

is preserved in St Cuthbert's church at Edinburgh and in Kirkcudbright. To the same period belong two inscriptions, the earliest records of Anglian speech, one on the cross of Bewcastle in Cumberland, commemorating Alfred, a son of Oswy, the other, taken perhaps from a poem of Cædmon, at Ruthwell in Dumfries. Neither the Tweed nor the Solway was at this period a line of division. Oswy was succeeded by his son Egfrid (685), against whom the Picts successfully rebelled; and the Scots and a considerable part of the Britons also recovered their freedom. Anglian bishops, however, continued to hold the see of Whithorn during the whole of the 8th century. The Northumbrian kings, more successful in the west than in the east, gradually advanced from Carlisle along the coast of Ayr, and even took Alclyde. In what is now England their power declined from the middle of the 8th century before the rise of Mercia. Shortly before the commencement of the 9th century the descents of the Danes began, which led to the conflict for England between them and the Saxons of Wessex. The success of the latter under Alfred and his descendants transferred the supremacy to the princes of the southern kingdom, who, gradually advancing northwards, before the close of that century united all England under their sceptre.

Before its fall Northumberland produced three great men, the founders of English literature and learning, though two of them wrote chiefly in Latin,—Cædmon, the monk of Whitby, the first English poet; Bede, the monk of Jarrow, the first English historian; and Alcuin, the monk of York, whose school might have become the first English university, had he not lived in the decline of Northumbrian greatness and been attracted to the court of Charlemagne. It is to this early dawn of talent among the Angles of Northumberland that England owes its name of the land of the Angles and its language that of English. The northern dialect spoken by the Angles was the speech of Lothian, north as well as south (in Northumberland) of the Tweed, and was preserved in the broad Scotch of the Lowlands, while modern English was formed from the southern dialect of Alfred, Chaucer, and Wycliffe. This early Teutonic civilization of the lowland district of Scotland, in spite of the Danish wars, the Celtic conquest, and border feuds, never died out, and it became at a later time the centre from which the Anglo-Saxon character permeated the whole of Scotland, without suppressing, as in England, the Celtic. Their union, more or less complete in different districts, is, after the difference in the extent of the Roman conquest, the second main fact of Scottish history, distinguishing it from that of England. Both, to a great degree, were the result of physical geography. The mountains and arms of the sea repelled invaders and preserved longer the ancient race and its customs.

It is necessary, before tracing the causes which led to the union of races in Scotland, to form some notion of northern Scotland during the century preceding Kenneth Macalpine, during which—the light of Adamnan and Bede being withdrawn—we are left to the guidance of the Pictish *Chronicle* and the *Irish Annals*. The Picts whom Columba converted appear to have been consolidated under a single monarch. Brude, the son of Mailloch, ruled from Inverness to Iona on the west and on the north to the Orkneys. A sub-king or chief from these islands appears at his court. The absence of any other Pictish king, the reception of the Columbite mission in Buchan under Drostan, a disciple of Columba, and perhaps Columba himself, the foundation of the church of Mortlach near Aberdeen by Machar, another of his disciples, favour the conclusion that the dominion of Brude included Aberdeen as well as Moray and Ross. Its southern limits are unknown.

The Picts¹ of Stirling, Perth, and Forfar, corresponding to Strathearn and Menteith,—Athole and Gowrie, Angus and Mearns, had been already converted by Ninian in the 5th century—may have already come under a single king ruling perhaps at Abernethy, with mormaers under him. It seems certain that Abernethy was earlier than Dunkeld a centre of the Celtic Church distinct from Iona, and the seat of the first three bishops of Scotland. Its round tower cannot be safely ascribed to an earlier date than the 9th century, but may have been preceded by a church dedicated to St Bridget either in the 5th by Nechtan Morbet, or in the 6th century by Garnard, son of Donald, a later Pictish king. Although there exists a complete list of the Pictish kings from Brude, son of Mailloch, to Brude, son of Ferat, conquered by Kenneth Macalpine, and of the Scots of Dalriada from Aidan (converted by Columba) to Kenneth Macalpine, with their regnal years, it is only here and there that a figure emerges sufficiently distinct to enter history. Parts of these lists are fictitious and others doubtful, nor do we know over what extent of country the various monarchs ruled. Of the figures more or less prominent amongst the Pictish kings are Brude, the son of Derili, the contemporary of Adamnan, who was present at the synod of Tara when the law called Kain Adamnan, freeing women from military service, was adopted, and who died in 706, being then styled king of Fortren. Nechtan, another son of Derili, was the contemporary of Bede, who gives (710) the letter of Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, to him when he adopted the Roman Easter and the tonsure. Six years later Nechtan expelled the Columbite monks from his dominions. They retired to Dalriada, as their brethren in Northumberland had done when a similar change was made by Oswy. Nechtan also asked for masons to build a church in the Roman style, to be dedicated to St Peter, and several churches in honour of that apostle were founded within his territory. Shortly after, Egbert, an Anglian monk, persuaded the community of Hy (Iona) itself to conform, but too late to lead to the union of the churches of the Scots and the Picts, which were separated also by political causes.

Fifteen years later the greatest Pictish monarch, Angus MacFergus, after a contest with more than one rival, gained the supremacy, which he held for thirty years (731-761). In revenge for the capture of his son Brude by Dungal, son of Selvach, king of the Dalriad Scots, he attacked Argyll, and laid waste the whole country, destroying Dunnad (? on Loch Crinan), then the capital, burnt Creich (in Mull), and put in chains Dungal and Feradach, the sons of Selvach. He next conquered (739), and it is said drowned, Talorgan, son of Drostan, king of Athole, one of his rivals, and, resuming the Dalriad war, reduced the whole of the western Highlands. The Britons of Strathclyde were assailed by a brother of Angus, who

¹ But there had been a time when not one but several Pictish kings ruled the northern and central districts of Scotland, and of this we have perhaps a trace in the Pictish legend according to which Cruithne, the eponymus of the race, had seven sons,—Cait, Cee, Ciric, Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortren. Conjecture identifies five of these names with districts known in later history—Cait with Caithness, Ciric with Mearns (Magh Ciroc, the plain of Ciric), Fib with Fife, Fotla with Athole (Athfolla), Fortren with southern Perthshire, connecting it with a division of the same county in a tract of the 12th century. (Comp. plate VI.) Six of the divisions—Angus and Mearns, Athole and Gowrie, Strathearn and Menteith, Fife and Fortreive, Mar and Buchan, Moray and Ross—fairly correspond to districts afterwards ruled by the Celtic mormaers of Angus, Athole, Strathearn, Fife, Mar, and Moray; Caithness in the 9th century became Norse, and a new earl (of March) was introduced from the south of the Forth. They correspond also to seven great earldoms of Scotland, which appear with more or less distinctness on several occasions in the reigns of the Alexanders. This, at least, is a highly ingenious theory, but not certain history.

fell in battle at Mugdoch in Stirling; and Angus, with his ally Ecbert, king of Northumberland, retaliated by burning Alclyde (756). About this time (752) Collin Droighteach (the Bridgemaker), abbot of Iona, removed most of the relics of his abbey to Ireland, and this is the most probable date of the legend of the relics of St Andrew being brought from Patras to St Andrews, where the sons of a Pictish king, Hungus (Angus MacFergus), who was absent in Argyll, or, according to another version, Hungus himself, dedicated Kilrighmont (St Andrews) and the district called the Boar's Chase to St Andrew. The ascription of the foundation to an earlier king of the same name in the 4th century was due to the wish to give the chief bishopric of Scotland an antiquity greater than Iona and Glasgow, greater even than Canterbury and York. After the death of Angus MacFergus no king is connected with any event of importance except Constantine, son of Fergus (died 820), who is said to have founded the church of Dunkeld,—226 years after Garnard, son of Donald, founded Abernethy. This fact, though the earlier date is not certain, points to the Perthshire lowlands as having been for a long time the centre of the chief Pictish monarchy. Probably Scone was during this period, as it certainly became afterwards, the political capital; and the kings latterly are sometimes called kings of Fortren. If so, the chief monarchy under the pressure of the Norse attacks had passed south from Inverness, having occupied perhaps at various times, Dunottar, Brechin, Forfar, Forteviot, and Abernethy as strongholds; but it is not possible to say whether there may not have continued to be independent Pictish rulers in the north.

The annals of Dalriada are even more perplexing than those of the Picts after the middle of the 6th century. There is the usual list of kings, but they are too numerous, and their reigns are calculated on an artificial system. The forty kings from Fergus MacEarc to Fergus MacFerchard, who would carry the date of the Scottish settlement back to three centuries at least before the birth of Christ, have been driven from the pale of history by modern criticism. The date of the true settlement was that of the later Fergus, the son of Earc, in 503. From that date down to Selvach, the king who was conquered by Angus MacFergus about 730, the names of the kings can be given with reasonable certainty from Adamnan, Bede, and the *Irish Annals*. But the subsequent names in the Scottish chronicles are untrustworthy, and it is an ingenious conjecture that some may have been inserted to cover the century following 730, during which Dalriada is supposed to have continued under Pictish rule. This view is not free from its own difficulties. It is hard to explain how Kenneth Macalpine, called by all Scottish records a Scot, though in *Irish Annals* styled (as several of his successors) king of the Picts, succeeded in reversing the conquest of Angus MacFergus and establishing a Scottish line on the throne of Scone, in the middle of the 9th century. This difficulty is supposed to be solved by the hypothesis that Kenneth was the son of a Pictish father, Alpine, but of a Scottish mother, and was entitled to the crown by a peculiarity of Pictish law, which recognized descent by the mother as the test of legitimacy. The records which speak of the destruction of the Picts are treated as later inventions, and it is even doubted whether the connexion between Alpine and Kenneth and the older race of Dalriad kings is not fictitious.¹

¹ The above statement is a brief outline of the reconstruction of this period of Scottish history due to two scholars who have done more than any others to elucidate it, Father Innes and Mr Skene. Their negative criticism, which destroys the fabric reared by a succession of historians from Fordun or his continuator Bowmaker to Buchanan, is a masterly work, not likely to be superseded. Whether the constructive part will stand is not certain, but it explains many of the facts.

Whatever may be the solution ultimately reached as to Kenneth Macalpine's antecedents, his accession represents a revolution which led by degrees to a complete union of the Picts and Scots and the establishment of one kingdom—at first called Albania and afterwards Scotia—which included all Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde, except Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland (the northern isles or Nordreyar), the Hebrides (the southern isles or Sudreyar), and Man; these fell for a time into the hands of the Norsemen. This revolution had two causes or concomitants, one religious and the other political. Kenneth Macalpine in the seventh year of his reign (851) brought the relics of St Columba from Iona to a church he built at Dunkeld, and on his death he was buried at Iona. A little earlier the Irish Culdees, then in their first vigour, received their earliest grant in Scotland at Loch Leven from Brude, one of the last kings of the Picts, and soon found their way into all the principal Columbite monasteries, of which they represent a reform. The Irish monastic system did not yet give place to the Roman form of diocesan episcopacy. The abbot of Dunkeld succeeded to the position of the abbot of Iona and held it until the beginning of the 10th century, giving ecclesiastical sanction to the sovereign at Scone, as Columba had done in the case of Aidan. As early as the beginning of the 8th century, however, a Pictish bishop of Scotland appears at a council of Rome, and he had at least two successors as sole bishops or primates of the Celtic Church before dioceses were formed. Scotland north of the firths thus remained at a lower stage of church organization than England, where a complete system of dioceses had been established in great part answering to the original Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or their divisions, with Canterbury and York at their head as rivals for the primacy. But the Celtic clergy who now conformed to the Roman ritual preserved some knowledge of the Latin language, and a connexion with Rome as the centre of Latin Christianity, which was certain to result in the adoption of the form of church government now almost universal. The other circumstance which had a powerful influence on the foundation of the monarchy of Scone and the consolidation of the Celtic tribes was the descent on all the coasts of Britain and Ireland of the Norse and Danish vikings. The Danes chiefly attacked England from Northumberland and along the whole east and part of the southern seaboard; the Norsemen attacked Scotland, especially the islands and the north and west coasts, going as far south as the Isle of Man and the east and south of Ireland. It had now become essential to the existence of a Scottish Celtic kingdom that its centre should be removed farther inland. Argyll and the Isles, including Iona, were in the path of danger. No monk would have now chosen island homes for safety. In 787 the first arrival of the viking ships is noticed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. 'Some years later the *Irish Annals* mention that all "the islands of Britain were wasted and much harassed by the Danes." Amongst these were Lindisfarne, Rathlin off Antrim, Iona (794), and Patrick's island near Dublin (798). Iona was thrice plundered between 802 and 826, when Blathmac, an abbot, was killed. A poem composed not long after the event states that the shrine of Columba was one of the objects in search of which the Norsemen came, and that it was concealed by the monks. It was to preserve the relics from this fate that some of them were transferred by Droighteach, the last abbot, to Ireland and others by Kenneth to Dunkeld. For half a century the vikings were content with plunder, but in the middle of the 9th they began to form settlements. In 849 Olaf the White established himself at Dublin as king of Hvi Ivar; in 867 a Danish kingdom was set up in Northumberland;

and Harold the Fairhaired, who in 872 became sole king of Norway, soon after led an expedition against the vikings, who had already seized Orkney and Shetland, and established an earldom under Rognwald, earl of Moeri, whose son Hrolf the Ganger conquered Normandy in the beginning of the next century. The position of Scotland, therefore, when Kenneth united the Picts and Scots was this: central Scotland from sea to sea—Argyll and the Isles, Perthshire, Angus and Mearns, and Fife—was under the dominion of the king who had Scone for his capital; the south-west district—the valley of the Clyde, Ayr, Dumfries, and Galloway—was under a British king at Dumbarton; the south-east district or Lothian was part of "Saxon or Sassenach Land,"—the general Celtic name for the country of the Anglo-Saxons, but now owing to the divided state of Northumberland held by different lords; the north of Scotland was under independent Celtic chiefs, as Moray and Mar, or already occupied by Norsemen, as Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, and the Hebrides. The whole Celtic population was Christian; but the Norse invaders were still heathen. Their religion was similar to that of their Anglo-Saxon kin, of a type higher than the paganism of the Celts. It resembled the Celtic indeed in the absence or infrequency of idols, but a complex mythology peopled heaven with gods—Woden and Thor, Freya and Balder, and others of inferior rank—devised legends of the origin of earth and man, Valhalla the hero's paradise, and a shadowy hell for all who were not heroes. Some of its legends are coloured from Christian sources, and underneath the mythology may be detected a ruder and more ancient superstitious belief in omens and divination,—a nature-worship more like that of the Celts. But it is the later form which represents the Norse character as it was when it came into contact with the nations of Britain,—its daring defiance of man and the gods, its struggle with, yet in the end its calm acceptance of, the decrees of fate. The Norsemen both at home and in their colonies in Scotland embraced Christianity under Olaf Tryggvason in the end of the 10th century; but along with Christianity they retained the old heathen sentiments and customs, which, like their language, mingled with and modified the Celtic character on the western but far more on the northern coasts and islands, where the population was largely Norse. A strain neither Celtic nor Teutonic nor Norman occasionally meets us in Scottish history: it is derived from the blood or memory of the Norse vikings.

3. *Later Celtic Period: Growth of the Kingdom of Scone from Kenneth Macalpine to Malcolm Canmore.*—During this period, though the Celtic annals are still obscure, we can trace the united Celtic kingdom growing on all sides under Kenneth's successors,—southward by the conquest of Lothian on the east and by the union of the Strathclyde kingdom on the west, and for a time by holding English Cumbria under the English kings, and northward by the gradual incorporation of Angus, Mearns, Moray, and possibly the southern district of Aberdeen. Kenneth Macalpine's reign of sixteen years (844-860) was a time of incessant war. He invaded Saxony (Lothian) six times, burnt Dunbar, and seized Melrose (already a rich abbey, though on a different site from the Cistercian foundation of David I.), while the Britons (of Strathclyde) burnt Dunblane and the Danes wasted the land of the Picts as far as Cluny and Dunkeld. After they left Kenneth rebuilt the church of Dunkeld and replaced in it Columba's relics. He died at Forteviot and was buried at Iona.

He was succeeded by his brother Donald I. (861-863), who, with his people the Gaels, established the laws of Aed, son of Eachdach, at Forteviot. Aed was a Dalriad king of the 8th century; but the contents of his laws are unknown.

Perhaps tanistry, by which the successor to the king was elected during his life from the eldest and worthiest of his kin, usually a collateral in preference to a descendant, was one feature, for it certainly prevailed amongst the Irish and Scottish Gaels. The next king, who succeeded in accordance with that custom, was Constantine I. (863-877), son of Kenneth. His reign was occupied with conflicts with the Norsemen. Olaf the White, the Norse king of Dublin, laid waste the country of the Picts and Britons year after year, and in 870 reduced Alclyde, the British capital; but, as he disappears from history, he probably fell in a subsequent raid. He is said to have married a daughter of Kenneth, and some claim in her right may account for his Scottish wars. In the south the Danish leader Halfdan devastated Northumberland and Galloway; while in the north Thorsten the Red—a son of Olaf by Audur, the wealthy daughter of Ketil Flatnose (called Finn, "the Fair," by the Celts), a Norse viking of the Hebrides, who afterwards went to Iceland and figures in the sagas—conquered the coast of Caithness and Sutherland as far as Ekkials Bakki (the Oikel). But he was killed in the following year. Constantine met with the same fate at a battle at Inverdotat in Fife in 877, at the hands of another band of northern marauders. His death led to a disputed succession. His heir, according to the custom of tanistry, was his brother Aodh, who was killed by his own people after a year. Eocha, the son of Run, a king of the Britons, claimed in right of his mother, a daughter of Kenneth, according to the Pictish law, and governed at first along with Ciric or Grig, his tutor; then Grig ruled alone, until they were both expelled from the kingdom and Donald II, son of Constantine, came to the throne (889). The Pictish *Chronicle* reports that during the government of Grig the Scottish Church was freed from subjection to the laws of the Picts (meaning probably from liability to secular service). Grig is also said to have subdued all Bernicia and "almost Anglia," a statement which if confined to the north of the Northumbrian kingdom is not improbable, for it had then fallen into anarchy through the attacks of the Danes. The church of Ecclesgreig near Montrose possibly commemorates Grig and indicates the northward extension of the monarchy of Scone. In the reign of Donald II. (889-900), son of Donald Constantine I., Scotland was again attacked by the Norsemen. Sigurd, the Norse earl of Orkney, seized Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and part of Moray, where he built the fort of Burghead, between the Findhorn and the Spey. Farther south the Danes took Dunottar, where Donald was slain. After his time the name of the kingdom of Scone was no longer Pictavia, but Albania or Alba, a more ancient title of northern Scotland, perhaps resumed to mark the growth of the Scottish-Pictish monarchy in the central and eastern Highlands.

Donald II. was followed by Constantine II. (900-940), son of Aodh and grandson of Kenneth, and his long reign is a proof of his power. He was the greatest Scottish king, as Angus MacFergus had been the greatest of the pure Pictish race. In the first part of it his kingdom was still beset by the Norsemen. In his third year they wasted Dunkeld and all Alba. Next year they were repulsed in Strathearn. In his 8th year Rognwald, the Danish king of Dublin, with earls Ottir and Oswle Crakaban, ravaged Dunblane. Six years later the same leaders were defeated on the Tyne (? in East Lothian) by Constantine, who had been summoned to assist Eldred, lord of Bamborough. Ottir was slain, but Rognwald escaped and reappears some years later as king of Northumberland. This is a battle whose site and incidents are told in a conflicting manner by different chronicles; but it appears certain that Constantine saved his dominions from further

serious attacks by the vikings. He had now to meet a more formidable foe,—the West Saxons, whose kings, the descendants of Alfred, were steadily moving northwards. In spite of his wars, Constantine found time in the early part of his reign for two important reforms,—one ecclesiastical, the other civil. In his sixth year (906) he, along with Cellach, bishop of St Andrews—the first of twelve Celtic bishops of Scotland—swore on the Hill of Faith at Scone (906) that "the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and the gospel, should be preserved on an equal footing with the Scots." This obscure notice of the Pictish *Chronicle* indicates the establishment or restoration of the Scottish Church, which the Pictish kings had oppressed, to an equality with that of the Pictish. As a sign of the union the crozier of St Columba, called Cathbuadh ("victory in battle"), was borne before Constantine's armies. Two years later, on the death of Donald, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, Constantine procured the election of his own brother Donald to that kingdom. Though he thus strengthened church and state, Alfred's successors were too powerful for him. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records of Edward the Elder, that in 924, having built a fort at Bakewell, in the Peak of Derbyshire, "the king and nation of the Scots, Rognwald the Northumbrian and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and his people, chose him for father and lord." His son Athelstan is related by the same authority to have subjugated all the kings in the island, amongst whom are mentioned by name Howell king of the west Welsh, Constantine king of the Scots, Owen king of Gwent, and Eldred of Bamborough, who "made peace with oaths at Emmet and renounced every kind of idolatry." These entries are not beyond suspicion. The Peak was a distant point for the Scottish king. Rognwald, the Northumbrian, died in 920, according to the Irish *Annals*. Howell and Constantine were already Christians and could not have then renounced idolatry. If there is any truth in the submission of the Scots to Edward the Elder it did not last, for some years later the *Chronicle* states that Athelstan went into Scotland with a land and sea force and ravaged a great part of it. A league of the northern kings against Athelstan was dispersed (937) by his great victory at Brunanburgh (? Wendun, between Aldborough and Knaresborough, according to Skene). The forces allied against him were those of Constantine, his son-in-law Olaf, son of Sitric (called also the Red), and another Olaf, son of Godfrey, from Ireland, besides the Strathclyde and north Welsh kings. For Athelstan there fought, in addition to his own West Saxons, the Mercians and some mercenaries from Norway, amongst them Egil, son of Skalagrim, the hero of a famous Icelandic saga. No greater slaughter had been known since the Anglo-Saxons, "proud war-smiths," as their poet calls them, overcame the Welsh and gained England. A son of Constantine was slain, four kings, and seven earls. Constantine himself escaped to Scotland, where in old age he resigned the crown for the tonsure and became abbot of the Culdees of St Andrews. Athelstan died two years after Brunanburgh, but before his death granted Northumberland to Erik Bloody-Axe, son of Harold Haarfagr, who was almost immediately expelled by the Irish Danes. Athelstan, even after so great a victory, could not annex Northumberland, much less Scotland, to his dominions.

Constantine's successor, Malcolm I. (943-954), son of Donald II., began his reign by invading Moray and killing Cellach, its chief king. Meantime the Danish kings of Dublin had been endeavouring to maintain their hold on Northumberland with the aid of the Cumbrians, whose country they had already settled, and in this attempt the two Olafs had a temporary success; but Eadmund, the

successor of Athelstan, expelled Olaf, son of Sitric, from Northumberland, and in the following year, to prevent the Cumbrians from again aiding the Danes, he "harried Cumberland and gave it all up to Malcolm, king of Scots, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and land." This was the same policy which led his father to call in the aid of Erik Bloody-Axe. The kings of Wessex wisely granted what they could not hold to the best northern warrior, Celt or Scandinavian, under conditions which acknowledged more or less strictly their supremacy. The Cumbria so granted was the country south of the Solway to the Dee, but it may also have included Strathclyde, for at this period Strathclyde, Waelas and Cumbrians are frequently used as equivalent names. Malcolm lent no aid to Erik Bloody-Axe, when in the reign of Eadred he tried (949) to recover Northumberland, but he joined his brother-in-law Olaf, Sitric's son, in an expedition with the same object, when they laid waste the country as far south as the Tees. Three years later Erik again returned, and finally drove Olaf back to Ireland, where he founded the kingdom of Dublin, which lasted till the battle of Clontarf. Malcolm died fighting either against the men of Mearns or of Moray. Three kings followed (954-971).—Indulf, son of Constantine, Duff, son of Malcolm, Colin, son of Indulf; in the reign of Indulf the Northumbrians evacuated Edinburgh, which thenceforward was Scottish ground. A Saxon burgh, a fort, perhaps a town, was now for the first time within the Celtic kingdom.

Kenneth II. (971-995), son of Malcolm, soon after his accession made a raid on Northumberland as far south as Cleveland. The statement of two English chroniclers (John of Wallingford and Henry of Huntingdon), that Lothian was ceded to him by Eadgar on condition of homage, and that the people should still use the language of the Angles, is not mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon or any Scottish chronicle. Nor is it easy to believe the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as amplified by Florence of Worcester, that Kenneth was one of the kings who rowed Eadgar on the Dee in sign of homage. At this time, in the north and west, the Orkney earls were all-powerful, and Kenneth was occupied with contests nearer his own territory,—especially with the mormaer of Angus, whose grandson, through his daughter Fenella, he slew at Dunsinane, and in revenge for which he was himself treacherously killed at Fettercairn in Mearns by Fenella, whose name is still preserved in the traditions of that district. The foundation of the church at Brechin is attributed to this king.

Kenneth was followed, as he had been preceded, by insignificant kings,—Constantine, son of Colin, and Kenneth, son of Duff. His son, Malcolm II. (1005-34), gained the throne by the slaughter of his predecessor Duff at Monzievaird, and at once turned his arms southwards; but his first attempt to conquer northern Northumberland was repelled by Etheled, son of Waltheof, its earl, who defeated him at Durham. About the same time Sigurd, earl of Orkney, having defeated Finlay, mormaer of Moray, became ruler, according to the Norse saga, of "Ross and Moray, Sutherland and the dales" of Caithness. He had conflicts with other Scottish chiefs, but appears to have made terms with the kings of both Norway and Scotland,—with Olaf Tryggvason by becoming Christian and with Malcolm by marrying his daughter. He fell at Clontarf (1014), the memorable battle near Dublin, by which Brian Boru and his son Murcadh defeated the Danish kings in Ireland and restored a Celtic dynasty. Malcolm conferred the earldom of Caithness on his grandson Thorfinn, the infant son of Sigurd; and Sigurd's Orkney earldom fell to his sons, Somerled, Brusi, and Einar; while Moray again

came into the possession of a Celtic mormaer, Finlay, who is called king of Alba by one of the Irish chronicles, and the Hebrides probably into that of a Norse earl, Gilli, from whom they were afterwards recovered by Thorfinn. While the Celts of Ireland were thus expelling the Danish invaders and in Scotland there was divided possession, the result of compromise and of intermarriage, England fell under the dominion of the Danish kings Sweyn and Canute. Canute committed Northumberland to Erik, a Dane, as earl; but Eadulf Cudel, a weak brother of the brave Oswulf and son of Waltheof, the Anglian earl, still retained the northern district as lord of Bamborough. Profiting by the distracted state of northern England, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland with Owen of Cumbria, called the Bald, and by the victory of Carham (1018) near Coldstream won Lothian, which remained from that time an integral part of Scotland. Canute, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, is said by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to have gone to Scotland, where Malcolm and two other kings, Maelbeth and Jehmarc, submitted to him, but he held Scotland for only a little while. Maelbeth is supposed to be Macbeth, then mormaer of Moray, afterwards king, and Jehmarc, a Celtic or Scandinavian chief in Argyll. The hold which Canute, who was trying to grasp Norway and Denmark as well as England, had upon northern Britain must have been slender as well as short; but the acknowledgment of the supremacy of so great a king was natural. At his death his overgrown empire fell to pieces, and Scotland was left to itself. Two years before Malcolm II. died. His conquest of Lothian perhaps led to the new name of Scotia (now generally applied to his kingdom), which was to become its permanent name. The Scotland he governed still had its centre at Scone, but included besides the original Pictish district of Perthshire, Angus and Mearns, Fife, the southern district of Aberdeen, and Lothian, his own conquest, while Moray and western Ross, and perhaps Argyll and the Isles, owned his suzerainty. But the Norse earl, Thorfinn, at this time held the Orkneys, Caithness, Sutherland, and the Hebrides. Whether a Cumbrian king still ruled Strathclyde and Galloway is doubtful. After Owen the Bald, who fought at Carham, the next king mentioned is Duncan, son of the grandson and the successor of Malcolm. Malcolm II. was liberal to the church, as we know from his gifts to the church of Deer; but the foundation of Mortlach (Banffshire), the future see of Aberdeen, belongs to the reign of Malcolm Canmore. The laws attributed to him are spurious, introducing into the Celtic kingdom a fully developed feudalism, which was not known in England, still less in Scotland, till after the Conquest. As he left no male heir, Malcolm's death led to a doubtful succession and a perplexed period of Scottish history.

The Scottish historians and the Norse sagas can with difficulty be reconciled. Little light can be got from either the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or the *Irish Annals*. Shakespeare seized the weird story of Macbeth, as told by Boece and translated in Holinshed, and history can hardly displace the tragedy, so true to the dark side of human nature, by the meagre outline at its command. This outline is supported by authentic evidence, and agrees with the situation which existed between the death of Malcolm II. and the accession of Malcolm Canmore.

Malcolm II. was succeeded by his grandson Duncan (1034-40), son of his daughter Bethoc and Crinan, a lay or secular abbot of Dunkeld; but his right was probably from the first contested by Thorfinn, who had become the most powerful of the Norse earls. If the Orkney saga could be relied upon, he had as many as eleven earls or mormaers subject to him, and a modern but unsafe in-

terpretation of one passage extends his dominion as far as Galloway. Duncan, after an unsuccessful attempt on Durham, turned his arms to the north to check the further advance of his kinsman, but was defeated on the Pentland Firth. Moddan, whom he had tried to set up as earl of Caithness, was burnt in his own house, and Duncan himself was killed at Bothgowan near Elgin by Macbeth, his own general. Macbeth was son of Finlay, mormaer of Moray, and his wife Gruoch was daughter of Boete, son of Kenneth II.; thus he had a possible pretension to the crown if it could descend by females. But his real position appears to have been that of a successful general asserting the independence of the northern Celts against Duncan, who by his marriage with the daughter of Earl Siward, the Northumbrian earl, had shown the tendency to unite Saxon with Celtic blood which was followed by his son Malcolm (III.) Canmore. Macbeth reigned seventeen years (1040-57). He was, as far as records state, an able monarch, who succeeded in repelling the attacks of Siward on behalf of his grandson, who showed liberality to the church, as the foundation of himself and his wife at Loch Leven testify, sent money for the poor to Rome, and possibly went with it on a pilgrimage; but he fell at last in the battle of Lumphanan in Mar, where the young Malcolm was aided by Tostig, son of Godwine, the great West Saxon earl who had become earl of Northumberland. A few months later, Lulach, the son of Gillicomhain, a former mormaer of Moray, who had continued the war, and is nominally counted a king, though called fatuous, was slain at Essie in Strathbogie (N.W. Aberdeen), and Malcolm Canmore became king. With his reign a new and clearer era of the history of Scotland commences.

The Scottish Gaels had proved themselves capable of government. The united monarchy of Scone lasted for two centuries in archy in spite of its powerful neighbours, but it was dependent almost entirely on the attachment of the clans to their chiefs and of the whole race to the hereditary king. It was traditional, not constitutional, with some accepted customs, otherwise it could not have held together, but with little settled law and no local government. It wanted the elements of civil life, for it had no organized towns or assemblies of the people. There was little commerce or trade. Cattle and sheep were the chief commodities and the medium of exchange. There is no trace of an independent coinage. Christianity had not yet leavened the whole population, though the monasteries were centres of light within limited circles. The Celtic character, alien to set and quick forms of business, was Celtic alive to the pleasures of the imagination, oratory, and song. Its cardinal defect was a light regard for truth. Its chief virtue was Anglo-devotion to a leader, whether priest, chief, or king. The Christian Anglo-Saxons of the Lothians, the Norsemen, only recently and half converted, in the islands of the north and west, brought qualities and customs into the common stock of the future Scottish people which were wanting to the Celts. The Anglo-Saxon in his original home, as in Britain the inhabitant of the plain—"the creeping Saxon," as he was called by an Irish bard—developed in the house and the town a better regulated freedom,—the domestic and civic virtues. His imagination, even his poetry, had a touch of prose, but he possessed the prosaic qualities of plain speech, common sense, and truth,—the essence of trust. The contact—for it was a contact, not a conquest—with this race was of the highest value to the Scottish nation of the future. The Normans introduced new elements, the spirit of chivalry and the too rigid bonds of the feudal law. The changes due to these new elements began in Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and were completed in those of his descendants. The Scottish Celtic kingdom became gradually civilized under Saxon and Norman influences, while retaining its native vigour. The result was the establishment of the independence of Scotland within its present bounds during the prosperous reigns of the Alexanders (1107-1285).

4. *Transition from a Celtic to an Anglo-Norman Feudal Monarchy: Malcolm Canmore and his Descendants.*—Malcolm Canmore (1058-93) spent his boyhood in Cumbria, his youth at the court of Edward the Confessor of England. He was by race only half a Celt, for his mother was an Anglo-Dane, sister of Earl Siward. The court which helped to form his character was already sub-

ject to Norman influence. The Confessor, like Canmore, had been educated in exile, at the Norman court, and favoured the Normans. Though the course of events led Malcolm to ally himself with the Anglo-Saxon royal house, the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods of Scottish history were not, as in England, separated by several centuries, but were nearly contemporaneous. If Malcolm, Edgar, and the first Alexander may be regarded as Scoto-Saxon, David I. and his successors were truly Scoto-Norman feudal monarchs. Apart from the customs and language of Lothian, which descended from Anglian Northumberland, Scotland received scarcely any pure Saxon institutions. Those it did receive have a mixed Saxon and Norman imprint. There were no tithings, wapentakes, or hundreds, no trial by compurgation, no frankpledge. No witenagemot or folkmotes preceded the great council which became parliament. In short, the system of government we call the Anglo-Saxon constitution never existed in Scotland, although the court of the four southern burghs and the customs of the towns of Lothian copied from those of Newcastle, and a similar association of burghs, the Hanse of Aberdeen, of which there are faint traces in the north, had a Teutonic origin. And some traces of Anglo-Saxon criminal law are to be found in the early Scottish charters.

Canmore ascended the throne (1058) not long before England was subjugated by William the Conqueror. The only recorded event of his reign prior to the Conquest was his quarrel with Tostig, his "sworn" brother, when he made a raid south of the Tweed and violated the peace of St. Cuthbert by ravaging Lindisfarne. The early years of his reign were devoted to establishing his rule in the northern districts, where his marriage to Ingebiorg, widow of Earl Thorfinn, related by the Norse but not the Scottish writers, may have aided him. Ingebiorg, already old, cannot have long survived the union, nor is the fact of the marriage certain. The victory of Hastings brought to the Scottish court as refugees Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, and his three sisters. Their father, Edward, had found shelter in Hungary in the reign of Canute and married an Hungarian princess. The eldest daughter of the marriage, Margaret, became the wife (1068) of Malcolm Canmore. Her virtues more than his wars make his reign an epoch of Scottish history. This alliance and the advances of the Conqueror on Northumberland in the third year of his reign rendered a collision inevitable. Malcolm twice harried Northumberland during the reign of the Conqueror with the view of restoring the Atheling. In the interval between these expeditions William retaliated by invading Scotland as far as Abernethy, where he forced Malcolm to do homage. After the second he sent his son Robert, who reached Falkirk; but he returned without having accomplished anything, except that he built Newcastle as a frontier fortress. In this reign Northumberland itself was never really subdued, and William laid waste the district between the Humber and the Tees as a barrier against the northern Angles and Danes. After the Conqueror's death Malcolm prepared for war, but peace was made before he had left Lothian, and he again took an oath of homage. Next year William Rufus succeeded in reducing Cumbria south of the Solway, then held by Dolphin, lord of Carlisle, a vassal of Malcolm, rebuilt the castle of Carlisle, and made the adjoining country for the first time English. He then summoned Malcolm to Gloucester; but the meeting ended, like others when a summons to do homage at a distance from the border was sent to the kings of Scotland, in settling both in a more hostile attitude. Malcolm on his return raised his whole forces for the last expedition of his life, in which he was slain (1093) in an ambushade

near Alnwick by Morél of Bamborough. He left to his successor a kingdom bounded on the south by the Tweed, the Cheviots, and the Solway, though there was much debatable land along the borders, and the English king claimed Lothian as successor of the Northumbrian Angles, while the Scotch claimed English Cumberland as a dependency dating from the grant of Eadgar. Malcolm's defeat of the mother of Maelsnechtan, son of Lulach and mormaer of Moray, is the only event recorded to indicate that his relations with the Celtic population were not peaceful, but the materials are too scanty to make it clear how far the northern chiefs asserted their independence. The foundation of Mortlach by Malcolm is proof that the Aberdeen lowlands at least were within his dominion.

The brightest side of Malcolm's reign was the reform due to Margaret. Her life by Theodoric, a monk of Durham, or her confessor, Turgot, though coloured by partiality for a good woman, the patron of the church, bears the marks of a true portrait. The miraculous element in the lives of the Celtic saints, diminished but still present in Bede, disappears. The chief changes in the Celtic Church effected by Margaret with the aid of monks sent by Lanfranc from Canterbury were the observance of Lent, the reception of the Eucharist at Easter, which had fallen into neglect, the use of the proper ritual in the mass, the prohibition of labour on the Lord's day, and of marriage between persons related by affinity. She restored Iona, long desecrated, founded the church of Dunfermline in commemoration of her marriage, and protected the hermits, still common in the Scottish Church. Her severe fasts and her liberality to the sick and aged are especially noted. She washed the feet of the poor and fed children with food she had prepared, procured freedom for captives, and on either side of the ferry called Queensferry after her she erected hostels for pilgrims. Nor did her piety lead her to neglect domestic duties. The rude manners of the Celtic court were refined by her example. The education of her children, her chief care in her husband's frequent absence, was rewarded by the noble character of the saintly David and the good Queen Matilda. She did not long survive her husband: hearing of his death she thanked the Almighty for enabling her to bear such sorrow, to cleanse her from sin, and after receiving the sacrament died praying. The chapel on the castle rock at Edinburgh, erected in her memory, is the oldest building now existing in Scotland, with the exception of the meagre ruins of the Celtic Church in the western Highlands.

After Malcolm's death there was a fierce contest for the crown (1093-97), which showed that the union of Celtic and Saxon blood was not yet complete in the royal house, much less in the nation. Before the corpse of Margaret could be removed to Dunfermline for burial, Donald Bain, brother of Malcolm Canmore, besieged the castle, and its removal was only accomplished under cover of mist. Donald, who had the support of the Celts and the custom of tanistry in favour of his claim, was king nominally at least six months, when he was expelled by Duncan, son of Malcolm and Ingebiorg, assisted by an English force, in which there were Normans as well as Saxons; but his tenure was equally short, and Donald, aided by Edmund, the only degenerate son of Malcolm and Margaret, who slew his half-brother Duncan, again reigned three years. This was the last attempt of the Celts—though partial risings continued frequent—to maintain a king of their race and a kingdom governed according to their customs. Edgar Atheling, who had become reconciled to the Norman king, led an army into Scotland and by a hard-fought battle dispossessed Donald and restored his eldest nephew, Edgar, to his father's throne.

The reign of Edgar (1097-1107) was unimportant. Its