbots yet controlled Iona and the monasteries in the Isles and coast. The last, free Abbot of Iona died in 860 as a pilgrim on the journey to Rome.¹⁷

King Nechtan MacDerile (703-724) mounted the Pictish throne in 703. He called a general synod of the Church in 710, adopted Roman Easter, and had his clergy adopt the Tonsure of Rome. He also chose St. Peter as patron of his people, i.e., the Picts.¹⁸ In 717 the non-conforming Celtic monks were ordered banished from his kingdom. The customs of the Church of St. Columba to a large degree still remained. The Celtic Church conformed in no other way to Rome and its authority and patronage still was independent.¹⁹ Selbach, King of Scots, became a monk in 723; and King Nechtan followed suit in 724. Angus I (Angus MacFergus), King of Picts, was supreme ruler for twenty-five years. Northumbria in 720 pushed into Galloway

¹⁰Ibid., p. 157.

¹¹Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 63. Skinner, op. cit., p. 158, gave 730.

¹²Ibid., p. 63.

¹³Skinner, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁵Walcott, op. cit., p. 223.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 224; Skinner, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

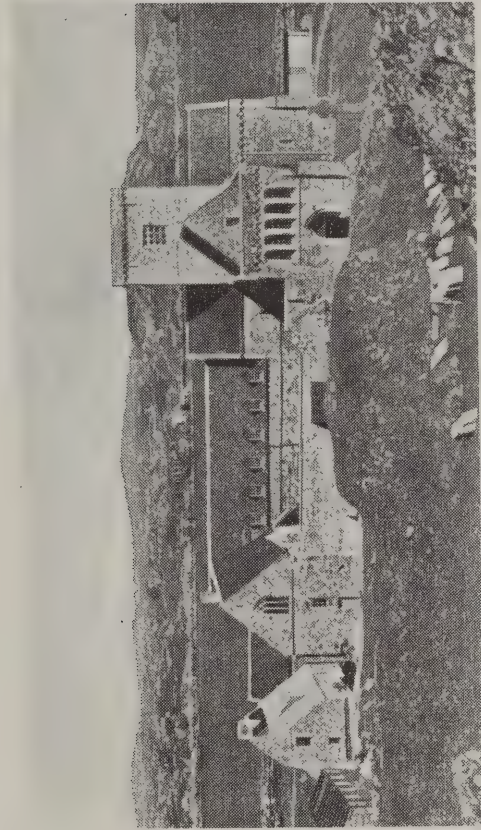
¹⁷Duke, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁸Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 69; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 63-64; Burleigh, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁹Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 64.



St. Martin's Cross



Iona Cathedral



St. John's Cross



St. Ninian's Cave, Physgill



Ancient Stones in Whithorn Museum

and, as we have seen, placed a Bishop at Whithorn. The districts of Kyle and Cunningham in Ayrshire were taken by 756.²⁰

Angus died in 761. Northumbria was collapsing. In 789 Constantine MacFergus came to the throne of the Picts; his son, Donald, King of Scots, ruled as his father's vassal.²¹ Constantine I (789-820) built a Church at Dunkeld. It is his reign which distinctly placed Scotland on the up-grade. The eighth century was one of increasing consolidation, and the ninth century bore fruit.

The Scots and The Picts. The Scots and Picts had been enemies at one time and much warfare had existed between them. Now, because of danger of the Northmen, they had to rely upon each other for mutual defence. In 842 Kenneth MacAlpine, the heir of the lineage of Fergus "Royal for three hundred years, and nearly eleven hundred after his time, his fifty-sixth successor, still his descendant, was crowned King of Scots and King of England also, and Emperor of a quarter of the world, on the sacred stone that by very ancient tradition Fergus had brought with him when he came from Ireland."²²

Kenneth was the son of Alpine, a Scot, and on his mother's side, a Pict. He claimed the throne through the maternal ancestry and became the ruler of the Scots and Picts—united. Never again did they separate. In 849 the Church at Dunkeld was rebuilt, after having been destroyed by the Norse. The new king placed the relics of St. Columba there, symbolising a true union.²³ We notice for the first period in Scottish history a new type of bishop in the Scotch Church, one with a diocese.²⁴ Tuathal was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld in 865, and his title runs, Primus of Fortria (Kingdom of the Picts) and Abbot of Dunkeld.²⁵

Thus, Dunkeld for dignity was "first" (primus). St. Columba's Church had the Abbot of Iona, and the bishops and presbyters were under him; but there were no specific dioceses. The new Scottish-Pictish Church had its new centre at Dunkeld and Tuathal held the rank of diocesan bishop and abbot. As Primus of the kingdom of the Picts, he would rule his diocese. As Abbot of Dunkeld, he would govern all the monasteries, once under Iona, in the Scot's domains.²⁶ Burleigh wrote that Tuathal's bishopric was similar to that of St. Aidan's in Northumbria. Politically and ecclesiastically this new bishopric was extremely important; for now both Picts and Scots had a religious centre (or shrine), and Scotland was divided into three nations in lieu of four.²⁷

Scotland was known about this period as Alban (Albania). King Girig (Giric) gave freedom to the Scottish Church; he reigned from 878 to 889. This is the first time we come upon the word *Ecclesia Scoticana* (The Scottish Church). This denoted that the Church had been recognised as a "national Church."²⁸ The Church was probably freed from civil taxation for we find, "the relief of religious houses from certain feudal services and burdens, which were commonly imposed by royal authority," is recorded.²⁹

In 906 we find the Scottish Church mentioned again. Duke quotes Skene:

King Constantin (III) and Bishop Cellach, upon 'the Hill of Credulity' (in Colle Credulitatis), near the royal City of Scone, pledged themselves that the laws and the disciplines

²⁰Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 71.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 76; Duke, *op. cit.*, gave Kenneth Alpine's succession date as 844.

²³Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 64. See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and Mould, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.* "Primus" is still retained by the Scottish Episcopal Church, meaning "first" Bishop or to a lesser degree Archbishop. The present Primus of the S. E. C. is the Most Reverend Thomas Hannay, D.D., Lord Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, with his seat at St. Bride's, Onich, Inverness-shire. He was consecrated Bishop in 1940 and made Primus in 1951; Dr. Hannay descends from the Hannays (Hanna, Hannah) or Sorbie, Wigtownshire.

²⁶Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁷Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

of the Faith, and the rights of the churches and of the Gospels should be maintained on equal terms with the Scots.³⁰

The Pictish Churches were to have the same privileges as the Scottish ones. The Christian faith is to be defended by the king, and we find close alignment between bishop and sovereign. A change in the ecclesiastical set-up is noted. Cellach, who represented the Church, was not the Bishop of Dunkeld but of St. Andrews, because Dunkeld had been sacked by a raid from the Norse in 904. This meant that St. Andrews rose to the primacy in Alban. The Bishop of St. Andrews was known as "Bishop of Alban."³¹ The transfer of primacy from Dunkeld to St. Andrews was probably made at this Synod of Scone.

II. ECCLESIA SCOTICANA

Ecclesia Scoticana now takes its place. It came to the front with a bishop as its leader and was very closely related to the country and throne. It had grown up under the Pictish rulers, now of Alban, and had no relationship with Rome. The Scottish Church was indebted to the paper which King Nechtan had obtained from Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth.³²

The king had written to Ceolfrid asking for a method by which he might force his unruly Celtic clergy to accept Roman Easter and tonsure; he asked for architects, etc.³³ But the Church grew without assistance or hindrance by Rome. There was little to fear that it might go over to Rome, as tense relations existed between the kingdom of Alban and England. The Scottish kings believed that the Roman Church was their enemy, since it was friendly with the Angles, their enemies. The Scotch kept the flame of war going in the Lothians, and they ravaged the monasteries at Melrose and Dunbar.³⁴

Roman methods or innovations in the kingdom were not happily received. Pictish records, and Scottish ones, for many decades of this period refused to mention Rome!

The Bishops of Alban from 906 until 1093 were:³⁵

Cellach	---
Fothad	---
Malisius	955- 963
Maelbrigde	963- 970
Cellach	970- 995
Alwynus	1025-1028
Maelduin	1028-1055
Tuthald	1055-1059
Fothad	1059-1093

³⁰Ibid., pp. 65-66.

³¹Ibid., p. 66. See Gordon Donaldson, Scotland Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries (London: Billing and Sons Ltd., 1960), p. 13.

³²Burleigh, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

³³Ibid., p. 30.

³⁴Duke, op. cit., p. 66.

³⁵Skene, op. cit., pp. 327-334.

CHAPTER VI

THE CELTIC CHURCH ROMANISED 1070-1153

Armies, princes, dukes, prelates, and kings in Britain could not bring Scotland into Roman Catholic conformity; it appeared that she would remain without the Church of Rome's influence, but for a gracious queen known as the "Lady with a Lamp."¹ Actually, Church authorities on the continent had little interest or contact with the Church in Scotland. There was no serious continental attempt to subjugate it, so it kept peace within its own borders as best it could.²

I. ST. MARGARET OF SCOTLAND

Queen Margaret I (or better, St. Margaret) and her family brought the Scotch Church into the Roman fold, beginning with her reign in 1070 (or 1068) and ending, let us say, with the death of her son, King David I (1153).³ Some writers have pictured her as queen, saint, restorer, reformer; others portray her as "a zealot for Rome," and state that "She looked on the majority of her husband's subjects as little better than pagans."⁴ Mowat is critical of St. Margaret and seriously questions her court of "splendour" and "severity"; her forcing of Roman customs on the Celts, with the backing of her husband, the notorious Malcolm III; her permitting certain abuses to continue; her lack of control over her husband whom many writers declared she "tamed"; and the country's reaction upon her passing and that of Malcolm III.⁵ Shepherd said that St. Margaret strove to be a faithful follower of her Lord; she desired to rear her family of six as true disciples of Christ.⁶ Cameron called her "Malcolm's Pearl," reminding us that "margaret" means a pearl and that the Queen was of great beauty and of saintly spirit.⁷ Henderson praised her and stated: ". . . she was a very conscientious mother and a most efficient queen and a powerful influence for good in the land."⁸ Turgot, a Benedictine monk of Durham (Prior), and later bishop of St. Andrews, and possibly her father-confessor, is supposed to have written the best life of St. Margaret. This biography, Life of St. Margaret, was written by special request of her daughter Matilda, who was Queen of England.⁹ Needless to relate, we must take Turgot's biography of his queen with a certain amount of reserve, but, as Duke said, when allowances are made for that, by and large his record is one of truthfulness.¹⁰ Who was this Pearl, this Saint, this Reformer?

Her birth and life and marriage. St. Margaret (and she was truly a saint in the true New Testament term) was born in 1046 at the Castle of Nadasd in southern Hungary, the daughter of Eadward Aethling (d. 1057) of England and his Hungarian princess, Agatha, related to King (St.) Stephen I, and the grand-daughter of King Eadmund Ironsides (d. 1017) of England. She was a

¹Cameron, op. cit., p. 30.

²Henderson, op. cit., p. 23.

³Rankin, op. cit., p. 54; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., pp. 71.

⁴Black, op. cit., p. 38.

⁵Mowat, op. cit., pp. 45-46. Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 261, was not impressed by Queen Margaret's reign.

⁶Shepherd, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷Cameron, op. cit., p. 31.

⁸Henderson, op. cit., p. 24.

⁹Burleigh, op. cit., p. 43; Cameron, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁰Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., 73.

niece of St. Edward the Confessor (d. 1066).¹¹ William the Conqueror began to reign in 1066, and the Saxon ruling families fled to Scotland in 1068. Edgar Aethling, Agatha, his mother, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, found a haven at the court of King Malcolm (Canmore) who was born in 1024.¹²

St. Margaret had spent her earlier life at the court of her kinsman, St. Stephen I of Hungary. His court was very loyal to the See of Rome. She was brought to England and spent much time at Edward the Confessor's Court where again she was trained in the Roman Catholic faith.¹³ She spoke Norman French as well as the language of the people.¹⁴ It was her childhood dream to become a nun; from her earlier years her mind was religious.¹⁵ She and her party landed in Scotland near Dunfermline. The place where St. Margaret rested was named St. Margaret's Hope. It is said that King Malcolm III met his future empress at a great stone by the road.¹⁶ We are told that she sought the advice of her spiritual advisor, Turgot, concerning marriage with the king.¹⁷ King Malcolm III was most persistent in wooing the fair Margaret and Turgot assisted him.

King Malcolm III. Malcolm was born in 1024, the son of King Duncan (1034-1040) and Sibiela of Northumberland, grandson of Crinan, the Celtic Abbot of Dunkeld, and Bethoc; Bethoc was the daughter of King Malcolm II (1005-1034). Malcolm II was the son of King Kenneth (971-995), who in turn was the son of Malcolm I (943-954).¹⁸ He came to the throne in 1057. Malcolm was a good fighter, a true lover, and an effective leader; he was concerned for the welfare of Scotland.¹⁹ He married, first, Ingebjorg, the widow of Earl Thorfinn of Norway, she being the daughter of the Jarl Finn Arnison, a descendant of Harald Harfagr. Ingebjorg's mother was a niece of St. Olaf and of Harald Hardradi, King of Norway, whose wife Thora was Ingebjorg's cousin on her father's side.²⁰ By this marriage three sons were born Duncan, Donald, and Malcolm; Ingebjorg died about 1067.²¹

Having won over St. Margaret, King Malcolm Canmore III took her for his second wife in 1070.²² The marriage ceremony was performed by the bishop of St. Andrews. St. Margaret's mission in life was winning over her adopted country to the customs of the Church of Rome, supplanting the old Celtic Church. Here was the most suitable instrument in influencing the Scotch. She believed most firmly that God had called her to serve Him. She held the cloisters and nunneries dear, but her court, not they, would serve her mission: that of bringing the Celts--the one people in all western Europe which still had been free into full communion with the See of Rome.²³

St. Margaret, the perfect wife, and Queen. According to Turgot, and often quoted by many historians, St. Margaret was the perfect wife. King Malcolm is portrayed as quite crude, but his little Saxon wife won him over to gentler manners. Her strong personality, her winsome ways, changed him, and her devotion to God made her husband's life a nobler one.²⁴ Beautiful stories are told of their devotion. The Queen read to her husband, for, it is said, he was unable to read. The king hastened always to obey her wishes and counsels in all things.²⁵ Some-

¹¹Agnès Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 126. See Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 72, said Agatha was a Bavarian princess.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 126; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹³Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 257. See Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁶Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁷Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁸Agnès Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 124. See Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Ingebjorg had by Earl Thorfinn two sons, Paul and Erlend, the latter who became Earl of Orkney.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²³*Ibid.*; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁴Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁵*Ibid.*

times the king would enter the Queen's room and find one of her books, examine it, and kiss it. Oftimes he would steal the book and then replace it, watching with child-like joy the Queen's expression of happiness when she found it. The book was now beautifully bound and "ornamented with gold and gems."²⁶

St. Margaret was constant in the study of Holy Writ. At Dunfermline she worked hard for peace and was most pious. It was under her command that a monastery was established there in 1075. The Church of Iona was rebuilt by royal decree. She made working in the fields illegal on Sunday, thus restoring Sabbath observance.²⁷ She asked that Lent begin on Ash Wednesday, not on the following Monday. She disapproved of a marriage with a step-mother or with a brother's widow. She wanted, and obtained, the frequent celebrating of the Holy Communion. The Scotch must have been using Gaelic in their services, for they were forced to give it up for Latin, due to St. Margaret's wishes.²⁸ It is told that each morning she fed orphans; nightly she washed the feet of paupers. She fasted so much that her health was impaired, and during Lent she read the Psalms of David twice every twenty-four hours.²⁹ She meditated upon St. James words: "What is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away."³⁰ Wherever the Queen went, she was accompanied by the poor which she kept by her own purse. She comforted the widow, the orphan, and the poor in all her travels. She searched out the English slaves in Scottish homes and paid their ransom and set them free.³¹

Her gifts to the Church were great. She built a Church at Dunfermline to commemorate her marriage. Gifts to other Churches consisted of altar-cloths, priestly vestments, silver chalices, and plates.³² The Celtic Church had never known the use of the crucifix, but St. Margaret introduced it, her best loved one being "The Black Rood."³³ Influenced by her English advisers, she was bent on introducing Roman discipline.³⁴

Needless to say, there was opposition to the anglicising policies of King Malcolm III and St. Margaret. This was clearly shown at their deaths; for immediately a Celtic reaction took place which, for a brief time, kept their sons from the throne.³⁵ She did not endeavour to crush the Culdees, for we have records of endowments to the Culdee monastery of Dunkeld; one of her sons, Ethelred, Earl of Fife, was made Abbot there.³⁶ She visited the Celtic Church, offered the priests gifts, and sought prayers.³⁷

St. Margaret's House-hold. At her home the Queen employed no nurse or tutor for her six sons and two daughters. With all her labours—house-hold and royal duties—she trained her children in the Christian faith. It is said that mothers all over the kingdom imitated their foreign queen. She taught her offspring to love the Lord Jesus Christ and His Church, and she warned her royal children against being too proud and becoming too worldly.³⁸ At home, too, life could be severe, and threats of whippings were noted if any one erred. Matilda, a daughter in the royal household was frequently lashed by her own aunt, Christina, for not being prudent.³⁹ The sons were: Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, and Edgar; they were named for her father, grand-father, and great-grandfather. One son, Alexander, was named in honour of Pope

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁸Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁹Rankin, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

³⁰Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³¹Ibid., p. 74. English prisoners were captured by King Malcolm III as he was at war with England and made slaves in Scottish castles and homes.

³²Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

³³Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³⁴Richard Morris Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁵Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 18-19; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁷Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³⁸Ibid., p. 75; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁹Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 263. See Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Alexander II, and a son David was named for the Psalmist. The daughters were Matilda (Maud) and Mary.⁴⁰

The Queen's Church Policy. St. Margaret's Church policy was strictly intended to bring the existing Celtic Church to the Roman standard; and because of her royal position, her saintly life, and her mission, she was to influence the delegates of the Scottish Church in the final outcome.⁴¹ A number of important conferences were held between St. Margaret and the representatives of the Celtic Church, because she saw a number of things which were unlawful. Because of her rearing and the natural isolation of the Celtic Churches, the Queen found error.⁴² One conference lasted three days, and she was assisted by Churchmen from England. The king was also present and served as interpreter for the occasion. St. Margaret desired one faith, one God, one Church, i.e., the Roman. She found five practices in the Celtic Church to which she specifically objected, namely:⁴³

1. The Celtic Church began Lenten Fast on Monday following Ash Wednesday, thus fasting only thirty-six days in lieu of forty.
2. The Celts did not commune on Easter.
3. The Celts celebrated the "mass" in certain places in the Gaelic tongue.
4. The Celts did not keep the Sabbath because they worked.
5. The Celts allowed Holy Matrimony within the prohibited degrees of affinity, permitting a man to marry his stepmother, or his deceased brother's wife.

St. Margaret was the innovator and, fortunately for her, she had her husband to support her. Her outlook was European, rather than Scottish or even English. She valued the friendship of the Italian Lanfranc of Canterbury, once Abbot of Bec, Normandy. Her Cluniac sympathies caused her to "reform" the laxity, as she thought, of the Scottish Church.⁴⁴ The Queen won out on each point, for the Scottish clergy knew that King Malcolm was present; and he was truly a man to be reckoned with, as he loved his wife and did her bidding. Again, the See of Rome was able to achieve a victory because royal authority was supreme.

The Sovereigns' Deaths. Fighting the English at Alnwick, November 13, 1093, King Malcolm III and his eldest son, Prince Edward, were mortally wounded. When Prince Edgar told the Queen of their deaths on his return from the battle, she died of a broken heart in Edinburgh Castle, the 16th of November 1093.⁴⁵ It is said when she learned of her husband's death, she prayed that she too might die.⁴⁶ When the royal pair died, a violent reaction swept the land. The tumult was most violent in Edinburgh. So great it was that the Queen's body had to be secretly conveyed from the western gate of the castle under the cover of fog and transported to Dunfermline. The sons of the deceased royal pair had to flee immediately to England for safety.⁴⁷

The people "canonised" her during her life-time, but in 1250 she was canonised by the Pope when the great abbey Church was finished. Her body was reburied beneath the high altar, and she was venerated until the Reformation. The Lesson and Gospel for the Mass of her day (16th of November) are concerning the Virtuous Woman (Proverbs) and the Parable of the Pearl of Price.⁴⁸ The Roman Church truly had a devoted daughter, for she fulfilled all the ideals of sainthood. We may be tempted to decry her type of piety, or her judgement on the Romanisation of the Celtic Church, but her compassion, her gentleness, her purity, and re-

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 263. It is interesting to note that none of her children were given Gaelic names!

⁴¹Richard Morris Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76; Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴²Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴³Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴⁴Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴⁵Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139; Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

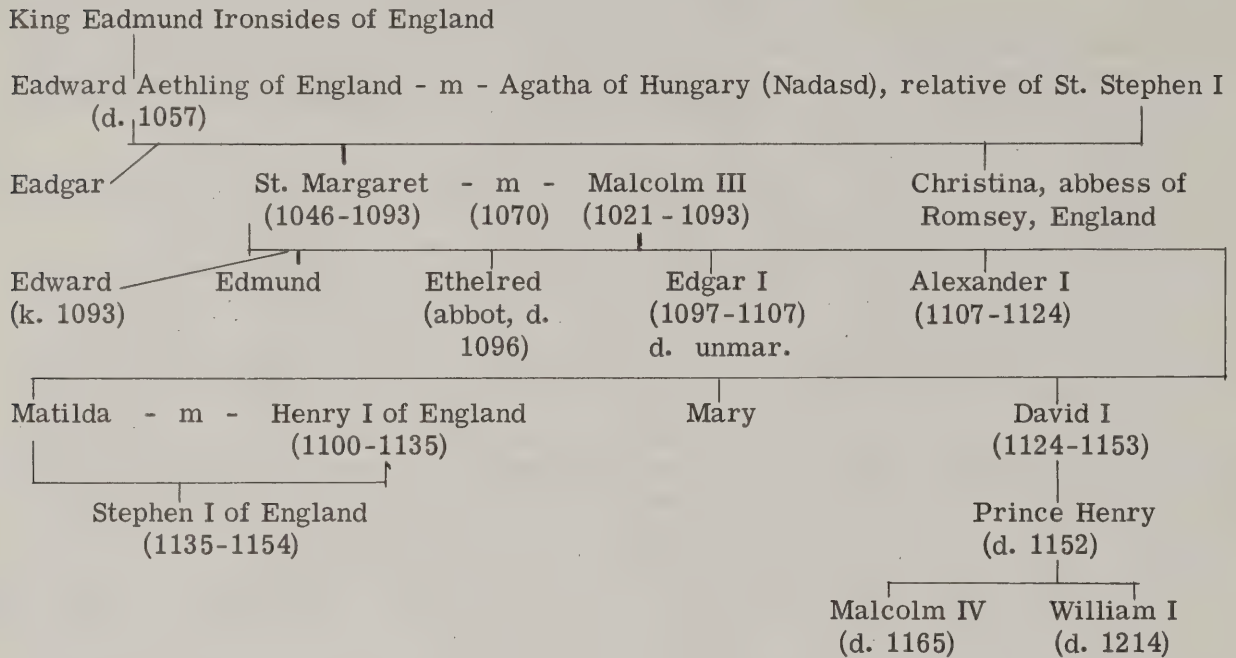
⁴⁶Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁴⁷Mowat, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁴⁸Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139.

ligious faith will remain forever in the annals of Christendom. Indeed, she was no perfect woman, but one who was growing towards perfection. St. Margaret was a lady who shed a new light over Scotland. As she let her light so shine, others seeing it came to believe in God a little more easily!

Queen (St.) Margaret's Genealogical Table⁴⁹



II. KING EDGAR I (1097-1107)

As St. Margaret lay on her death bed at the Castle of Edinburgh, the brother of the late king, Donald Bane, entered the city with an army from the Hebrides. Scotland was, as we have noted, in arms, because of the influence granted to foreigners in the court by the royal family.⁵⁰ The throne was to have fallen to Prince Edward, but he was slain at Alnwick with his father in 1093. Duncan, the son of Ingebjorg (Ingibiorg) by King Malcolm III's first wife, lived in London at the Norman court; his brother, Donald, had met a mysterious death, leaving a son named Lodmund, who was slain in Moray, 1116. The third brother was Malcolm, who disappeared from history after 1094.⁵¹ Donald Bane seized the throne and was proclaimed as Donald III of Scotland. He banished the foreigners from the royal court, and St. Margaret's children were concealed in England.⁵²

Duncan, Malcolm's son by Ingebjorg, claimed the Scottish throne and was assisted by King William Rufus of England. Duncan and his army of Normans and English deposed his uncle, Donald III in 1094; but a Scotch army beat King Duncan II's forces and destroyed them. Duncan II was murdered by Edmund, St. Margaret's second son, in a plot, according to William of Malmesbury.⁵³ Edmund ended his remaining years as a monk in the Cluniac priory in Somersetshire. Donald III ruled until 1097 when he was defeated by Edgar Aetheling; he was captured,

⁴⁹Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 318-319.

⁵⁰Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 146, the younger children of the late Queen were sent to England, the girls found refuge with Christina, who was abbess of Ramsey.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵³*Ibid.*

blinded, and tortured. Edgar, St. Margaret's fourth son, was crowned king; and Celtic influences were again overthrown, Norman ones being established.⁵⁴

King Edgar I came to the turbulent Scottish throne when he was twenty. He was a gentle soul, being pious, yet had ambition. October, 1097 found him in Scotland along with his uncle, Eadgar, and an English force. A battle took place against Donald, and Edmund was defeated. As Eadgar was proclaimed king, his uncle and elder brother still fought on.⁵⁵ The new king owed his throne to William Rufus. In 1100 Princess Matilda married William Rufus' successor, King Henry I and became Queen of England. Edgar I was becoming closely connected with the southern Kingdom; certainly his sympathies were English. He was in debt to them. The capital of Scotland was moved from Dunfermline, across the Firth of Forth, to Edinburgh. The new king welcomed English and Norman nobles, and again they flocked into his court. The Roman Church, as before, knew that St. Margaret's son would favour it, and so he did.⁵⁶

King Edgar I re-established Coldingham monastery and presented it to Durham. The monks of St. Cuthbert were granted lands. He did not banish the Celtic Church altogether, for gifts were made to the Culdees on Loch Leven.⁵⁷ In 1105 we have the earliest recorded erection of a parish in Scotland. A charter of that year stated that Thor Longus, a noble, built a Church and gave it and a section of land to the monks of St. Cuthbert of Durham.⁵⁸ Magnus Barefoot, king of Norway in 1098, seized the Orkneys and raided the Isles with a large fleet of ships. He captured the Isle of Man and Welsh Anglesey. In 1102 Magnus Barefoot sued Edgar for peace, demanding concession of the western Isles including Iona.⁵⁹ This treaty was kept for nearly two hundred years, and the western Isles were cut off from the Church life of Scotland.⁶⁰

The king died unmarried in Edinburgh Castle in 1107. He was wise enough to see that Scotland was still divided between the Scots and the Angles and feared another war and collapse of his kingdom like that of 1093. The king desired a succession by splitting his country between Prince Alexander and Prince David, his surviving younger brothers. Alexander was to have the northern Kingdom (all north of the Firth of Forth and Edinburgh), and the title of king, while David was to receive Cumbria and the Lothians and to be Earl (or Comes).⁶¹

III. KING ALEXANDER I ("THE FIERCE"), 1107-1124

With the accession of King Alexander I came the zenith of the Middle Ages. He married Sibilla, daughter of King Henry I; but there was no issue. The king was called "a lettered and godly man," and the important dates of his seventeen years on the throne were marked by Church affairs.⁶² King Alexander I was a loyal adherent of the Church of Rome, but he wisely upheld Scotland's independence against Church claims of supremacy which England held.⁶³ He was humble and kind to his ministers, but he could be terrible to his subjects. John, Bishop of Glasgow, wrote to Eadmer, Norman Bishop of St. Andrews, that the king was highly independent and loyal to his kingdom.⁶⁴

King Alexander I was truly a son of the Roman Church, but when the Archbishops of York and Canterbury claimed power over the bishops in Scotland he strongly objected. Turgot, who wrote of his mother, St. Margaret, was chosen to be the Bishop of St. Andrews but later quar-

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 270; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 148, stated that Donald III was imprisoned at Rescobie in Angus in 1099; Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁵⁵Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 149. See Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁷Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁵⁸*Ibid.* Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 49 quoted important Charter, now at the University Library of Durham.

⁵⁹Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

⁶⁰Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 79; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

⁶²*Ibid.* See Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151; Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁶³Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

reled with him over the question of consecration by the Archbishop of York. Turgot was sent back to Durham where he died.⁶⁵ The king asked the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph, for a bishop; and Edmer was appointed. Edmer was asked by the king to be head of the Scottish Church as one opposed to the Archbishop of York's claim. Edmer wanted the Archbishop of Canterbury to be supreme over all Britain. The king succeeded in getting Edmer to receive the pastoral staff from the altar, receiving it, as it were, directly from God, and to take the ring from his royal person, thus submitting to neither archbishopric. The Archbishop of York, Thurstan, wanted King Henry I to enter the dispute, but he would not. Edmer was refused permission to confer with Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, unless he gave up the staff and ring, which he did, and returned to Canterbury. The king, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, said that Edmer had been unfaithful to the customs of Scotland. Later, Edmer wrote to the king, stating he had been in the wrong and offering to return. But Alexander would have none of this; and, before his death in 1124 he appointed Robert, Prior of Scone, Bishop of St. Andrews.⁶⁶

Again the Archbishop of York claimed the prerogative of consecrating the Bishop of St. Andrews and received his submission, but the king said "No!" The Scottish Church showed it was independent of England.⁶⁷ The king's gifts to the Church were many. The monastery of Scone was established by him, and Augustinian canons brought from St. Oswald's in Yorkshire were placed there.⁶⁸ Priors were founded on Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth and on the Island of Loch Tay. Inchcolm was named for St. Columba's Island.⁶⁹ The Church at Dunfermline received additions, and St. Andrews' See was granted much land known as "The Boar's Chase."⁷⁰ The Bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld were founded by the king during his reign.⁷¹

King Alexander I's Queen, Sibyl, died in 1122 without issue, and was buried on an island in Loch Tay. The king did not remarry although he was only in his forties. He died at Stirling, April 23, 1124, and was buried in Dunfermline.⁷² He had been a popular monarch and the crown went without strife to his brother David, younger son of King Malcolm III.⁷³

IV. KING DAVID I (1124-1153)

King David I reigned from 1124 to 1153, a period of twenty-nine years. As a youth he had received his education at the English court and was "courtly and polished."⁷⁴ Duke stated that this period of history, politically as well as Church-wise, was the most important in Scottish history before the Reformation.⁷⁵ It was a period of spiritual awakening, producing such an influential figure as St. Bernard of Clairvaux in France.⁷⁶ Other countries in Europe accomplished changes by blood-shed and horrible civil wars; but, under King David's reign, changes came about peacefully and rapidly.⁷⁷

The king had been knighted by King Henry I of England, and he was married to Matilda, widow of Simon of Senlis, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. She was a daughter and heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria and son of Earl Siward, cousin and ally of Malcolm III.⁷⁸ King David I inherited these territories from his wife, as well as other properties from his

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 275-276.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 276.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 277.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 277.

⁷⁰Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 79.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 80.

⁷²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

⁷³Ibid., p. 158.

⁷⁴Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 279; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 82.

⁷⁵Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 82.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 280; Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., 82:

wife's mother, Judith; David's children claimed the Northumbrian lands later on.⁷⁹ He came to Scotland with swarms of Norman nobles to whom he gave lands in Scotland. These nobles helped the king to introduce what we call the Feudal System into Scotland and assisted in the almost complete Romanisation of the Church.⁸⁰

One of King David's earliest labours for his Church was recorded in 1113 when a group of monks (Benedictines) were transferred from Tiron, France, to a newly established monastery at Selkirk. Selkirk was unsuitable, and Kelso became their lodgement.⁸¹ A priory was established in 1118 at lovely Jedburgh, later becoming an abbey for the Canons Regular from Beauvais. When King David was Earl of Cumbria, he re-established the Bishopric of Glasgow and appointed John, his tutor, as Bishop. John built a cathedral there in 1136.⁸² King David caused an "Inquisition" to be carried out by "the Elders and Wise Men of Cumbria," concerning the territories and their endowments which once were held by Glasgow.⁸³ This was accomplished, and they were restored to the Church. This document is the oldest record of the Bishopric of Glasgow and the most valuable record of the early Church in Scotland.

As we have seen, King David's brother, King Alexander I, died in 1124. The separated country now became one again, and the king could better carry out his work. King David's brother-in-law, King Henry I of England, was a peaceful king; and the only struggles in Scotland during his first twelve years as king were caused by the Celts of Moray.⁸⁴

The Earl of Moray, who claimed the throne, endeavoured to capture all the lands north of the Firth of Forth. King David called to his side the Norman-French barons, bearing such good, present-day Scotch surnames as: Balliol, Bruce, Stewart, Cumming, Fraser, Graham, Hay, Melville, Moubray, Ramsay, and Somerville.⁸⁵ These families, and others, were settled in the lands they conquered from the native Celts and peace was for a while restored. When King Henry I died in 1135, and Stephen of Blais seized the throne, David's gentle attitude towards England changed. David marched with an army into England, on behalf of Maud, Henry I's daughter, and his own niece. David invaded England three times and in 1138 an English army under the Archbishop of York, Thurstan, beat the Scots; and David sued for peace, following the Battle of the Standard.⁸⁶ The Peace of Durham was signed in 1139. Northumbria went to Prince Henry except Newcastle and Bamborough which the English maintained. Prince Henry retained Carlisle Castle. An uprising in London favoured Queen Matilda, who returned to the throne. David went to her assistance; but a counter-revolution deposed the Queen, and the Scottish king flew back to Edinburgh. Queen Matilda found refuge in Normandy, where she died in 1154; her son Henry became King of England.⁸⁷

From 1139 until 1153, King David's time and effort were devoted to his Church and State. He gave without question to the Church; he lavished gifts upon foreign Churchmen and foreign nobles. Duke stated that there were three main features which characterised the change which

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁸⁰Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Though the Scottish Church was a part of the Mediaeval (Roman Catholic) Church, it showed a "decided spirit of independence within the unity" (Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 34).

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 83; Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁸²Agnes Mure Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁸³Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 83. In 1126, King David (then Earl) re-established the See of Candida Casa and Gilla-Aldan was consecrated Bishop by the Archbishop of York, Thurstan (Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-200).

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸⁵Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Other Norman-French were: Lindsay, Gordon, Sinclair, and Fleming. However, the name Cumming (Cummin, Cummings, Cummins) may be Gaelic for Fort Augustus on Loch Ness once bore the Celtic name of Cill-Chuimein (Church of St. Cumine). St. Cumine was the seventh Abbot of Iona, 669 (Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 212). Allan Gordon Cumming of Upperville, Virginia, is descended from the Cumming family, as the Rev. Dr. George F. MacLeod of Iona. Some of the Grahams claim Celtic ancestry from Gramus rather than Norman-French extraction (Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 221).

⁸⁶Duke, *History of the Church of Scotland*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁸⁷Donald A. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-285.

effected the Church in King David's period: (1) the founding of diocesan episcopacy, (2) the introducing of Roman Catholic monastic orders, and (3) the purging of the Culdees.⁸⁸

Diocesan Episcopacy. As we have clearly shown, the Church of St. Columba was episcopal, but not diocesan; for it was constructed upon the Clan (or tribe) foundations, and the monastery was connected with the clan. The abbot headed the monastery, and the bishops under the abbot conferred "holy orders."⁸⁹ A trace of diocesan episcopacy appeared in 849 in the Scottish Pictish Church in King Kenneth MacAlpine's reign (841-858).⁹⁰ Tuathal was chosen to the Church at Dunkeld and was given the title "Bishop of Fortriu".⁹¹ At Dunkeld, later at St. Andrews, bishops claimed Scotland as their own. "The Bishops of Fortriu" were later called "Bishops of Alban" and further, "Bishops of the Scots."⁹² The national bishops lasted until the reigns of King Alexander I and King David I when more bishoprics were needed as the country was growing. We noted that the Bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld were established by Alexander I. David I established those of Glasgow, Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin.⁹³ Land was parcelled into bishoprics and further subdivided into parishes, beginning with King Edgar's reign and continuing down to King David's.⁹⁴

Innovation of Roman Catholic Monastic Orders. Roman Catholic monastic orders in King David I's reign brought about the Romanisation of the Church of Scotland. Roman monks had been brought from England and France by St. Margaret, for we recall the monk who was confessor to her. King Edgar had re-established Coldingham monastery, and King Alexander I had founded monastic foundations at Scone, Inchcolm, and Loch Tay.⁹⁵ In David I's reign, however, the monastic movement was supreme.

Monks were brought from France to Selkirk and Jedburgh. Richly endowed, beautifully constructed monasteries such as Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, Holyrood, Newbattle, Dunfermline, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss were David I's witness.⁹⁶ The Knights Templars were granted Temple in Midlothian, and at Torphichen we find the Knights Hospitalers. A Cistercian convent was established for nuns at Berwick-on-Tweed; those nunneries attached were: Gullane in Lothian, Strafontaine in Lammermoor, and Elbottle in Haddington.⁹⁷ The abbeys of Kilwinning and magnificent Dryburgh were founded by Hugh de Morville during David I's reign. The abbeys of Souseat and Dundrennan were founded by Fergus of Galloway, who also re-established the Bishopric of Whithorn (Candida Casa).⁹⁸

V. THE PURGING OF THE CULDEES

St. Margaret and her sons, Alexander and Edgar, had spared the Culdees, the remnants of a noble Church. King David had to either suppress or neutralise this once forceful society. Richard Morris Stewart stated that the "Celtic Church had experienced a relapse from the fervour of its first zeal and self-denial as seen in the time of Columba and his disciples."⁹⁹ Stewart went on to say that Celtic clerics became an inferior class of clergymen because of this isolation from the main stream of Christendom.¹⁰⁰ Jamieson disagrees with Stewart and

⁸⁸Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 84.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 85; Coulton, op. cit., p. 263.

⁹⁰Agnes Mure Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 80.

⁹¹Duke, op. cit., p. 85.

⁹²Ibid., p. 85.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 86.

⁹⁷Donald A. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 288.

⁹⁸Duke, History of the Church of Scotland, op. cit., p. 86; MacLauchlan, op. cit., p. 417.

⁹⁹Richard Morris Stewart, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 11.

declares that monastic life amongst the Culdees was much higher than that of the Church of Rome, that their doctrine was pure.¹⁰¹ Knight, in full agreement with Jamieson, said:

Had this Celtic form of Christianity with its austere beauty, and its noble simplicity, not been overcome by the materialistic superstitions and the iron laws of the Roman Catholic Church, the entire course of the history of Europe would have been different, and the 'Dark Ages,' would have been full of light.¹⁰²

The Culdees had drastic measures taken against them at two places, St. Andrews (Kilrymont) and Loch Leven (St. Serfs)' other suppressing measures were extended in Scotland. At St. Andrews the canons were given authority to receive as canons the Culdees of Kilrymont; and, if they objected, their places were to be filled at death by canons regular. Loch Leven was given over to the canons of St. Andrews with authority to banish any Culdees who objected to becoming canons regular.¹⁰³ The independent Culdees continued, however, because we find them mentioned as late as 1332 at St. Andrews.¹⁰⁴

Twice in the reign of King David I did the Pope send his legates to Scotland to intervene in Scottish affairs. The Church of Rome's authority was growing. In 1125 Pope Honorius II sent Cardinal John de Crema to enquire into a dispute between Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Scotland over York's claim to the Primacy of Scotland.¹⁰⁵ In 1131, Pope Innocent III ordered the Bishops of Scotland to submit to the Archbishop of York.¹⁰⁶ In 1138 Pope Innocent III sent Alberic, Bishop of Ostu, to meet King David I at Carlisle. Here the Scotch clergy recognised Pope Innocent III as supreme head as opposed to the Anti-Pope, Anacletus, whom once they had favoured. The Bishop of Glasgow, John, who once refused submission to the Archbishop of York, was ordered to return to Glasgow from the monastery of Tiron.¹⁰⁷ The king refused the Pope's demand to make peace with England, but he did promise to free the women who had been taken as prisoners by the Picts, to respect Church property, and not to slay non-combatants.¹⁰⁸

Thus did the very important Council of Carlisle see the Church of Rome win the day, at least in the governing of the Churches. This council sealed the labours of St. Margaret and her sons. The Romanisation of the Celtic Church was almost sealed, but not complete!¹⁰⁹ Caswall wrote:

With the extinction of the Culdees in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland seems properly to terminate. The age of saints and missionary heroes was past, and an age of spiritual despotism had commenced. Centuries were to roll away before Scotland would again hear the pure truth of God, and receive the ministrations and ordinances of His Church, as in the days of Ninian and Columba.¹¹⁰

MacLauchlan said that many Churchmen claimed that the Romanisation of the Celtic Church was progress and that Kings Alexander I and David I desired only to "civilise" the Scots. He added, if this were so true, "Why did the Scots four hundred years later overthrow the framework of Rome which had sunk them to a state near barbarism?"¹¹¹ Scott said that the Culdees (Cele De) held out, more or less independent as late as the thirteenth century in the following

¹⁰¹Jamieson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁰²Knight, *op. cit.*, II, p. 391.

¹⁰³Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*; MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 403, gave the expulsion of the Culdees from Dunkeld in 1197.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰Caswall, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

¹¹¹MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

ancient centres of the Pictish Church: St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Ross, Dunblane, Caithness, Argyll, and Iona.¹¹²

The ancient, revered, Celtic saints, founders of the various Churches, were renamed by those particular saints of the Church of Rome. As the Culdees were suppressed, we see the time-honoured Celtic Church which had given Scotland, Ireland, Wales, northern England, and many countries of Europe spiritual guidance, fading silently away in the thirteenth century. For the next three hundred and sixty years a foreign ecclesiastical power held almost full sway, until the dormant protestantism, firmly based on the deep, revered well-springs of piety which the Celts had kept with singular power broke out in the Reformation of 1560.¹¹³ Knight declared:

From that era to the present day the ancient life that moved within the early Celtic Church has renewed its strength, and has done much to maintain the spiritual vitality of the land.¹¹⁴

¹¹²Scott, *The Pictish Nation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-517.

¹¹³Knight, *op. cit.*, II, p. 361.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 361.

CHAPTER VII

THE DISTINCT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Some historians claim that the ethical and spiritual characteristics of the Celtic Church were obliterated with the onslaught of the Norsemen or the absorption by the Roman Catholic Church. It may be true that the visible Church and the visible nation of the Scots were integrated, but the independent soul of Christianity remained. The soul of something beautiful and lovely can never be effaced.¹

The world still draws spiritual insight from old Israel's conception of the Kingdom of God. Greece's spirit moves our aesthetic tastes though Greece's artists are gone, giving way to tradesmen. Likewise, Roman order and law is still used in the world, though imperial Rome was conquered by a crude race. As the Celtic Church faded out of the history of Scotland in the thirteenth century, the inhabitants of old Alban still clung to their freedom; for there was lingering in their hearts and minds ethics, a sincere desire for education, a genuine faith in teaching, and a missionary drive not for monetary gain, but to extend God's Holy Church on earth.²

I. CELTIC AND ROMAN CHURCH DIFFERENCES

Some authors claim they can find no differences between the Celtic Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland. They produce for the modern historian The Book of Deer without mentioning later, inserted notes after the book had come under the Roman Church in 1153. The Lives of the British, Pictish, Irish, or Welsh Saints are quoted by various authors as authentic, but they fail to point out that these are much later written Lives and have been written in the "interests of the Church of Rome."³

We may point out to critical historians, for one thing, the stinging opposition that the See of Rome encountered in the midst of the Scottish Church. It took her many centuries before she finally integrated the Celts. Sameness, no! Differences, or the distinct characteristics of the Celtic Church kept the two Communion apart! From the time of St. Ninian of Whithorn to the reign of King Giric (Grig) in the ninth century, Roman and Celtic were in opposition concerning government, ideals, ethics, and spirit.⁴

Gaul (France) was Celtic at this time; and the Celtic Church, until the Norse era, was somewhat in contact with St. Martin of Tours. St. Martin protested against the laxity of bishops and other clergy in many of the French towns. The Bishops of France had no control over St. Martin's religious clans (tribes). They had their own bishops to confer orders. St. Ninian, upon returning to Scotland, organised the Christianised Britons and Picts into a Church, free of the "city-dwelling bishops" which had come into being after he had left St. Martin. Shortly after St. Ninian's arrival in Scotland, the barbarians cut off the country from France for nearly a century and a half. St. Ninian's system of Church organisation was established and adopted into Pictish living without interferences from the non-monastic bishops.⁵

¹Scott, The Pictish Nation, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

²Ibid., pp. 519-520.

³Ibid., p. 521.

⁴Ibid., p. 522.

⁵Ibid., p. 522.

The Celtic Church was episcopal and apostolic as we have seen. The Picts were firmly convinced that they were correct and endeavoured to preserve their organisation from the non-monastic bishops, when they entered Scottish history. St. Columbanus of Ireland left his monastery at Bangor and located in France, and there he refused all efforts of the bishops of that fair country to intrude their authority within his monastery. We find him sending a letter to the Bishop of Rome, not as a servant of the Bishop, but as an equal, in which he challenged that individual's desire for Church power.⁶

The Celts endeavoured to promulgate a very high principle that the Holy Church of Christ was preserved in its very "Apostolic form and organisation, and yet still be accommodated to the social and communal clan-organisations of the freedom-loving Picts with their Celtic belief in democratic power."⁷ Rome patterned itself after the Imperial government of Caesar; Church titles were taken from civil, claiming that monarchic and diocesan officials with their temporal power were divine. The Celts patterned their Church after the Twelve Disciples under a recognised leader and fitted its colleges into clans of the Picts of Ireland and Scotland. The Celts claimed that their Church was in spirit and organisation according to the Apostolic manner. It fitted the nature of a free people who detested despotic sovereigns. The abbots were subject to their brethren in their monasteries as the clan chiefs were dependent upon their people. The Celts looked carefully after the welfare of their people, and their Church, as one of the true branches of the Holy Church, adhered faithfully to simplicity, thus integrating itself into the national life of a people.⁸

Roman and Celtic clergy differed in their Apostolic mission. While the Roman cleric seemingly aimed to promote his Church in a temporal manner, being contented with a formal acceptance of the Christian faith, the Celtic cleric demanded of his listeners a consecrated heart to Christ's Church. The ministers of the Word and Sacraments, who spent their lives in effective service and numerous undertakings are many among the Celts such as: St. Columba, St. Columbanus, St. Cainnech, St. Comgall, St. Kentigern, and St. Ninian. The Venerable Bede pictured St. Aidan of Lindisfarne as a man filled with zeal for peace and charity.⁹

Being well-trained at Bangor, Whithorn, or other centres, in Christ-like lives and teaching, the Celtic Church sent its missionaries far and wide. To some persons these clergy were useless because of their Christ-like lives, but men with whom they came into contact did not wound them even when they wanted to stop their speech, until the pagan Teutons came. There are few martyrs in the Celtic Church. St. Columbanus' majesty saved him from French bitterness and Roman Catholic hate. Celtic clergy drew the imagination of all noble minds, and their teaching and preaching were magnificent; but the most important thing was that their lives and examples, more than their words captured the hearts of their people.¹⁰

II. WHAT THE CELTIC CHURCH HELD

The Celtic Church demanded an educated clergy based on the Apostolic model as taught by Jesus Christ. It was not just a mere dream but one which wove the laurels of success in evangelising people. Those ancient Celtic clerics met temptations just like the ministers and priests of today, refusing to compromise with power, station in life, and wealth; they scorned them and sought first the Kingdom of Christ.¹¹

We can find no mention of mass conversions in the Celtic Church as in the Roman Church. The Celts were true missionaries, and their converts were not simply institutionalists. Was this not an effective labour? The individual was most important, and he, or she, was dealt

⁶Ibid., p. 524.

⁷Ibid., p. 525.

⁸Ibid., p. 526.

⁹Ibid., p. 527. See MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 529.

¹¹Ibid., p. 530.

with as a soul and body; reason and genuine compassion of the soul were sought. Converts were instructed that a Christ-like person was important. While the Celts were theologians, the clergy had few heresies to fight.¹² They based their doctrine and order on the Holy Bible as the supreme authority. Emphasis was placed upon the Holy Gospels and Psalms. The Celts liked the Holy Gospels because of the love and mercy of Jesus Christ; they liked the Psalms because of poetry, music and nature; for they spoke to them of all they cherished. The Resurrection story was received with great joy, and it was contemplated with impatient hope. The Roman Catholic clergy criticised the Celts for their manner of dispensing the Holy Sacrament of Baptism and the Holy Communion, their Easter, Tonsure, and opposition to monarchic episcopacy, but not for any lack of the essentials of the Holy Apostolic Faith.¹³

In regard to Infant Baptism, we find no early records of infants, and foundlings, being baptised by the Celtic clergy. The Celts insisted upon a strong moral character and asked a reasonable and personal acceptance of the obligation of Christ's way from members. In receiving the Lord's Supper, the Celts again demanded a moral nature lest they eat and drink judgement to themselves. This Holy Supper was celebrated on the Festival of the Resurrection (Easter).¹⁴

Great men were honoured, revered, and had their deaths marked, but there is no account of believing in the protecting power of their bones until the period when the Roman clergy came into Scotland and gradually romanised its inhabitants. In Scotland, at Iona, veneration of bones, and other relics, came into the open after St. Adamnan had gone over to the Roman See. The Roman clergy introduced the adoration of the Virgin Mary much later in Scottish Church history. The Celts honoured St. Martin of Tours in their Kalendar, but only as a source of authority and example.¹⁵

In Early Celtic Church history no trace of a cruxifix is to be found. The Celtic mind did not choose to employ the crucifix, although aware of our Lord's passion; but wished to associate the empty Cross of Christ with the earth which they had won for the Master and with the memory of the saints and the Church's assurance of protection and justice to all who would escape man's hatred. Celtic Crosses are beautifully interlaced, showing no beginning or ending; likewise, there are animals and birds of the forest on the Crosses showing imagination because they worked among people and creatures.¹⁶

To the Germanic or Teutonic mind the Celtic Church is sometimes difficult to explain. The Celts were an emotional folk, filled to the brim with imagination; romantic and courtly were they. They gave to the Christian faith all their vivacity. The Celts counted time by nights rather than by days. Pre-Celtic Christianity believed that time began in the light of the underworld from which great Light and activity after God the Father had given life. This race of people were ready for the Hebrew's God, the Creator and Father. They were ready to accept the Light, a conscious life in an ordered world, as Holy Writ says. The Celt was ready to live in brotherhood and to be led when Christ's call for disciples came. Christ's call for disciples appealed very strongly to them. Christ's daring nature, His enterprise, sacrifice, appealed to the Celtic mind. The teaching of rebirth was accepted with enthusiasm, for this had been a primary teaching before Christ's Advent.¹⁷

Celtic people loved their homes and lands. They exulted in the beauty of the earth and in glories which would be theirs in heaven. They loved God more. They were only pilgrims, sojourners. Other followers of the Lord took the staff given to the Apostles in their hands, thinking that it was the symbol of authority on this earth over a defined place; but the Celt believed it was a sign, and he looked for an everlasting city, knowing he was just a sojourner. His final

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 531.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 532-533. See MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 536. See Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 537. See MacLauchlan, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 538-539.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 540.

resting-place would be in the Presence of God. Celtic instructions in religion had their feet on the ground, because they demanded that this life should be clean, holy, and dutiful. "Though they saw a new heaven; they did not cease to labour for a new earth."¹⁸

The following poem has been ascribed to St. Columba. In it we see some of the characteristics of Celtic Christianity.

It is not with the sreod ((sneezing)) our destiny is,
Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
Nor with the trunk of a knotty tree,
Nor with a sordan hand in hand ((noise of
clapping hands)).

.

I adore not the voice of birds,
Nor a sreod, nor a destiny on the earthly world,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My Druí is Christ the Son of God.¹⁹

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 542-543.

¹⁹Mitchell, op. cit., p. 80.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

THE CELTIC CHURCH—CHRONOLOGY¹

- 320 B.C. Aristotle's De Mundo. Mentioned Britain (Albion).
55 Julius Caesar in Britain.
54 Caesar withdraws from Britain.
27 Augustus Emperor.
-
- 36 A.D. Christianity introduced to Britain by St. Joseph of Arimathaea (?).
44 Claudius, Emperor of Rome came to Britain.
56 Further evidence of Christianity in Britain.
61 Suetonius in Britain.
65 Roman soldiers hear of Caledonian Britons, of the Caledonian Forest, Ocean, and Promontory.
76 St. Joseph of Arimathaea dies and is buried at Ynys Avalon (Glastonbury).
78 Agricola sent to Britain as governor; reaches the Solway.
79 Present day Scottish border crossed by Julius Agricola.
80 Tribes of Caledonia defeated by Romans. Roman expansion in Britain greatest.
81 Agricola devotes summer to strengthen his conquests and builds defenses.
82 Agricola intends to invade Ireland.
83-84 Tacitus writes of inhabitants of Britain.
86 (84) Agricola meets Scottish chieftain, Galgacus, near Dunkeld; first recorded Scottish battle; Romans won.
96 Suetonius Beatus died at Underseven; founder of Helvetian Church.
110 Mansuetus martyred in Illyria.
120 Ptolemy's map of Britain; Hadrian built his Wall from Solway to Tyne.
138 Hadrian died.
140 Antonine Wall is built.
139 (144) Lollius Urbicus sent to Britain by Antoninus Pius to subdue tribes which broke Hadrian's Wall.
162 Antoninus died.

¹Sources given at the end of Chronology.

- 180 Commodus had trouble with Britons.
- 182 Wall breached by Scots; Marcellus Ulpius arrived from Rome to restore order which he did by 184.
- 193 Lucius Septimius Severus tried to reduce Britain; entered Caledonia.
- 200 Tertullian wrote of Roman Britain.
- 201 Maeatae (Celtic, Magh), a nation, near the Highland line, appeared.
- 203 Fordun says “. . . Scots began to embrace the Catholic faith.”
- 208 Emperor Severus with sons Geta and Antoninus, come to Britain to head state; Tertullian makes mention of the Christian Church in Britain.
- 211 Severus died at York (Eboracum).
- 239 Origen mentioned Christian Church in Britain.
- 297 Picts first mentioned by Roman orator, Eumenius.
- 293 Christian persecution by Diocletian in Britain.
- 306 Constantius Chlorus, British leader, father of Constantine The Great.
- 310 St. Hilary of Poitiers born in Aquitaine.
- 314 Council of Arles; three British Bishops present.
- 316 St. Martin of Tours born in Steinamanger, Hungary; student of St. Hilary.
- 324 Christianity became official religion of Roman Empire.
- 325 Council of Nicaea. Athanasius, a fearless scholar, condemned views of Arius; a teacher of St. Hilary.
- 353 St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (353-367); wrote, 358, while banished, “De Synodis.” He taught St. Martin of Tours (316-397).
- 360 St. Ninian (St. Ringan) born in Scotland; some give 350.
- 368 Atacotti tribe appeared in Britain.
- 367 Emperor Valentinian sent Theodosius to Britain.
- 368 St. Hilary died. Theodosius arrived in Britain; entered London in triumph, restored cities, fortresses, established stations and out-posts.
- 369 St. Rule (St. Regulus) arrived with relics of St. Andrew in Fife.
- 370 Theodosius restored northern wall which Severus united the Tyne and Solway.
- 380 Clemens Maximum victorious over Scots and Picts.
- 381 Pelagianism in the Church.
- 384 Picts and Scots troubled Roman settlements.
- 397 St. Martin of Tours died; St. Ninian built Candida Casa, Whithorn, Wigtownshire.
- 399 (372) St. Patrick born near Dumbarton on the Clyde; others give 376, 386, and 389.
- 400 Stilicho drove back new waves of Picts and Scots.
- 406 Stilicho had success against Picts and Scots.
- 407 Roman legions began withdrawals from Britain.

- 409 Maximus died in Gaul.
- 410 Picts and Scots began to trample Romans; Alaric the Goth sacked Rome.
- 423 Romans began further withdrawal from Britain.
- 431 St. Palladius sent by Celestinus, Bishop of Rome, to evangelise Ireland (Scots living there then). St. Ternan died June 12, Bishop of Picts, born in Ireland of noble birth.
- 432 St. Ninian died September 16; St. Patrick began his evangelisation in Ireland.
- 448 Germanus died.
- 449 Coming of Saxons to Britain; some say as early as 374.
- 450 Britons asked aid of Saxons to throw out Romans. St. Bridget (Bride) born at Fochart near Dundalk; she founded nunnery of Kildare.
- 451 Drust, son of Erp, early Pictish leader. Goths and Romans defeat Attila the Hun at Chalons-sur-Saone.
- 455 Vandals sack Rome. Council of Chalcedon.
- 457-481 Nectan Morbet's rule; built Church at Abernethy.
- 461 (493) St. Patrick died March 17.
- 463 Bishop Hilarius of Rome introduced date of Easter, unacceptable to Celtic Church.
- 470 Cairnech (Caronoc), disciple of St. Ninian, died May 16 at Dunlane; born in Cardigan, Wales, and succeeded to principalship at the Missionary College at Candida Casa.
- 496 Mochaoi died June 23; poet, physician, and scholar, founder of Church and school at Nendrum.
- 501 Death of Fergus.
- 502 Irish-Scot invasion of Dalria.
- 514 (518) St. Kentigern (St. Mungo) born; a pupil of St. Serf of Culross.
- 516 St. Gildas of Wales born.
- 517 St. Cainneach (Kenneth) born; contemporary of St. Columba.
- 521 (518) St. Columba born at Gartan, Barony of Kilmacrenan, County Donegal; others give 522.
- 525 St. Bridget died; some give December 7, 519.
- 543 St. Columbanus born in Leinster.
- 555 Colum of Ela born; contemporary of St. Columba.
- 560 Dalriadic territories occupied by Scots peacefully.
- 563 St. Columba with twelve disciples arrives in Iona (Hy).
- 565 St. Columba visited King of Picts, Brude, and converts him.
- 570 Death of St. Gildas.
- 574 Death of King Conall.

- 575 Council of Drumceat, Ulster; attended by Aedh MacAinmore, King of Ireland, Aidan, and St. Columba. Aidan became first King of independent Dalriada.
- 577 St. Brendan died; founded Clonfert monastery on River Shannon.
- 578 St. Finnian (Finbarr) of Molville died; known as St. Wynnin and St. Frigidian.
- 580 Aidan invaded Orkney.
- 583 Aidan defeated Saxons of Bernicia at Manand.
- 584 King Brude died. Deiniol Wyn died; founder of Bangor Deiniol monastery (Bangor Fawr), Carnarvonshire, Wales.
- 588 St. Columbanus and St. Gallus (St. Gall) visited St. Columba at Iona.
- 590 Aidan at Battle of Leithreid, Sutherlandshire. St. Columbanus and twelve disciples arrived in France. St. Asaph died May 1; founded monastery in Wales when driven from Scotland.
- 592 St. Moluag died June 25 at Rosemarkie.
- 597 St. Columba died June 9 on Iona. St. Augustine came from Rome to Canterbury sent by Pope Gregory.
- 598 St. Comgall came to Scotland; founded monastery on Tiree.
- 599 St. Kenneth died October 11; disciple of the Welsh St. Cadoc.
- 600 Baithean, Abbot of Iona died June 9.
- 601 St. David of Wales died March 1; some give death at 82 in 554.
- 602 St. Comgall died; founder and ruler of Bangor monastery.
- 603 (612) St. Kentigern died November 13. Aidan headed army of Scots, Irish, Picts, Britons (?), entered Bernicia and was defeated at Dawstone.
- 605 Laisrean, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 606 King Aidan of Dalriada died, aged 77; buried at Campbellton (Lilkerran), later moved to royal sepulchre at Iona; succeeded by son, Eachadh Buidhe.
- 612 Dyfrig (Dubricius) died; he founded colleges at Henllan, Mochros, and Caerleonl, and was first Bishop of Llandaff, Wales. St. Kentigern (Welsh, "Cyndeyrn") died.
- 615 St. Columbanus died November 21 at Bobbio, Italy.
- 620 Scottish clergy expelled from Pictish dominions.
- 621 Civil war in Dalriada.
- 624 St. Adamnan born.
- 625 St. Marnock died; missionary in Moray.
- 627 Conadh established as King of Kintyre.
- 629 Conadh slain. Domnall Breac, son of Eachadh Buidhe, succeeded to Kingdom of Dalriada.
- 635 Oswald became king of Bernicia. St. Aidan went to Lindisfarne.
- 638 Domnall Breac defeated by Angles.

- 642 Domnall Breac slain at Strathcarron. Malrue (Maelrubha) of Applecross born, January 3; descendant of King Niall of the Nine Hostages (Ireland); trained at Bangor and came to Scotland in 671. St. Oswald, king and martyr, died August 9.
- 651 St. Aidan died, August 31; settled at Lindisfarne with companions from Iona.
- 652 Seigine, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 657 Suibhne, son of Cuirtre, Abbot of Iona, died. Cummin The Fair became Abbot of Iona.
- 664 Synod of Whitby; Roman date of Easter and Roman tonsure accepted in England, but not in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The Great Plague (a typhus or small-pox) carried off nearly two-thirds of people.
- 669 Cummin The Fair died (Cumine Ailbhe).
- 672 Southern Picts were slaughtered by Ecgfrid, king of Northumbria. Bridei, son of Bile, crowned by northern Picts.
- 673 Malrue founded Church of Applecross in North Pictland. The Venerable Bede, Benedictine monk of Jarrow, born.
- 676 St. Colman of Lindisfarne died.
- 679 St. Adamnan became Abbot of Iona.
- 680 St. Adamnan wrote "Life of St. Columba."
- 685 Ecgfrid slain at Dunnichen by Picts.
- 687 St. Cuthbert died March 20.
- 689 (704) St. Adamnan died January 31.
- 704 Conambail succeeded as Iona's Abbot.
- 714 St. Giles (Egidius) died; never in Scotland but greatly honoured there.
- 716 Dunchadh became Abbot of Iona.
- 720 St. Andrews founded.
- 722 St. Maelrubha died April 21; evangelised Ross-shire; born in Londonderry and was related to St. Columba.
- 727 Pechthelm of Northumbria, first Bishop of Galloway.
- 731 (735) Bede, historian, died.
- 733 Murdoch became king.
- 736 Murdoch (Muireadhach) slain at Knoch Cairpie.
- 737 St. Roman died; evangelised Islay; built monastery in Bute at Kingarth; also worked on Lewis. Failbhe MacGuairie died; he was a missionary and perished with 22 others at sea.
- 740 Edilwald died; studied under St. Cuthbert; Abbot of Melrose, thence to Lindisfarne, where he was Bishop until his death.
- 750 St. Fergus died November 18; he worked in Glammis and Muthill.
- 753 MacCoigeth died; ruled Isle of Lismore as Abbot of the Pictish "muinntic" founded by St. Moluag. (Muinntics were religious communities of the Celtic Britons which lived south of Antonine's Wall.)

- 768 Wales accepted Roman Easter.
- 772 Breasal became Abbot of Iona. Iona succumbed to Church of Rome's authority.
- 780 Dumbarton burned.
- 793 Norse slaughter inhabitants on Lindisfarne.
- 794 Iona monastery plundered by Norse.
- 795 Rathlin laid waste by Vikings.
- 798 Vikings wasted many islands off Scotland and Ireland.
- 800 Constantine, King of Picts, began to rule.
- 801 Bresal, son of Seighine, Abbot of Iona died.
- 802 Conachtach succeeded Bresal. Ceallach succeeded Conachtach as Abbot of Iona. Columban monastery of Iona burnt by Vikings.
- 803 Candida Casa, Whithorn, attacked by Vikings.
- 814 Columban order moved from Iona to Kells in Meath.
- 815 Ceallach died succeeded by Diarmaid of Kells at Iona.
- 817 Landevennec in Brittany (France) gave up Celtic tonsure.
- 818 Diarmaid returned to Iona from Kells; Iona rebuilt.
- 820 Dunkeld founded by Constantine MacFergus, Pictish king.
- 821 Constantine MacFergus died.
- 823 Galloway devastated by Norse.
- 825 Blathmac and monks massacred by Danes.
- 829 Diarmaid, Abbot of Iona, came to Scotland with relics of St. Columba (Columcille).
- 833 Angus succeeded by Drest.
- 843 Kenneth MacAlpine, first King of Scotland (Strathclyde not included).
- 850 Kenneth MacAlpine founded abbey of Dunkeld.
- 854 Ceallach succeeded Innrechtach at Iona as Abbot.
- 859 Kenneth MacAlpine died, succeeded by Donald.
- 863 Constantine, King of Scots, killed at Werdo (Perth); buried at Iona.
- 866 Ceallach, Abbot of Iona and Kildare, died; succeeded by Feradhach.
- 870 Monastery of Coldingham ravaged by Danish chieftains Inguar and Hubba.
- 875 St. Adrian died at Fifeshire; founded monastery on Isle of May, Firth of Forth.
- 878 Migration of Strathclyde Britons to North Wales.
- 889 King Girig died.
- 904 Dunkeld plundered by Norse.
- 908 Diocese of St. Andrews established.
- 927 Malbride died, succeeded as Abbot of Iona by Dubhthach, son of Dubhan.

- 938 Robhartach became Abbot of Iona.
- 943 Constantine II abdicated throne, returned to St. Andrews and became Abbot; succeeded by Malcolm I, son of Donald II.
- 954 Dubhduin became Abbot of Iona. Malcolm I killed at Uluarn (Auldearn) in Moray; succeeded by Indulf.
- 959 Dubhscuile became Abbot of Iona.
- 962 Duff became king.
- 964 Mughron became Abbot of Iona. Colin succeeded to throne.
- 971 Kenneth II, brother to Duff, succeeded to throne.
- 980 Maelciarain became Abbot of Iona.
- 986 Duncan became Abbot of Iona.
- 997 Kenneth III succeeded Constantine as king.
- 998 Dubhdalerthe, Abbot of Iona, died, succeeded by Muiredhach.
- 1005 Kenneth III slain at Monievairst by Malcolm, son of Kenneth II.
- 1007 Muiredhach, Abbot of Iona, died.
- 1008 Maelmuire became Abbot of Iona.
- 1009 Maeleoin succeeded Maelmuire.
- 1018 Angles of Lothians unite with Scots and Picts.
- 1024 King Malcolm (Canmore) III born.
- 1034 "Scotland born." Britons of Strathclyde unite with Scots, Picts, and Angles, under Duncan, their king.
- 1040 Macbeth killed Duncan.
- 1054 Macbeth defeated by English.
- 1058 Macbeth slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan. Malcolm Canmore came to throne.
- 1066 Norman Conquest of England; refugees flee to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.
- 1068 (1070) Malcolm Canmore married Queen Margaret. Mac mic Baethen, Abbot of Iona, killed by the son of the Abbot Ua Maeldoraidh.
- 1075 St. Margaret rebuilt Church at Iona and founded monastery at Dunfermline.
- 1091 William the Conqueror died. William Rufus came to English throne.
- 1093 St. Margaret died November 16. Malcolm killed at Alnwick; buried in Dunfermline. Important date in Scotch history as large number of Italian clergy and English of the Roman persuasion came to Scotland.
- 1096 First Crusade.
- 1097 Magnus Barelegs, King of Norway, paid courtesy visit to Iona; showed great respect for Iona and its Church.
- 1107 King Edgar died, succeeded by his brother Alexander I, who married Sibylla, a natural daughter of King Henry of England; she died 1122. Bishopric of St. Andrews founded; Turgot appointed.

- 1114 Alexander I founded abbey at Scone; attached was priory on the Island of Loch Tay, 1122.
- 1123 Alexander I founded abbey at Inchcolm, Fife.
- 1124 King David succeeded by his brother Alexander. Robert, Prior of Scone, established priory of St. Andrews; received Culdee monastery of Lochleven; built Church of St. Rule and Tower.
- 1128 David I founded abbey at Edinburgh, Holyrood. Bishopric of Ross established.
- 1136 David I founded an abbey at Melrose, Order of Cistercians; the old Culdee institutions had been destroyed by Kenneth MacAlpine.
- 1146 Second Crusade.
- 1153 King David I died, May 31. Malcolm succeeded to throne, aged 12.
- 1156 Pope "presents" Ireland to England.
- 1158 Bishop Robert died; first Bishop of St. Andrews.
- 1160 Galloway subdued; alliance with Brittany.
- 1163 (1165) William I became king; under his reign Scotland practically became subjugated to Rome, ecclesiastically; however, some Celtic orders managed to escape.
- 1174 Treaty of Falaise made Scotland a fief of England.
- 1188 Scotland proclaimed "special daughter" of Holy See at Rome.
- 1196 Bishopric of Caithness established.
- 1197 King David changed monastery of Dunkeld, founded by Culdees to a Cathedral Church; Culdees expelled, and Gregory, their Abbot, made Bishop of diocese.
- 1200 Bishopric of Argyll (or Lismore) established.
- 1214 William I died.

¹Thomas MacLauchlan, The Early Scottish Church: The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the First to the Twelfth Century (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark Co., 1864); James Rankin, A Handbook of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons); Dugald Mitchell, A Popular History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland from the Earliest Times Till the Close of the 'Forty Five' (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1900); John A. Duke, History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1937); Archibald B. Scott, The Pictish Nation: Its People, Its Church (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1918); E. C. Leal, The Christian Faith in Early Scotland (Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1885).

APPENDIX II

SCOTLAND - SIXTH CENTURY



APPENDIX III

ENGLAND AND WALES - SIXTH CENTURY



APPENDIX IV

CHURCH IN MEDIAEVAL SCOTLAND



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