Oxford Church Text Books

A Short History of the Church in Scotland

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BY

THE REV. ANTHONY MITCHELL, B.D.

CANON OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH
PRINCIPAL, AND PANTONIAN PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY,
THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF THE SCOTTISH
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

RIVINGTONS
34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*
LONDON
1907

TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

Few things are more needed, among Church people on both sides of the Border, than a knowledge of the true history of the Disestablished Church of Scotland. Weak in numbers, as compared with the general population, and still showing the marks of dire misfortunes sustained in her romantic past, she is described by her ill-wishers as an exotic plant in Scotland, incurably unsuited to the religious temperament of the nation; and the slander gains too wide acceptance.

The following outline will, it is hoped, show how deeply embedded are the roots of that Church in Scotland's history, and how far political repression accounts for her present numerical inferiority. The Scottish Reformation, it is true, wrought to the historic order of the Church a harm which was escaped in England, but in Scotland too there was, before, during, and after 1560, a party of Catholic reform, which did not cease to strive for the ideal preserved in the sister Church. It is the existence of this party which explains the striking vicissitudes of Scottish ecclesiastical history since the Reformation, and its lineal descendant to-day is the Church that was disinherited, for political reasons, by Act of Parliament, in 1689.

The aim of the writer has been to exhibit principles, and to illustrate them by outstanding facts and personages, rather than to overload these scanty pages with a dull array of desiccated details. For fuller information the reader will turn to Dr. Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, in four volumes. It is still by far the best general history which we have. For the early period, Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland* is the most weighty authority, but the Bishop of Edinburgh's *Celtic Church in Scotland*, short, interesting, and accurate, should be first read. Dr. W. Stephen's *History of the Scottish Church* (two vols., 1894) is brightly written, but lacking in accuracy. It may, however, often be consulted with advantage for the more modern period.

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SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND

During the first centuries of the Christian era, the historic kingdom of Scotland had as yet no existence. The very name Scotland was applied only to Ireland as far down as the tenth century, and the Scots first come into ken as a race dwelling in what is now the province of Ulster. The whole country, of which the part north of Antonine's wall[1] was known as **Caledonia or Alban**, was occupied by several independent tribes, speaking different dialects, but sprung from a common Celtic stock. Perhaps they had dispossessed and driven into the remote districts a prior race, non-Celtic and non-Aryan, who may be represented still by the highlanders who are 'black' instead of 'red.' The Celts were of two allied races, the Goidels or Gaels, and the Brythons or Britons. The irrepressible **Picts**, north of Antonine's wall, have not yet ceased to trouble antiquarians, but the balance of present opinion is that they too were Celtic, and of a similar descent to that of the Britons south of the wall. They were divided into two great bodies, the **Northern** and the **Southern Picts**, by the mountain range known later as the Mounth, which stretches across Scotland from Fort William to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen.

The country now called Scotland does not appear as distinct from the rest of the island of Britain until the time of **the Roman occupation**.[2] Indeed, the earliest written accounts

[1] Stretching from the Forth to the Clyde.

[2] From A.D. 43 to 410. Scotland was not continuously occupied during this period.

of it are from the pens of Roman historians. The only native records that exist, beyond the traditions preserved in later Christian writers and the evidence of the names of places and tribes, are the relics turned up by the plough in fields or by the antiquary's spade in forts and barrows, and the hieroglyphic inscriptions on stones scattered up and down the country. Naturally the information obtained from such sources is of a meagre and debatable kind.

Hitherto the spade has failed to turn up a single relic pointing to the existence of Christianity in the army of occupation. Yet without doubt the chief, and indeed almost the only abiding, result of that occupation in Scotland was the introduction of the Christian religion. When our feet first stand on historical ground in the fourth century we perceive a Christianity which must have existed for some considerable period.

Passing by, therefore, the untrustworthy legend of the conversion of Scotland in A.D. 203 under a mythical King Donald, through the instrumentality of Pope Victor I., and not stopping to argue whether Tertullian's oft-quoted statement that parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans had, in the beginning of the third century, become subject to Christ, contained any reference to North Britain, we confront the earliest historical personality in Scottish Christianity—**St. Ninian, the Apostle of the Southern Picts.**

St. Ninian was the son of a British Christian prince or chieftain, and was born, probably about 350, on the shores of the Solway. The question whether this was in Cumberland or in Wigtonshire is not important; but the latter county, as the central scene of his life's labours, may perhaps claim the preference. He early received Christian baptism, and as a youth showed himself a diligent student of Holy Scripture. Soon he expressed the remarkable desire to journey to Rome in order to seek fuller Christian instruction. Whether the conception was his own or was suggested by some Christian teacher, its originality was splendid, and its ultimate results were far-reaching.

The journey indeed was neither perilous nor difficult, for the Roman Empire still guaranteed the safety of its lines of travel, and in due course by Britain, Gaul, and Italy, the youthful traveller reached the **Eternal City**, with all its teeming inspirations, and the manifold activities of its wide

and vigorous life. Pope Damasus (366-384) welcomed the young provincial, and several years were spent by him at the headquarters of Western Christianity. Eventually he was consecrated Bishop by Pope Siricius, in order to become a missionary in his native land.

On his way home through Gaul he visited the famous monastery of Tours, where the great St. Martin still exercised his sway, and from him he is said to have received masons to build his projected church in Britain. Returning home, he fixed on Leucophibia, at or near the present town of Whithorn, in Wigtonshire, as the central base of his missionary labours. In that remote spot, secure from the troubles and disorder already impending over North Britain, he built his church, in a style unfamiliar to the Britons. Composed of white stone, it was called Candida Casa (White House), and this name was afterwards applied to the whole bishopric of Galloway.

While building the church Ninian received the news of the death of St. Martin of Tours, whose name it was to bear. That was in 397; and thirteen years later, in 410, the Roman armies were finally withdrawn from Britain.

Doubtless the monastic system and the educational agencies, which won for Candida Casa in later years high repute, were introduced by Ninian, on the model of what he had seen in Gaul and elsewhere. But the great work of his life was evangelisation. He preached the Gospel first in his own district of Galloway, and possibly also in Cumberland and Westmorland. Then he penetrated to the Southern Picts dwelling between the Forth and the Grampians. Everywhere he found numerous converts, and it is hardly less than likely that he set up the organisation of the Christian Church wherever he could. We are told that he ordained presbyters, consecrated bishops, and divided the land into ecclesiastical districts (either parishes or dioceses). His training at Rome might well cause him to organise such a complete ecclesiastical system, even if only as an ideal to aim at, and even although, in the turbulent times that followed, what organisation was achieved by him soon disappeared.

After many years of missionary work Ninian died at Whithorn on, according to the date commonly received, the 16th of September 432.

It is well to remember, as we mark his close connection with Rome, that the Papacy had not at that period involved itself in those doctrinal errors, nor in those claims to universal supremacy, which arose in later days. **The influence of the Church of Rome** on Western Christendom was then only a beneficent one, and certainly its beneficence is evident in the work of St. Ninian.

In later days the fame of Ninian waxed great. Holy wells and churches in every part of Scotland bore his name in different forms, such as Ringan, Trinian, and in Irish Monenn. His relics were highly venerated, and drew crowds of pilgrims of every rank and country, including Queen Margaret, wife of James III., and the unfortunate James IV.

An ancient Celtic bell, known as 'Clog-Rinny,' or Ringan's bell, is preserved in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh, and it may be that the cave of St. Ninian, situated on the seacoast a few miles from Whithorn, with its paved floor and its incised Celtic crosses on the walls, was connected with the saint.

The Kirkmadrine stones, the most ancient Christian inscribed monuments in Great Britain, may confidently be pointed to as relics of the church which St. Ninian founded. They are two columns which stand at Kirkmadrine in Wigtonshire, and have every characteristic of that early period. The formation of the letters, the peculiar chrisma or cross of Constantine, surrounded by a symbolic circle, and the Alpha and Omega which it bears, are quite unlike the Celtic crosses and inscriptions of a later date. The inscription upon the chief stone is of great interest. It runs in Latin, 'Here lie the holy and eminent *sacerdotes*, Ides, Viventius, and Mavorius.' There is very good reason for believing that these three *sacerdotes* were not priests, but bishops. Dr. Dowden, Bishop of Edinburgh, has recently demonstrated that, during the fourth century and down to a late date in the fifth, the ordinary meaning of *sacerdos* is a bishop, and that only in comparatively rare and exceptional cases is it applied to one of lower rank.[1]

St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, is the next figure that we meet; but, in the present state of our knowledge, he cannot with any certainty be claimed for Scotland. He was

[1] *Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries*, 1897-8.

born, he tells us, at Bannavem of Taberniae, his father Calpurnius being a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus a priest. His father also was a decurion, a functionary of that municipal system which was found throughout the Roman Empire in the fourth century. Until, however, we find evidence that there were communities as far north as **Dumbarton** on the Clyde so highly organised as to have town councils, we must hesitate to adopt the traditional identification. The latest and best biographer of St. Patrick, Dr. Bury, unhesitatingly points to the shores of the Severn rather than those of the Clyde as the scene of his early days. The story, however, of his capture by Irish pirates before he had reached the age of sixteen, his slavery in Antrim, and his realisation of the reality of religion while herding the flocks there, his escape and return home, and the irresistible power that drew him back to Ireland as its great missionary—told as it is in his own words—is of extreme interest, whatever his nationality. His lifetime stretches from the end of the fourth century well into the fifth. The year 432, the received date of St. Ninian's death, is usually given for Patrick's landing in Ireland as its missionary.

The labours of **St. Palladius** and of his disciples, **St. Ternan** and **St. Serf**, probably belong to this period. Of their personal history we know little that is trustworthy. They probably continued St. Ninian's missionary work among the Southern Picts, and their names are still preserved in north-eastern Scotland. Paldy's Well and Paldy's Fair, at Fordun in Kincardineshire, Banchory-Ternan in the same county, and St. Sair's Fair in Aberdeenshire, still testify to the impression which they left on the country in their day and generation.

The name of St. Palladius was the theme of much controversy in bygone days. He is mentioned by a contemporary writer, Prosper of Aquitaine, as a deacon of Rome, through whose instrumentality St. Germanus was sent to combat the Pelagianism with which Britain had become infected. Two years later, in 431, Palladius was 'ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent as **first bishop to the Scots** believing in Christ.' These Scots were **in Ireland**, not in what is now called Scotland ; but in mediæval times this important fact was forgotten. Accordingly, in order to

meet the historical difficulty caused by the words 'first bishop to the Scots,' the statement was made by John of Fordun (*circa* 1385), and repeated by subsequent writers, that before the time of Palladius, the form of Church government in Scotland was Presbyterian, and not Episcopal. The theory of primitive 'Presbyterian Culdees' in Scotland is, however, now generally admitted to have no other foundation than the above-mentioned misunderstanding.

If our Palladius be the same as the missionary to Ireland, he probably came to Scotland after unsuccessful labours in the sister island. But the subject is an obscure one.

The weary years of war and turmoil that followed the departure of the Roman legions were disastrous for the Church in Northern Britain. **Apostasy and degeneration** resulted among the Southern Picts as well as among the Romanised Britons of Valentia.[1] The main political result was the emergence of the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Cumbria, in the region south of Pictland. **Bernicia**, extending along the eastern coast south of the Forth, was occupied by **heathen English immigrants** from Schleswig, while on its western border stretched the territory of **the Britons—Cumbria or Strathclyde**, from its capital on the Clyde, Alclwyd or Dumbarton, as far south as the river Derwent in Cumberland. Among the Britons there still remained some vestiges of Christianity, and in the sixth century there was given to them as a restorer of the true religion the great **St. Mungo**, whose name is still a household word in the west of Scotland.

The legend of his life, as told in later days, is as follows. His mother was a Pictish princess in the Lothians, whose name, Thenew or Thenog, is still preserved in the **St. Enoch** of Glasgow. Charged with unchastity, she was embarked upon a coracle at Aberlady in Haddingtonshire, and eventually wafted to Culross on the shores of the Forth, where she gave birth to a son. There a saint called Serf (who must have been a different person from the disciple of Palladius) took charge of mother and child. The child was baptized by the name of Kentigern (Chief Lord), but his pet name of Munghu or Mungo (amiable and dear) is the one by which he is best known. After being educated at

[1] South of Antonine's wall.

Serf's monastic school, Mungo set off upon his wanderings, and eventually reached **Cathures** (**Glasgow**), where St. Ninian had consecrated a burial-ground. There he was chosen bishop by the Prince of Strathclyde, with the clergy and people. He was consecrated by a single bishop, who had to be brought from Ireland.

At Glasgow he established a monastery, and laboured until he was driven away by the enmity of a new pagan king of Strathclyde, called Morken. Seeking shelter amongst the kindred race of Britons in **Wales**, he spent some time with St. David at Menevia, and eventually founded a monastery of his own at Llanelwy, where one of his disciples, and his future successor, was St. Asaph.

After some years Roderick the Bountiful, a Christian, became king of Strathclyde, and Mungo was recalled to his former labours. Settling first in the southern part of the kingdom, at Hoddom in Dumfriesshire, but eventually returning to Glasgow, he spent the rest of his life in missionary labours. His efforts seem to have extended beyond Strathclyde to the Southern Picts on the one hand, and to the inhabitants of Galloway on the other.

In his old age occurred a deeply interesting meeting with another and greater missionary, St. Columba. The British evangelist and his Irish contemporary must have known each other well by report, and at last they met face to face, on the banks of the Molendinar burn at Glasgow, where St. Ninian's memory still lingered. The two representatives of the different currents of the one Christian religion—the Romano-British and the Celtic—met with processions and spiritual songs, and fraternal greetings. They embraced and kissed each other, and exchanged their pastoral staves. It was a great and historic scene, symbolical of the continuity and oneness of the national religion.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF ST. COLUMBA

WHILE the heathen Angles were founding the kingdom of Bernicia, east of British Strathclyde, a Christian race, that of **the Dalriadic Scots of Ireland**, was establishing itself in the west, in Kintyre and Argyll. The close connection, which continues to this day, between the north of Ireland and the west of Scotland, began towards the close of the fifth century, in the days of Fergus MacErc. Not, however, till the sixth century was well on its way, was the Christianity of these settlers an influence in the country. It was by their warriors, and not by their missionaries, that the Scots were first known to their heathen neighbours of Pictland. The task of superseding for a time the stern methods of war, by the gentler but more potent means of peace and Christian love and faith, was left to the great missionary **St. Columba**, whose name is indelibly written upon the historic annals of Scotland.

Columba was born in County Donegal, in the year 521. His birthplace, near the beautiful shores of **Loch Gartan**, on the lower slopes of the Derryveigh Hills, is still one of the sacred spots of Ireland, and legends of him linger yet in the locality. Of royal blood, he belonged to the powerful clan of the O'Donnels. The two names said to have been given him at baptism, Crimthann, a wolf, and Colum, a dove (*Lat.* Columba), were strangely prophetic of his future character and career.

Devoted from boyhood to piety and learning, he attended the monastic schools of the two St. Finnans, of Moville and of Clonard, the former an alumnus of Candida Casa, and the latter an old pupil of St. David of Wales. For a time, too,

his interest in secular literature led him to study under the bard Gemman, and in after life he became the protector of the Irish bards, and showed himself possessed of no mean poetic powers, as his Latin and Irish poems prove.

At Moville Columba was ordained deacon, and while at Clonard he became priest. A legend of later days tells that he would, but for some mistake, have been consecrated as bishop at the same time. For the next fifteen years he laboured, planting churches and monasteries in different parts of Ireland, until the day came when he decided to join the Scots in Argyll.

There were many voices calling him across the sea. His kinsmen were hard pressed, and had just suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Picts. They needed to be comforted, and built up in the faith more securely. And there was that great field of missionary enterprise among the Picts, as yet untouched, and calling for some one possessed of great courage and devotion, of large sympathies and far-seeing vision. And, besides, he was possibly not happy at home. Perhaps he was then under the sentence of excommunication by an Irish synod of which we read. And there may be truth in the story that his confessor, Molaise, had ordered him to go into exile as a penance for having brought about a bloody battle at Cooldrevny, as the result of a dispute with St. Finnan of Moville over the possession of a manuscript book of Holy Scripture which he had copied.

At all events he arrived with twelve companions at the little island of Hy, or Iona, in 563, and founded a monastery there in a place which has been rendered sacred to all succeeding generations by his life and labours. The island, which was given to him by his kinsman, Conal, the prince of the colony, seems to have been occupied previously by a Christian community.

Columba's first labours were among his Dalriadic brethren, but soon he conceived, and executed, the bold design of visiting the Pictish King Brude at Inverness. With a few companions the intrepid missionary performed the journey in safety, and made so great an impression upon the king, that in due course he and his people were converted. The court Druids, it is said, attempted in vain to discredit Columba's message by performing magical wonders, for the saint did greater wonders still.

After achieving this great victory, Columba spent the rest of his life in unceasing labours. Besides the oversight of the work among the heathen and among the Scots, he had the care of numerous churches and monasteries in Ireland. In the political affairs of Ireland, no less than of western Scotland, he played an important part. His name is connected with two other Irish battles, besides the one already mentioned. His spare time he occupied in transcribing the Holy Scriptures, and now and then he retired to the little island of Hinba for rest and quiet thought.

The story of the days before his **death in June 597** is told with great fulness by his biographer, Adamnan. A very touching incident is given of the white horse which carried the milk-vessels of the monastery, coming and laying its head on the saint's bosom, and whining and shedding tears in premonition of his end. Quite recently the skeleton of a horse was found buried near the supposed site of Columba's cell. The bones, of great antiquity, had been buried with such unusual care as to suggest at least that the animal must have been an object of no ordinary consideration.

Columba's character was great and many-sided. A high-spirited, passionate clansman, an influential man of affairs, a fearless and capable missionary, he was filled with lofty Christian devotion and enthusiasm, and with the tenderest human sympathy, not only to his brethren, but to the dumb animals. Tall and dignified in bearing, he had a voice of remarkable sweetness and penetrating power. His unending labours, fastings, and devotions seemed, to those who knew him, superhuman. And he had the gift of communicating his zeal to others. **St. Machar**, his disciple, settled at Aberdeen, and Moluag of Lismore and St. Donnan of Eigg were contemporaries who were doubtless stimulated to missionary labour by St. Columba's example.

A valuable picture is given, in the narrative of Columba's life, of **the monastic life** at this obscure period. The monks, largely laymen, dwelt in an enclosure, surrounded by a rampart (vallum), the abbat occupying a hut by himself. The church, refectory, and guest-chambers were within the wall, and outside were the mill, kiln, cowshed, stable, and barn. The monks tilled the ground, kept sheep and cows, and caught fish for food. Hospitality to visitors was ready and profuse. Holy Scripture was the chief study of the com-

munity, and the copying of books was a frequent task. It is doubtful how far the education of the young was a feature of Iona in Columba's time. Most, if not all, of the canonical hours of devotion were duly observed, and the brethren were, without doubt, bound at least by the rules of obedience, chastity, and poverty. The Holy Eucharist seems to have been celebrated on Sundays and festivals, and on days ordered by the abbat. Wednesdays and Fridays were fast days, except between Easter and Pentecost, and on occasions when a visitor came to the island.

While there is no reason to suppose that the doctrines taught by Columba and his followers differed from the faith of Western Christendom, two details of the ecclesiastical system introduced by them from Ireland were destined to become in after days the subject of much controversy. These were the Irish form of **tonsure** (in shape probably like a crescent, leaving unshorn a fringe in front, and all the hair behind a line drawn from ear to ear) and the Irish method of calculating **Easter**, by the employment of a cycle which had been abandoned elsewhere as being astronomically out of date.

The **position of the bishop** in the Columban church needs explanation, as it was very different from that of a modern prelate. The example of Columba in remaining a presbyter-abbat was naturally followed by others, and few monasteries had bishops as abbats. The organisation of the church was probably entirely monastic and tribal, and the abbat was usually a relative of the chief or prince of the tribe. Hence the episcopate, robbed of its rightful jurisdiction, was in a position strange indeed and anomalous, yet not without parallel in history. The bishop was as much subject to the abbat as any other monk, but he had a special position and dignity which marked him off from the others, and none but a bishop ever performed the rites of ordination and consecration. Thus although without diocesan jurisdiction, the Columban episcopate undeniably retained 'the right of order.'

For more than two centuries after the death of Columba, Iona occupied an unique position in the Celtic Church. The abbat, styled the *Co-arb* (heir) of Columkille, ruled over a large confederacy of monastic houses, all the members of which formed the *muintir* (family) of Columkille. Kings

lived and died in the peaceful seclusion of Columba's home. The saint's relics became objects of great sanctity, and were enclosed in a costly shrine that in later days attracted Scandinavian freebooters to the island on more than one occasion.

It was from Iona, too, that the great **Northumbrian mission** was sent (635) under **St. Aidan**, in response to the appeal of Oswald, the king of the English in Bernicia. A monk, Cormac, had been first despatched, but his efforts were unsuccessful, and he returned to Iona and reported to a council of the senior monks that the task was impossible. Thereupon the monk Aidan spoke these sensible words:—'It seems to me, brother, that you were more harsh with your unlearned hearers than was reasonable, and did not first, as the Apostle has taught us, offer them milk of less solid doctrine, until gradually nourished with the word of God, they would have been able to accept a more advanced teaching and stricter rule of life.'

Such an exposition of the true missionary spirit at once pointed to Aidan himself as one well qualified for the task, and he was duly consecrated bishop, and sent to Northumbria. He fixed on the island of **Lindisfarne** as his episcopal seat, and it became, like Iona, a strong centre of Christian work and influence. Aidan's work was fruitful and far-reaching. In Scotland the authority of Lindisfarne was acknowledged in the region which is now roughly represented by the shires of Berwick and Haddington, and indeed as far as Edinburgh and Abercorn on the Forth.

The influence, however, of **Roman Christianity**, with its better organisation and its superior prestige, was gradually creeping northward, and it eventually came into conflict with the Celtic mission in the days of Bishop Colman. In 664 **the 'Synod' of Whitby** was held, nominally to decide whether the Celtic or the Roman date for Easter was to prevail, but practically to settle the fate of the Columban mission. Eventually the Roman champion, Wilfrid, won over King Oswy to his side, and Colman and his monks returned to Iona.

It was during Aidan's episcopate that the famous monastery of Melrose was founded. To it came in 651 the young shepherd **Cuthbert**, as a suppliant for admission. The future bishop of Hexham and of Lindisfarne was welcomed by the

provost or prior Boisil, and the abbat Eata. After spending some years at Melrose, distinguished above his fellows by his piety, labours, and asceticism, he went with Eata to found the monastery at Ripon, but troubles arising over the Easter controversy made them return. In 664 he went to Lindisfarne as prior, and his subsequent career belongs to the history of the Church of England.

Of the successors of Columba as Abbat of Iona, the most notable was **Adamnan** (abbat, 679-704). To him we owe the chief biography of Columba, as well as a valuable work, *Concerning the holy places*, written from the narrative of Arculf, a shipwrecked pilgrim bishop. Like Columba, he played an important part in public affairs. Aldfrid, the prince of Northumbria, was his friend, and the 'Law of Adamnan,' enacted at the Council of Birr in Ireland in 697, which for the first time freed the women of Ireland from the obligation of military service, is a memorial both of his influence and of his humanity.

During his abbacy Adamnan became convinced that the Roman customs regarding Easter and the tonsure should be adopted by the Church in Iona, but his brethren were more tenacious of their old customs than he. It was not till some years after his death that the Celtic uses, given up by the Picts in 710, were abandoned by the Columban monks, and the long controversy came to an end.

The three centuries following the death of Adamnan may be passed over briefly. Our information is scanty, and only illuminates a turning-point here and there.

Gradually the importance of Iona diminished. The island, exposed to the assaults of Danish pirates, was ravaged again and again in the ninth and tenth centuries. In 825 the abbat **Blaithmac** was martyred at the altar for refusing to tell the robbers where the precious shrine of Columba was hidden. The influence of Iona amongst the Picts had been greatly diminished during the controversy over the Easter question, when, in 717, King Naiton banished the Columban monks for their conservative views. And so when **Kenneth MacAlpine** of Kintyre, a Scot by his father's side, and apparently a Pict by his mother's, followed up his mastery of Dalriada by the conquest of the Picts, in the middle of the ninth century, and thereby united the two kingdoms, he **transferred the primacy from Iona to Dunkeld**. Some

of the relics of Columba were conveyed to the new church at Dunkeld, and the abbat Tuathal, 'first bishop' of Fortrenn, the kingdom of the Southern Picts, not only claimed primatial authority over Picts and Scots, but probably exercised for the first time for many centuries episcopal *jurisdiction* in Scotland.

The Culdees, who belong to this period, were quite distinct from the Columban monks. They were small **communities of anchorites,** supported by endowments or otherwise, for the conduct of public services and private devotions. They lived in separate houses or cells within the same enclosure, and were often entrusted with important churches. The origin of this curious combination of hermit and community life is obscure, as is also that of the name by which they were called. The form in Scotland was *Keledei,* in Ireland *Celé Dé* (servants or friends of God), while the Latin form was *Cultores Dei.* Whether the Scots form arose from the Irish or the Latin, the meaning is much the same. The idea[1] that the Culdees represented a Celtic form of Presbyterianism is now generally acknowledged to be untenable. There is no reason to suppose that they differed from Western Christendom in faith or in organisation.

The Culdees shared in the general decay of religion which set in in Scotland during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. Everywhere the noble ideals of the early days began to disappear. Laxity displaced ascetic discipline and fervour grew cold. Marriage or concubinage among the clergy was common, and laymen seized Church possessions, and even Church titles and dignities. All this degeneration was the sad prelude to the end of the Celtic period of the Church's history in Scotland.

[1] See pages 5 and 6.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL CHURCH (1068-1286)

DURING these centuries **the kingdom of Scotland was in the making.** The descendants of the Scot Kenneth MacAlpine, the kings of Picto-Scottish Alban, gradually established their position more firmly in a course of weary wars with Viking settlers in the north and west, and with Brythons and English on the south. The cession of English Lothian, and a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Strathclyde, eventually extended the Scottish kingdom borderwards. By the time of **Malcolm Canmore**, therefore (1058-1093), when the first and apparently the most peaceful of those ecclesiastical revolutions which it has been the fate of Scotland to witness was effected, political Scotland was a recognisable fact.

The Norman Conquest, which began a new epoch in English history, was the indirect means of changing the whole character of the Scottish Church, for it drove the claimant to the English throne, Edgar Ætheling, with his mother and two sisters, to seek refuge at Malcolm's court, in 1068. One of these sisters was destined to become Queen of Scotland, and to be revered in future ages as **St. Margaret of Scotland.** Although at first unwilling to marry Malcolm, she proved a most devoted wife and mother. Her influence over the fierce king was as beautiful as it was great. The rough soldier, ferocious enough in time of war, was softened and subdued by his wife's goodness. Unable to read, he would kiss her favourite books, and cause them to be ornamented with gold and gems. She taught him to pray with earnestness, and to practise 'works of justice, mercy, almsgiving, and other virtues,' while the dread of offending her

exercised a potent influence over his rugged character. Her care for the upbringing of her children was no less admirable. The three of her six sons who became kings of Scotland—Edgar, Alexander, and David—grew up to be men of upright character, who did much for religion and for the well-being of the people, and of her two daughters one became 'the good Queen Maud' of England.

Margaret's court was strict in manners, and yet splendid for the times. The Saxon princess, whose early years had been spent in Hungary, brought with her cultured tastes and fashions hitherto unknown in Scotland. Foreign wares and fabrics were introduced, and new conceptions of regal dignity were emphasised. Her personal life was full of rigorous devotion, and the little chapel which bears her name in Edinburgh Castle may have been her private oratory. Her name is also preserved at North and South Queensferry, at either end of the Forth Bridge, where she established hostels for the pilgrims journeying to and from St. Andrews.

It was mainly through Margaret's influence that the Scottish Church was brought into **conformity with Rome**. The unfamiliar usages of the Celtic Church, wedded as they were to a lax and degenerate type of religion, had for the southern Margaret no sacred associations. On the contrary, it seemed to her desirable that Roman customs should take their place, and to that end she bent her energies. Various councils were held, at one of which the Queen herself took a prominent part, King Malcolm acting as interpreter. The main points of discussion were the date of the commencement of Lent, the non-reception of the Eucharist on Easter Day (and possibly at all other times except the hour of death), the celebration of Mass according to some 'barbarous rite' or other, the disregard of the Lord's Day, and the Scottish custom of marriage with a step-mother, and of a woman with her deceased husband's brother. When it is remembered that behind the arguments of Margaret lay the heavy hand of her devoted husband, we can readily believe that her efforts were crowned with success. The old Celtic Church soon crumbled away, leaving in its place the mediæval Church, akin in every respect to that in England.

Malcolm and Margaret died within a few days of each other in 1093, the former on the battlefield of Alnwick,

and his queen in Edinburgh Castle, the Black Rood of Scotland in her hand.

A few years ago an interesting discovery was made in the Bodleian Library. A manuscript volume of **the liturgical Gospels** in Latin, which had been bought for £6, was found to be the identical book mentioned in the *Life of St. Margaret* as belonging to her, and as the subject of a miraculous occurrence. Dropped one day into a river, it lay for some time in the water, and yet when found was uninjured, except for some stains on the last leaves. This was interpreted as a sign of God's favour to the saintly queen. The volume may now be seen displayed in a glass case in the great Oxford library.

Margaret's two sons, Alexander I. and David I., carried on the policy of assimilating the Scottish Church to that of England, and thereby to the see of Rome. Side by side with the influx of Saxon and Norman settlers there proceeded the introduction of ecclesiastics and monastic communities from the south. And a more important change still was the **institution of diocesan episcopacy** in place of the old tribal system. The primacy had been transferred from Dunkeld, first to Abernethy, and later to St. Andrews, venerated as the resting-place of relics of the Apostle. To it Alexander added two new sees, those of Moray and Dunkeld. David, when Prince of Cumbria, restored the see of Glasgow, and during his reign as King of Scotland (1124-1153) instituted in addition the bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin. The restored see of Galloway (Candida Casa) was then under English jurisdiction, while those of Orkney and The Isles (later Sodor, *i.e.* the *Southern* Isles, and Man) were under a Scandinavian Metropolitan. If to these we add Argyll or Lismore, founded fifty years after David's death, we have the thirteen sees that existed at the time of the Reformation. The bishopric of Edinburgh, it should be remembered, was not founded until after the Reformation, in the reign of Charles I.

In these two reigns **the controversy with York** as to the alleged supremacy of that see became acute. In 1072 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas of York had made a compact by which the latter's jurisdiction was to extend over Scotland. Unfortunately they omitted

to consult the most interested party, the Scottish Church itself, and much trouble ensued. Fothadh, the last Celtic bishop of St. Andrews, died in 1093, and when, after an interregnum of fourteen years, Alexander appointed **Turgot**, his mother's confessor and biographer, the primate of York claimed the right to consecrate him, as his superior. Eventually a compromise was effected, by which Turgot was consecrated by the Bishop of London at York (1109) without prejudice to the rights of either side. When, after an unsuccessful episcopate of six years, Turgot retired to Durham and died, Alexander thought to evade the previous difficulty by calling in the aid of Canterbury. But when, after another vacancy of five years, **Eadmer**, a monk of Canterbury, and a disciple and friend of St. Anselm, became bishop-elect, there was trouble of another kind. Eadmer, following the principles of Anselm, refused to be invested by the king with ring and staff, and demanded to be consecrated at Canterbury, in token of his allegiance to that see. On the first point a compromise was effected, but on the second neither king nor monk would move, and eventually Eadmer returned to his monastery at Canterbury.

A similar contest with York took place over the see of Glasgow; and in David's reign the aid of Rome, instead of that of Canterbury, was called in, with, as its result, the appearance of **a papal legate in Scotland** for the first time. Thus began, for weal and woe, **a close connection with Rome** that lasted for four centuries.

Alexander was a good friend to the Church, founding monasteries at Scone and Inchcolm, and bestowing benefactions on existing communities; but it was **David, 'the sair saint for the Crown,'** who introduced on a large scale, and liberally endowed, the English monastic system. Spending, as he did, much of his early life at the English Court, he was much more English in his sympathies and aims than his brother had been. Hence the country began to be studded over with different **monastic communities** of Benedictine and Cistercian Monks, and Augustinian Canons Regular, and other orders, at Holyrood, New Melrose, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Kelso, Cambuskenneth, and other well-known places. Several monasteries were founded by David's subjects, in emulation of his own noble example. These monasteries differed from their Celtic predecessors in

one important particular. They were not centres of missionary labour, but **homes of religious devotion, learning, and civilisation.** Their influence was undoubtedly beneficial in these early days. The monastery was the friend of the poor and the defence of the oppressed. Education, music, art, and literature flourished within its walls. The monks were skilled gardeners, and agriculture owed much to them. They possessed great herds of cattle, and the studs of horses which they reared did much to improve the breed in Scotland. The monks of Melrose kept enormous flocks of sheep, and did a large trade in wool. Even such an occupation as mining was undertaken by the monks, and they were generally skilled in handicrafts of various kinds. The days of vice, sloth, and irreligion among them were as yet undreamt of.

Amidst all these new developments **the Celtic Culdees** made a stubborn but hopeless fight for existence. At St. Andrews they were dispossessed by the Canons Regular, but long claimed to have a voice in the election of the bishop. At Lochleven they were similarly dealt with, and their little library, of which the catalogue still exists, was transferred to the priory of St. Andrews. Several of the new bishoprics were founded at Culdee centres, and probably the old Celtic endowments were appropriated to support the diocesan organisations. Certainly this was done in the foundation of some of the new monasteries, notably those of Inchaffray and Deer. Yet it is not till the fourteenth century that the Culdees finally disappear from our historical records.

The reign of Malcolm the Maiden (1153-65) was uneventful, but that of **William the Lion** (1165-1214) was marked by two important events, the feudal subjection of Scotland to England, and a trial of strength between the king and the pope. The first was brought about by the humiliating **treaty of Falaise** of 1174, the price which William had to pay for his freedom, after being taken a prisoner by the English at Alnwick. For fifteen years William was Henry's vassal and the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick were held by English garrisons. The Scottish bishops, however, preserved their independence, at least to their own satisfaction, by swearing fealty to Henry in ambiguous language at York, and at the

Council of Northampton a year later by the rivalry between Canterbury and York as to the supremacy over Scotland.

To this trouble was added a quarrel between William and Pope Alexander, which resulted in the **first of the papal excommunications** of the whole kingdom. William, disregarding the election by the chapter of St. Andrews of John Scot as bishop, caused his chaplain Hugh to be consecrated to the see. John appealed to Rome, and the end of the quarrel was as above stated. However, the pope soon died, and his successor, Lucius III., absolved William, and sent him as a mark of special favour the Golden Rose. In 1188 another pope, Clement III., took the Scottish Church under his special protection, thereby putting an end to the claims both of York and Canterbury, and the following year Richard Cœur de Lion, for a consideration of ten thousand marks, renounced the treaty of Falaise.

During the following reign of **Alexander II.**, we hear the beginning of the story of lax morality and of avarice on the part of the clergy, which culminated in the pre-Reformation days. On the other hand, we read of the coming of the Black and the Grey **Friars**, the Dominicans and Franciscans, whose lives of poverty and earnest preaching did much at first for religion, although they too fell away in later days, amidst the general weakening of religious life.

In 1225 a very interesting development took place, in the institution of **an annual provincial council**, which curiously resembles the General Assembly of post-Reformation days. One of the provisions of the 4th Lateran Council of 1215 was that Provincial Councils should be held annually throughout the Church, under the presidency of the archbishop of the province. As Scotland possessed no archbishop it was not easy to obey, but the difficulty was eventually got over by the appointment of a president very similar to the familiar **Moderator of Assembly**. The bishops annually elected from their own number a *Conservator Statutorum*, who, as the name implies, not only convened and presided over the Council, but gave effect to all its pronouncements. The system worked well right up to the year 1471, when the first Archbishop of St. Andrews was appointed, and it affords an historical illustration of

how Episcopacy might be combined with the General Assembly system, in the event of a large ecclesiastical re-union taking place in Scotland.

The reign of **Alexander III.** (1249-1286) brought to its close a great and prosperous epoch of Scottish history. The flourishing state of literature and learning is attested by many great names, of which the best known are those of **Michael Scot**, the great scholar and scientist, popularly known as the Wizard of Balwearie; **Thomas the Rhymer**, of Ercildoune, the father of Scottish poetry, and possibly the famous Franciscan doctor, **John Duns Scotus**. The Church's prosperity had been fostered by a state of comparative peace. Unwelcome calls to raise subsidies for the crusades came from time to time, and the zeal of a papal legate, Boiamund de Vicci, resulted in the formation of a valuation list of Scottish benefices for that purpose, known as **Bagimont's Roll** (1275). The valuation was determined by the oaths of all bishops, clergy, and heads of monasteries, and remained in force for a long period.

The tragic death of the king by a fall from his horse on the cliffs at Kinghorn was a grievous misfortune for Scotland. It plunged the kingdom into a state of war and confusion for forty long years, which was disastrous to the best interests of Church and State. Many of the monasteries were reduced to abject poverty, the progress of civilisation was arrested, a deterioration of morals and discipline set in, and ground was lost which was never quite recovered.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATER MEDIÆVAL CHURCH (1286-1513)

THE stirring tale of the events which followed the death of the little Maiden of Norway, grandchild of Alexander III.; the competition for the throne, the claims of Edward I. as Lord Paramount of Scotland, the misfortunes of Edward Baliol, the heroic exploits of Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce in the **Wars of Independence**, the national triumph at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, is familiar to every Scotsman. Only the effect of this long turmoil on the Church can be touched on here.

In the first place, **the patriotism of the Scottish prelates and clergy** did much to save Scotland. Lamberton of St. Andrews and Wishart of Glasgow in particular devoted themselves to Bruce. They took the field with him, and for him repeatedly broke their solemn oaths to Edward, himself no scrupulous keeper of his word. It was Wishart who took the responsibility of crowning Bruce at Scone in 1306. Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, figured prominently on the field on the morning of Bannockburn. The Bishop of Moray preached a holy war of freedom in his diocese, and St. Clair of Dunkeld on one occasion routed a body of English soldiers. Four years before Bannockburn the prelates of Scotland swore fealty to Bruce as king, and but for them Bruce might have warred in vain.

But, on the other hand, these wild times were **not favourable to fine religious ideals** among the clergy. The broken vows of oft-perjured prelates, the memory of Bruce's sacrilegious murder of the Red Comyn in the Greyfriars' church at Dumfries, the sacking of lowland

abbeys by the English, and the invasion of church and cloister by the military spirit, tended, amid the general disturbance of the time, to injure the Church's life. Devotional fervour was diminished, and when peace came there were not clergy enough to undertake the Church's work. Not the least loss both to Church and State was caused by that misguided patriotism which expelled the English clergy, along with the Anglo-Norman nobles, who had settled in Scotland. And for years the country lay under the pope's interdict, not removed till the year before Bruce's death by John XXII.

It was during the first period of the War of Independence that Edward I. carried away the Coronation Stone from Scone, together, it is believed, with the Black Rood of Scotland.

The two centuries that elapsed between the battle of Bannockburn (1314) and the accession of James V. (1513) on the eve of the Reformation, covering as they did the reigns of David, Bruce's unfortunate son, and of the first six Stuart kings, witnessed many events of tragic import for Scotland. They may, however, with convenience be treated, for the purposes of Church history, as one period in which there are no abrupt transitions nor startling breaks of continuity. We see the Church in many respects doing admirable and beneficent work, making many a struggle to check the growth of abuses, and producing amongst her clergy men of fine and outstanding character. But, on the other hand, we can mark the gradual growth of those forces which burst forth in the sixteenth century with devastating effect upon the old order of things.

We may mark first the growth of lawlessness and turbulence amongst the nobles after the War of Independence. The withdrawal of the English element in Church and State robbed Scotland of an educative and cultivating influence. The best blood of the Scottish nobility was poured out in the wars with England, and notably on Flodden Field; 'the Flowers of the Forest' were indeed all 'wede away.' The power of the throne was weakened by the accession of juvenile, and sometimes incompetent, kings.

Thus there arose among the Scottish nobility a large class of men, ignorant and uncultured, of headstrong character and disloyal principles, who cared only for their own

aggrandisement, and filled the reigns of the Stuarts with trouble and tragedy. The first days of Robert III.'s reign were marked by the **burning of the earlier cathedral of Elgin** with its hospital and eighteen manses, by his own brother, the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan (1390). The boast of **James I.**, that, if God gave him life, there should not be a spot in his kingdom where the key should not keep the castle and the furze bush the cow, and his subsequent efforts to curb the lawless nobles, only resulted in his own **brutal murder in the Dominican Monastery at Perth** (1437). And there came a sad day when his grandson, James III., met his nobles in civil strife at **Sauchieburn**, within eyeshot of the glorious field of Bannockburn, and perished miserably by an assassin's hand at Beaton's Mill (1488). In such wild times was fashioned the weapon which was ultimately responsible for the destructive side of the Scottish Reformation.

Again we see the disastrous effects upon the Church of the growth of **avarice and the usurpation of Church patronage**, on the part alike of popes, kings, and nobles. So early as the twelfth century had the popes begun to recommend nominees for benefices in the different national churches. Later on these recommendations became mandates, the popes claiming the right of *providing for* all benefices and sees. These **Papal Provisions** came to a head in the time of John XXII., of whom Abbot Bower, the continuator of Fordun's chronicle, says: '*Qui quasi omnes episcopatus mundi ad collationem suam reservavit.*'[1] They opened up a mine of wealth for needy popes at Avignon, for much gold had to be spent by all successful candidates for promotion, or by their friends. The papal court was thronged with suitors for Scottish benefices, whose chief or only recommendation was their noble birth. On the other hand, the claim of the Crown, not only to the movable property of deceased bishops, but also to the revenues of vacant sees, monasteries, and churches, provided, in Scotland as elsewhere, a temptation not always resisted, to prolong these vacancies for years. In the reign of James IV. two appointments to the revenues, if not to the actual functions, of the archbishopric of St. Andrews were made, which reveal the

[1] *Scotichronicon*, VI. c. 45.

rottenness of the whole system. James, Duke of Ross, the king's brother, was the first, at the age of twenty-one, with a papal dispensation, doubtless purchased by a heavy consideration. He held also *in commendam* (the legal term used to cloak the spoliation of the revenues) the abbacies of Dunfermline and Arbroath, together with the chancellorship of the kingdom. He was succeeded by a boy of twelve: Alexander Stewart, the king's illegitimate son, the Episcopal duties being performed by a suffragan bishop. Like his uncle he held the chancellorship, and the abbacy of Dunfermline with that of Coldingham, while Julius II. made him a *legate a latere*. He was, it ought to be stated, a youth of most brilliant promise, and Scotland was the poorer when he fell by his father's side at Flodden.

It may be noted here that, during the great papal schism in the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth centuries, **Scotland adhered to the Avignon Popes** (afterwards called anti-popes). The Roman popes, to whom England adhered, appointed to the various Scottish sees, but their nominees did not venture to show face in Scotland. Thus Alexander de Neville, formerly of York, was, on paper, translated by Urban VI. to St. Andrews, as later on was Thomas de Arundel (successor to Neville at York) by Boniface IX. Similar appointments were made in other dioceses.

The most responsible positions in the Church thus unblushingly trafficked for, we cannot wonder that her life degenerated. The enforcement of celibacy resulted in widespread immorality and concubinage amongst the clergy, as the statutes of various councils show. And the growing **wealth of the Church**, which is believed to have amounted, at the Reformation, to **half that of the whole nation**, not only drew upon her the attention of the harpies by whom she was surrounded, but also sapped the vital strength of the national religion. By the sixteenth century it is calculated that the chapters and monasteries held **two-thirds of the parish livings**, draining them of their revenues, and leaving them to the care of ill-paid vicars, who, however devoted many of them may have been (for even at the present day it is not always the worst paid clergy who work the least), were as a rule ignorant men, weighed down with a sense of their own inferiority. Thus, as time went on, the monasteries became the homes of luxury, sloth, and

laxity, while outside their walls real religion was starved and neglected. **Pluralities**, too, were a sore evil. Not only did bishops often hold several benefices with their sees, but frequently the same ecclesiastic held canonries in two or three different Cathedrals.

No wonder, therefore, that long before the Reformation we perceive the appearance of **the beginnings of Protestantism**. So early as the coronation of David II. in 1329, at which for the first time a Scottish monarch was anointed, a persecuting oath was administered 'to extirpate all heretics with all his might,' which continued down to the Reformation, and *after* it as well. In 1407, four years before the red Harlaw, **John Resby**, an English Wycliffite priest, was burned at Perth for teaching that the pope was not Christ's vicar, and that no man could be Christ's vicar who was not personally holy. Again in 1433, **Paul Crawar**, a physician from Prague, and a Hussite, was burned at St. Andrews for attacking purgatory, pilgrimages, and transubstantiation. That the teachings of such men had not altogether fallen on barren ground became apparent in James IV.'s reign, when thirty **Lollards** from Kyle, in the west of Scotland, were summoned in 1494 to appear before the king and council. They were accused of holding several of Wycliffe's tenets, but mild counsels prevailed, and they were dismissed with an admonition.

Yet side by side with all this, many an effort was made within the Church **to stem the tide** of degeneration. Council after council denounced the abuses that were rampant. James I. implored the superiors of the monastic orders 'by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to shake off their torpor and sloth, and set themselves to work, to restore their fallen discipline and rekindle their dying fervour, so that they might save their houses from the ruin that threatened them.' James II. petitioned the pope for the suppression of the monastery of Faile in Ayrshire, with the scandal of whose immorality Scotland was ringing. Twice at least did popes (Nicolas V. and Callixtus III.) interfere with the object of **promoting learning** amongst the secular clergy, by taking away several benefices from monasteries, and giving them to poor clerics anxious to study theology. The system of **Collegiate churches** was introduced under David II., as a benefical substitute, some

suppose, for monasteries, and many were built or converted in following reigns, among which were Rosslyn Chapel, St. Nicholas', Aberdeen, and St. Giles', Edinburgh. And it was during this period that three of the four **Scottish Universities** were founded, St. Andrews (1410), Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495), all of them by bishops who were also Scotsmen, Henry Wardlaw, William Turnbull, and William Elphinstone.

The name of **Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen,** is still revered by his countrymen as that of one of the wisest and best of Scotsmen. He represents, indeed, all that was best in the mediæval Church, both as a bishop, a scholar, and a man of affairs. The whole aim of his pure and devoted life was to secure the highest welfare of the Church and the nation. Born in the diocese of Glasgow, the son of a priest, he was one of the first students who entered the University at which in later days so eminent men as Cardinal Beaton, John Knox, and John Spottiswoode were taught. After studying and teaching abroad, he returned to hold different distinguished posts in the diocese of Glasgow, among them that of Rector of the University. His services as a statesman were soon valued in Parliament, and he was Chancellor of Scotland under James III. He was employed also on various diplomatic errands by that monarch and his successor. In 1483 he was nominated (but not consecrated) to the see of Ross, from which he was translated to Aberdeen, where his memory is still venerated as that of 'good Bishop Elphinstone.' The historic 'Brig of Balgownie' which, as a true pontifex, he built, still spans the river Don, and it was largely through his efforts that printing was introduced into Scotland, and the *Aberdeen Breviary* published as the first instalment of a national version of the Sarum liturgy. But his greatest work was the foundation of Aberdeen University, which had the merit of possessing the first chair of medicine in Scotland, and of making special provision for poor students. He died, after declining the primacy of St. Andrews, the year after Flodden, from the shock of which he never recovered.

An earlier ecclesiastic of kindred soul was **Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews,** the founder of St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews University (1450), and the trusted adviser of James II., whose relation he was. A lover of peace, he

strove to reconcile belligerent nobles at home, and to bring about a termination to the papal schism on the Continent, which was producing disastrous effects in Scotland as elsewhere. The description of his personal character is entirely favourable, even George Buchanan declaring that he excelled all his predecessors and successors in the see, and praising his zeal for reform.

Other names of the period are memorable in the history of literature: *John of Fordun*, chaplain in Aberdeen Cathedral, and author of *Scotichronicon*; *John Barbour*, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, known chiefly by his poem *The Bruce*; *Andrew of Winton*, prior of Lochleven, writer of *The Origynale Chronykil of Scotland* in Scottish verse; and *Hector Boece*, first principal of Aberdeen University, and most untrustworthy of historians.

In the reign of James III. **St. Andrews was made an archbishopric** (1472), and twenty years later a like honour was conferred on Glasgow, when James IV. was king. Whatever may be said as to the value of archbishoprics elsewhere, Scotland might with advantage have remained as she was with her annual Conservator, for the new development brought her neither peace nor strength. The continual and violent rivalries, that existed between the two archiepiscopal sees till the Reformation, were a source of weakness to the Church, and made her an object of derision to her enemies. The contentions between Scheves, the second Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Blackader, the first of Glasgow, were so bitter and virulent, that Parliament had eventually to interfere between the contentious prelates, and keep the peace.

Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop of St. Andrews, got little comfort from his dignity. Although Rome had again and again been vainly asked to sanction a Scottish primacy, yet when Pope Sixtus IV. granted the boon, with pall and cross, to Graham, a storm of opposition arose on the part of king and nobles and bishops alike. The Archbishops of York and Drontheim protested, and the Bishop of Aberdeen managed to secure from the pope exemption from Graham's authority. Eventually Graham was accused by his enemies (led by William Scheves, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and second archbishop) of simony and a multitude of other offences. A nuncio was sent to report, and eventually

Graham was deposed, degraded from his orders, and condemned to imprisonment for life in a monastery as an obstinate heretic and schismatic. The story is a strange one, and has given rise to theories as opposite as those which still attach to a later Graham of the same ilk, who is at the same time the 'bloody Clavers' of the Presbyterian, and the 'Bonnie Dundee' of the Episcopalian. Without doubt, however, Patrick Graham was insane, as a perusal of the nuncio's report will show. There is not the slightest ground for the idea that he was a mediæval 'Protestant.'

CHAPTER V

THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

THE accession of James v. (1513-1542), at the tender age of two years, marks the beginning of the end of things for the mediæval Church. The current of events sets more swiftly towards the final cataclysm, and amidst scenes of intrigue, violence, and disaffection, the nation is growingly prepared for the sudden and sweeping changes that the future holds unseen in her grasp.

The king's infant days saw some strange sights. The great feud between the houses of Angus and Arran dominated the history of the country. Strife raged over the benefices left vacant at Flodden and after. Cadets of the great families were involving their kindred in warlike operations over the ecclesiastical spoil. Gawain Douglas, the witty poet-provost of St. Giles, and the first British translator of the *Æneid*, seized and fortified the castle of St. Andrews, by way of establishing his claim to the vacant archbishopric. There he was besieged by a militant rival, Prior Hepburn, while a third and more politic candidate, Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, carried off the prize from both. So it was throughout the land. 'Every man takes up abbacies that may please; they tarry not till benefices be vacant, they take them ere they fall, for they lose virtue if they touch ground'—so wrote in 1513 James Inglis, the chaplain to the royal mother, Margaret Tudor.

Now appeared for the first time the teachings of Martin Luther in Scotland. We have seen how it fared with the disciples of Wycliffe and Hus. The influence of Lollardism had been circumscribed, though real; but now Protestantism comes pouring in from the Continent—a flood that cannot

be stayed. In 1525 we find the Scottish Parliament forbidding the introduction of Lutheran books, but in vain. They were, in defiance of all penalties, smuggled into the eastern ports, so that Aberdeen, Dundee, Leith, and especially St. Andrews, became infected with Lutheran teaching. And in 1528 appeared **Patrick Hamilton** as a teacher of Luther's doctrines, speedily to be thrown to the flames—the first Scottish martyr of the Reformation.

Hamilton was of noble blood, a scion of the house of Arran, born in 1505 to Sir Patrick Hamilton, who was slain fifteen years later in the famous Edinburgh street fight between the parties of Arran and Angus called 'Cleanse the Causeway.' The future martyr became, when a mere boy, abbot *in commendam* of Fearne, in Ross-shire; his duties being, as customary, confined to the drawing of the revenues. He studied abroad amidst the ferment of the new ideas at Paris and Louvain, and returned to Scotland a youth of great promise. Entering St. Andrews University, he studied theology, and perhaps taught, showing his proficiency in music by the composition of a mass for the cathedral choir, of which he was precentor. Eventually his Lutheran proclivities became dangerous to himself, and he retired to the Continent in 1527, where at Wittenberg he made the acquaintance of the Reformers, Luther and Melanchthon. At the Protestant university of Marburg he met Tyndale, the translator of the Bible, as well as other notable men, and it was there that he composed his only work, entitled '**Commonplaces**,' familiarly known as '**Patrick's Pleas**.' These were a short series of pithy propositions, explanatory of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and they played an important part in the development of Protestant theology both in Scotland and England. Returning to Scotland once more in 1528, he was eventually seized and condemned as a heretic by Archbishop James Beaton at St. Andrews. His long and painful sufferings at the stake were borne with great constancy, and excited deep and wide sympathy in Scotland, for 'the reek of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it did blaw.'

Thus began that misguided **policy of persecution** which did more than anything else to stir up hatred against the Church. Aless (Alesius), a canon of St. Andrews and a convert of Hamilton's, managed to escape from Scotland, as

did Gavin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's College, whose Lutheran tendencies had defiled 'St. Leonard's well,' George Buchanan, the historian, and John M'Alpine (Macabæus). But many stayed to perish by the faggot, both laymen, monks, and priests. Henry Forrest, David Stratilon, and Norman Gourlay perished in 1534; Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar and Canon of Inchcolm, in 1539, with two Dominicans, Keillor and Beveridge, a priest named Simson, and a layman, Robert Forrester. Keillor had written a play which was performed before the king and court at Stirling, in which the bishops were satirised as the Scribes and Pharisees who persecuted Christ. This sad work continued during this and the following reigns down to 1558 when Walter Mylne, Vicar of Lunan, the last victim of the pre-Reformation Church, was burned at St. Andrews, at the age of eighty-two. This was twelve years after the death of that notable martyr, George Wishart, whose fate will be referred to again later.

It is easy for us to condemn the folly and wickedness of these cruel measures, for we live in vastly different times. But it ought in justice to be remembered that the Reformers were imbued with no more Christian spirit to their opponents when their turn of power came. 'They held that to teach heresy, to say mass, and even to celebrate the sacraments in what they considered an irregular manner, were crimes worthy of death. Like their Catholic adversaries and their contemporaries of all parties, they were persecutors on principle, and it is evident that they would have been persecutors also in practice had not divine providence mercifully withheld them from the power of acting out their theories and vested it in other hands, which, in their opinion, did the work of the Lord too negligently. The Lords of the Congregation by their lukewarmness and worldly policy saved the character of the Reformed Church of Scotland, so that it enjoys the rare and blessed distinction of being a Church from the beginning unstained, or almost unstained with blood.'[1] The days of religious toleration were indeed far distant, and bitter persecution for the faith was yet to be suffered both by Presbyterian and Episcopalian at one another's hands.

[1] *The Clerical Profession.* An Address to the Theological Classes in Edinburgh University. Robert Lee, D.D., 1866.

The attitude of King James to the reforming movement was enigmatical. He was quite alive to the unsatisfactory state of ecclesiastical affairs, and threatened the unworthy prelates that, unless they reformed their own lives and those of their clergy, he would send six of the proudest of them to be dealt with by his uncle, Henry VIII., in England. He encouraged the literary attacks of George Buchanan and David Lyndsay on the clergy, which did more to bring on the Reformation than the preaching of John Knox, yet he raised no hand to stay the process of bleeding the old Church to death. Five of his illegitimate children were abbots or priors, the eldest of them, James, afterwards 'Regent Moray,' becoming prior of the wealthy monastery of St. Andrews at the age of seven. He refused, it is true, to follow the example of his uncle, Henry VIII., in forcibly despoiling the monasteries; but his hands were full enough with the task of subduing his nobles, and the clergy, ever patriotic, were his best friends, whom he could not afford to alienate. Thus, when a wise head and a strong hand might have still saved the old Church from drifting on to the rocks, James did nothing, and dying, still a young man, at Falkland Castle, broken-hearted by the disgrace of Solway Moss, he bequeathed to his newly-born child, the hapless Mary, a heritage of sorrow. On being told on his deathbed that 'ane fair dochter' had been born to him in Linlithgow Palace, he is said to have muttered, 'It came with a lass and it will go with a lass,' alluding to the royal succession of the Stuarts through Marjory, Bruce's daughter. Thus, amidst sorrow and disaster, opened the sad reign of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Swift advantage was taken of the change in affairs. The primate, Cardinal David Beaton, of whom more anon, was thrown into prison in the course of the contest for the regency of Scotland, and during his absence a short-lived movement toward reform took place. Parliament took a step which was never recalled, in sanctioning the use of the English Bible (1543). Riots took place at Dundee, then and afterwards a stronghold of the new opinions, and for the first time the hands of the people were raised against the monasteries. The abbey of Lindores was destroyed, as were also the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries in Dundee itself. Not all the work of destruction, however,

was done by Scottish hands. Two years later than this, the Earl of Hertford led the army of Henry VIII. across the border and sacked and burned the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh, along with other monastic houses, and a multitude of churches, forts, towns, and villages. Two years later still, in the reign of Edward VI., the same redoubtable leader, now Duke of Somerset, sacked the abbey of Holyrood.

Now, as never before, **the political relations of Scotland with England and France** become entwined with her ecclesiastical affairs. Since the days of Bruce, England, 'the auld enemy,' had been feared and hated in Scotland, and France had become, especially since the time of William the Lion, Scotland's natural ally. But now the progress of the Reformation caused a cleavage of national feeling, more and more marked as time went on. Those who favoured reform began to look to a reformed England for help, while the conservative party clung to France. When the crisis of the Reformation came this was strikingly the case. The battle was as much one between the forces of England and France as between the reforming nobles and the party of the unreformed Church. And the clergy were as unhesitatingly on the side of national independence as they had been in the days of Bruce. They contributed large sums for the war against Henry, and marched to the battlefield of Pinkie Cleuch in 1547. Cardinal Beaton, whatever his personal faults were, was the last great champion of the ancient national policy of Scotland. In accordance with that policy the little six years old queen was in 1548 despatched to France in order to find safety in marriage with the Dauphin.

Two important events now fall to be recorded, tragic precursors of the Reformation: the martyrdom of George Wishart in 1546, and the assassination of Beaton less than three months later.

George Wishart was of the family of the Wisharts of Pitarrow, near Montrose. The date of his birth is uncertain, as are many of the incidents of his life. It has been conjectured that he attended King's College, Aberdeen, and one authority states that he taught Greek at Montrose. About 1538 a Scotsman of his name, engaged in lecturing at Bristol, was convicted of heresy, in denying the merits of Christ, and recanted. Whether this was the martyr or

not is a matter of controversy. After this date he visited probably both Germany and Switzerland, and on returning translated the 'Helvetic Confession' of the Swiss Congregation. About 1543 we find him at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. One of his pupils there has left a graphic portrait of his character and appearance. He was 'black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn. . . . He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, for his charity had never end night, hour, nor day.' We may well hesitate to identify a man of such lofty character with the George Wishart who was one of the conspirators who plotted the murder of Cardinal Beaton. Knox, Wishart's disciple, makes merry, it is true, over that tragedy; but it has been shown, not only that the martyr's name was a common one, but that a merchant of Dundee who bore it had dealings with these same plotters.

Wishart came back to Scotland about 1544 and preached in different places until the date of his arrest. When the plague was raging at Dundee he hurried thither, not only to encourage the whole by his preaching, but also to labour amongst the sick and dying. Eventually he arrived at Haddington, where John Knox first appears on the scene, hearing, appropriately enough, a two-handed sword before Wishart. The Earl of Bothwell seized the Reformer, who ordered Knox not to accompany him, and the end came within three months. Wishart was tried at St. Andrews on eighteen heretical tenets, and burned at the stake on the 1st of March 1546, after being hanged. Knox avers that Beaton and the Archbishop of Glasgow were lookers on, all unaware of the terrible vengeance that was to overtake the former on the 29th of May, at the hands of John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, Norman Leslie, young Kirkaldy of Grange, and others.

The character and career of **David Beaton** were alike remarkable. Possessed of brilliant gifts of mind and manner, and of a remarkable power of ascendency over others, he stands out as the strongest, if also most unscrupulous, man of his day. Born in 1494, and educated at St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Paris, he quickly rose to eminence. The highest honours in Church and State were

showered upon him. The king of France made him Bishop of Mirepoix in 1537, the pope made him a cardinal soon after, and in 1539 he succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, as Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was Chancellor of Scotland in 1543, and at that date he became proto-notary apostolic and legate *a latere*. His education and abilities fitted him for the frequent and important embassies on which he was engaged. He kept James v. from acting in concert with his uncle, Henry VIII., in religious reform, and till his death he was the opponent most dreaded and hated by the English king, who stooped so low as to intrigue with his enemies for his murder. Cardinal Beaton was surprised by his murderers in his castle at St. Andrews early in the morning of May 29, 1546. He was stabbed until life was extinct, and then his body was hung over the wall of the castle and shamefully insulted. As a zealous persecutor, and especially as the man who was peculiarly responsible for the death of George Wishart, he has gained little veneration from his countrymen. His private life was of no edifying character. An illegitimate son of his was the recipient of Church lands in 1549, and only a short time before his death he was present at the marriage of one of his daughters, whom he dowered heavily out of the patrimony of the Church. A verse attributed to David Lyndsay sums up the opinion of most Scotsmen as to the cardinal's death—

> 'Although the loon is well away,
> The deed was foully done.'

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION (1560)

In order to understand aright the Scottish Reformation, and still more the post-Reformation history of Scotland, it must be borne in mind that there were two classes of Reformers in Scotland, as elsewhere,—the moderate men and the ultra-Protestant party. Too often this fact, which alone explains the striking vicissitudes of Scottish Church history from now onwards, is ignored or forgotten. The result is that to the present day the generality of Scotsmen look upon a certain set of religious and ecclesiastical ideas as peculiarly Scottish; while another set, just as genuinely and deeply imbedded in the national life and character, is branded as alien and exotic. As it turned out, indeed, the predominant party at the actual crisis was that of the extreme Protestants, with John Knox as their spokesman; but both before, during, and after the Reformation there was a body of catholic-minded Scotsmen who, while they saw with more or less clearness that change was inevitable and necessary, were anxious to walk in the old paths as far as might be, and to purify the Church without compassing her utter ruin. The rapacious nobles, however, who saw in the Church's ruin their own great gain, were the men who in the last resort held the balance of power in their hands, and they naturally favoured extreme measures until their ends were served. Then, as we have seen, they favoured more moderate views, to Knox's bitter disgust.

Of these moderate men may be named John Erskine, laird of Dun, the most prominent layman of the Reformation, a superintendent and Moderator of Assembly in the Reformed Kirk, who as late as 1584 obtained a royal

dispensation to eat flesh in Lent and on forbidden days,[1] in consideration of his weak health at seventy-six years; **Winram**, the sub-prior of the monastery of St. Andrews, whom George Wishart sent for that he might make his confession to him before his execution, and the reputed author of Hamilton's Catechism. He also became a superintendent of the Reformed Kirk, and was entrusted, along with **Maitland of Lethington** (a more equivocal member of the moderate party), with the revision of the first Confession of Faith, in which they softened 'the austeritie of maynie words and sentences which seemed to proceed rather of some evil-conceived opinion than of any sound judgment';[2] **Ninian Winzet**, priest and schoolmaster in Linlithgow, a staunch champion of the old order, who yet spared not to lash the vices of the degenerate prelates and clergy, and hoped for a reformation from within the Church itself; and **Quintin Kennedy**, Abbot of Crossraguel, an equally able and vigorous defender of the old state of things. Of an earlier period may be mentioned **John Major**, the great scholar of St. Andrews, the teacher of Knox and Buchanan; **Gavin Logie**, the Principal of St. Leonard's; **Robert Richardson**, a canon-regular of Cambuskenneth; and **Alexander Seaton**, a Dominican friar. Major, the most famous teacher of his day in Scotland, held advanced liberal ideas. He opposed the absolute supremacy of popes and the theory of the divine right of kings. He was unsparing in his rebukes of licentious clergy and indolent monks, but stopped short of any change of doctrine.

The moderate party found no historian of their efforts, as the root-and-branch school did in the person of John Knox (whose *History of the Reformation* is of very high literary quality), but their influence can be traced in the records of the Provincial Councils, which pathetically repeat time after time the same tale of futile prohibitions, readily accepted by those assembled in council, but disregarded by the real offenders. It is striking to notice how these vain efforts continue right up to the last moment, until moderate reform is seen to be hopeless, and the moderate men stand

[1] Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. See 5th Report of Historical MSS. Commission, p. 640.

[2] Randolph to Cecil, 7th September 1560.

aside, and leave the field free for the extremists, with John Knox at their head. The Council of 1552, for instance, was prevailed upon to sanction the compilation of an exposition of the Church's doctrines in the Scottish tongue. It is known as **Hamilton's Catechism**, because published by Archbishop Hamilton, but its reputed author, as already mentioned, is Winram. The document is a remarkable one as coming from an unreformed branch of the Church. It contains no reference whatever to the see of Rome, nor to the pope's office, nor to purgatory, nor indulgences. Its exposition of the ten commandments is full and earnest, and contains some plain speaking on the sins of bishops and priests. There are also explanations of the Apostles' Creed, the seven Sacraments, and the Lord's Prayer, the invocation of Saints, and prayer for the departed. The Hail Mary is given in its shorter form, without the suffrage for the Blessed Virgin's prayers. Altogether it is an important testimony to the wisdom and influence of the party of moderate reform, and its spirit resembles that of the first English prayer-book of Edward VI. It was largely based upon the 'Enchiridion' drawn up by the theologian Gropper, at the instance of Hermann, the reforming Archbishop of Cologne.

The existence of this party of catholic reform is also remarkably evidenced in the proceedings of the **last Provincial Council**, which met in Edinburgh in 1559. **Certain articles of Reformation** were submitted by influential laymen, in which some very reasonable requests were made—the services to be in the vulgar tongue, the nobility and gentry of each diocese to have a voice in the election of the bishops, and the parishioners in the appointment of parish priests, the removal of those unfit for the pastoral office, and their places to be taken by qualified men. A remonstrance was also presented of similar import, asking for reform in various directions, but stipulating that no change should be made in the rules and ceremonies of the Church, until further order should be taken by the sovereign and the ministers of the Church.

Here, at the last moment, **a chance was given to reform and yet save the Church**, but it was lost. The imminent nature of the crisis was not realised, and a half-hearted reply was given. A series of canons, largely on the old

familiar lines, was enacted, and the Council dissolved to meet again next year. But it never met again. The policy of moderate reform was now to be superseded by the violent and destructive methods of fanatic zeal. The long pent up forces of destruction were now to be let loose upon the Church. Within a few days after the close of the Council, **John Knox**, summoned months before from Geneva by the reforming nobles, styled the Lords of the Congregation, had sailed from Dieppe for Leith, and when he arrived on the 2nd of May, he found Scotland in the throes of its Reformation.

It will be seen from the foregoing account how fallacious is **the popular belief** that the Scottish Reformation was **solely or mainly the work of John Knox**. The words of Dr. Cunningham, the Presbyterian historian, may with advantage be quoted here:—'Knox was unquestionably a great instrument in effecting the Reformation; but we are inclined to regard the preacher as an instrument in the hands of the barons, rather than the barons as instruments in the hands of the preacher. Knox had but to preach, surrounded by his powerful patrons, and his words were like sledge-hammers, beating down abbeys, images, and altars. Priests, friars, nuns, were scattered like chaff before the breath of his nostrils. He had but to draw up a Confession of Faith, and the parliament with acclamations received it. But when he differed from the nobles, he became weak as another man. When he suggested a truly wise application of the revenues of the Church, he was treated with derision and contempt. He could pull down the old house, but he could not, as he would, build up the new.'[1]

To put Knox in his proper relation to the Reformation is not to detract from **his real greatness**, which is testified to no less by the extreme dislike of some, than by the excessive admiration of others, during the four and a half centuries that have elapsed since his lifetime. He was without doubt one of Scotland's great sons, of incorruptible character, unflinchingly devoted to the cause of what he believed to be the only true form of religion, one of the most eloquent and fervid preachers of his age, a man endowed with quite remarkable powers of personal influence over others. He

[1] *Church History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 279 (2nd ed.).

had his faults like other men. He was narrow, bitter, and intolerant towards those who saw things in another light than he did himself. His treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots, was, if his own account be true, the reverse of chivalrous. He would gladly have emulated Cardinal Beaton in persecuting zeal. His *History* reveals in his character a certain vain-gloriousness, far removed from humility, and he was a past master in the use of coarse and vituperative language. He showed, on occasion, a timidity, and a regard to his personal safety, which somewhat belie the reputed words of Regent Morton at his funeral, 'Here lies one who never feared the face of man.' But he is not to be judged altogether by the standards of a later and more fortunate age. Strong language, strong passions, and strong measures were the characteristic of Knox's day and generation, and those who differ most from his principles need not withhold a tribute of admiration for his character, merely because it contained in an intense degree many of the typical features of the Reformation period. And to his great credit let it be remembered that, instrumental as he was in the destruction of the old system, his hands were unsullied by the Church's spoils. He remained, till the end of his life, a comparatively poor man.

The story of Knox's life, up to the year 1560, is one of singular vicissitude. Born, it would appear, in 1505, at or near Haddington, of a yeoman family, Knox entered Glasgow University on St. Crispin's Day in 1522, probably attracted thither, in preference to St. Andrews, by the fame of John Major, himself born near Haddington. In documents of 1540-3 his name appears as 'Sir' John Knox, a 'minister of the holy altar,' and a notary. In his *History* Knox never alludes to his life as a cleric of the unreformed Church. He appears as engaged in tuition when he attaches himself to George Wishart, and after Beaton's death he with his pupils joined the assassins who held St. Andrews castle. There, in that strange and unruly company, Knox began to preach, being called thereto by John Rough, another preacher.

Eventually the castle was taken, with French assistance, and Knox and many others were taken to France as galley slaves. This bitter experience did much to harden Knox's

heart against the Church, but he had joined the castle rebels with his eyes open to the possible consequences of his action. Eventually he was released, it is said on the intercession of the boy king Edward VI., and came to England. There he was employed as a licensed preacher in Berwick, Newcastle, and London, and distinguished himself as an extreme member of what afterwards became the Puritan party, with a special animosity against the custom of kneeling to communicate. Appointed a royal chaplain, he came up to London and made a violent attack upon this custom, just as the second prayer-book of Edward VI. (1552) was passing through the press. Doubtless there were powerful personages behind Knox, for the publication of the prayer-book was delayed, and eventually the Privy Council, on their own authority, inserted the famous 'Black Rubric' on kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion. It is often claimed that Knox had a share in the revision, and even in the compilation, of the English Prayer-book, but there is no evidence that his influence was more than as above stated. As one of the king's chaplains he was entrusted with the revision of the 45 articles, afterwards published as 42 in 1553, and the omission of the words in one of them, approving of the *ceremonies* of the 1552 Prayer-book, was the result of his continued attack on kneeling reception. Within a month after the publication of the articles Edward VI. had died, and Knox had fled to the Continent. He had previously been offered the bishopric of Rochester, but had declined it, owing, as he said at the time, to his 'foresight of evils to come.'

On the Continent his experiences were not lacking in stormy episode. After ministering to the Protestants at Dieppe he travelled through France and Switzerland, and finally settled at Frankfort-on-Maine as one of the pastors of the refugees. There strife arose between the Coxians (followers of Dr. Cox) and the Knoxians over the use of the English Prayer-book, which Knox bitterly opposed, and in the end Knox had to leave Frankfort and settle under Calvin at Geneva, where he remained, except during a visit to the Reformers in Scotland in 1555-6, till his final return home in 1559. At Geneva he published various fiery pamphlets, urging on the work of Reformation, notably the First and Second Blasts 'of the trumpet against the

monstrous regiment [*i.e.* government] of women,' which not only offended Queen Elizabeth, but called forth some strong condemnatory language from Calvin.

Such was the character of the man who now stepped into the front rank of the Reformers. During his previous sojourn with them in 1555-6 his influence among them had been so great as to get them to refrain from going any more to mass, or taking any part in Church services. This **policy of separation from the Church** was what in the end led to the rupture of 1560. The year after Knox's return to Geneva, a number of the most influential of the nobles and gentry favourable to reformation decided, in consequence of a letter from Knox stirring them up to more zeal, upon forming a union for the purpose of enforcing the realisation of their principles. According to a familiar Scottish custom, they bound themselves by a solemn engagement or 'bond' to support 'the Lord's Congregation' and to renounce forthwith 'the Congregation of Satan.' Hence they came to be called **the Lords of the Congregation**. After meeting frequently in council they adopted two resolutions:—first, that in all the parish kirks the book of 'Common Prayer' be used on Sundays and other holy days, by the curates or other qualified persons; and second, that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be given in private houses to small gatherings, until liberty be given to 'faithful and true ministers' to preach in public. The Prayer-book meant was, without doubt, the English one of 1552, as far as the offices for morning and evening prayer. Of course, it would only have been used in the districts under the protection of the reforming lords, but it continued their prayer-book until superseded by Knox's Book of Common Order.

The inevitable **conflict with the Government**, at the head of which was Mary of Guise, queen-mother and now regent, was not long delayed. A few weeks after the close of the Provincial Council already alluded to, about Easter 1559, a proclamation was issued forbidding any person to preach or administer the Sacraments, except with Episcopal authority. The Reformers paid no heed to this order, and several of the preachers were summoned to appear before the Justiciary Court at Stirling on May 10. The Lords of

the Congregation now determined to support their ministers openly, and assembled in strong force at Perth, where they were joined by John Knox, whose arrival was like the application of a spark to a barrel of gunpowder.

While the leaders of the Congregation were negotiating with the regent at Stirling, Knox and the other preachers were occupying the pulpits to some purpose. One day, after Knox had been preaching in the **Church of St. John the Baptist** a rousing sermon against idolatry, a priest opened a tabernacle on the high altar, preparatory to saying mass. The result was disastrous. A youth cried out 'This is intolerable, that when God in His word hath plainly condemned idolatry, we should stand by and see it used in despite.' The priest struck the youth, a stone was thrown, an image was smashed, and immediately the work of ruin began, and did not cease until every ornament in the church had been destroyed. The rabble of the town soon collected, and for two days destroyed and plundered the Dominican, Franciscan, and Carthusian monasteries, until, of the beautiful ecclesiastical buildings which had given to Perth the title of 'the fair city,' only the bare walls were left. In his *History* Knox seeks to lay the blame of this pitiable work upon 'the rascal multitude,' but a private letter of his is extant (*Works*, vi. 23) in which he tells a different story. 'Deceit being spied, *the brethren sought the next remedy.* And first . . . they put their hands to reformation in St. Johnstoun [*i.e.* Perth], when the places of idolatry of Grey and Black Friars, and of Charter House monks, were made level with the ground, . . . *and priests commanded on pain of death to desist from their blasphemous mass.*' This letter was written to a Mrs. Locke soon after the occurrence, and when the time for writing the *History* came, either Knox's memory, or his desire for absolute veracity, seems to have failed him. That he makes no mention of the threat of death to the priests is significant, but intelligible.

The work of destruction thus begun soon spread through the land. Wherever Knox preached, at Crail, Anstruther, St. Andrews, and elsewhere, he left a trail of ruin behind him. The abbeys of Lindores and Balmerino, Cambuskenneth, Dunfermline, and many others were plundered, and that of Scone was burned, in spite of the efforts of Knox and the Lords of the Congregation. In Edinburgh and

Glasgow, Paisley and Kilwinning the same work went on. And behind all the flame and fury of the mobs the reforming nobles were quietly annexing the possessions of the Church, and bringing upon the Scottish Reformation an ineffaceable stain. Knox found this out later on, when he tried to secure that the possessions of the Church should still serve spiritual ends. 'I see,' he said, 'two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil.'

A check now came to the Congregation in the shape of **additional troops from France**, where Mary's husband, Francis, had become king. A papal legate also arrived, with three doctors from the Sorbonne, famous for learning. Waverers were recovered, and in November 1559 the same populace which had sacked Holyrood joined in pelting and hooting the Reformers as they left Edinburgh. So much for the *people's* share in the Scottish Reformation.

One hope only now remained, to invoke the aid of the 'auld enemy' in the person of Queen Elizabeth. Knox was personally objectionable to the Maiden Queen, but aid was sent in the end. **The treaty of Berwick**, in which, curiously enough, no allusion was made to religion, was adjusted in 1560, and by dint of English money, English arms, and an English fleet, the Scottish Reformers were enabled to wage war with the Regent and her Scottish and French forces. It was a strange phase of the Reformation, and ended by the **death of the queen-regent** in Edinburgh Castle. The task had been too much for her, and on her deathbed she attempted to reconcile the leading nobles on both sides, asking forgiveness of all whom she had offended, and advising them to send away both English and French troops. The pathos of her end was heightened by the intolerance of the again triumphant Reformers. To comfort her last moments they sent her the preacher Willock, who harangued her on the superstition of the mass, and when she died they refused to allow burial according to her Church's rites. After four months' delay, her body was sent to France, and buried in the abbey of St. Peter at Rheims.

The Reformers, now predominant in Scotland, did not long delay matters. **The treaty of Edinburgh**, July 8, 1560, ended the war, and stipulated that the questions

concerning religion should be settled by a meeting of Parliament, beginning on the 1st of August, subject to the confirmation of Queen Mary and her husband. Ministers were appointed to the chief towns: Knox to Edinburgh, Goodman to St. Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, Methven to Jedburgh, Christison to Dundee, Ferguson to Dunfermline, and Lindsay to Perth. Superintendents were also appointed to the charge of various districts, to administer discipline and further the spread of the Reformed ideas—Willock to Glasgow, Erskine, laird of Dun, to Angus and Mearns, Carsewell to Argyll and the Isles, Spottiswood, father of the future archbishop, to Lothian, Winram to Fife. The names of these towns and districts indicate the area of Scotland in which it was safe to send Reformed ministers as yet.

The want of confirmation by Mary and Francis of the stipulation as to the **assembling of Parliament**, did not prevent that event taking place on the date appointed. There were many nobles present, very many of the landed gentry, and not many of the ecclesiastics. Several of the lords, spiritual and temporal, declined to attend, and their numbers were fewer still after the question of the legality of the meeting had been brushed aside by the majority. This must be taken into account when we condemn the ignominious defence made by the representatives of the old Church, as also the fact that many of the spiritual peers were merely lay commendators, whose hands were full of Church plunder. Yet it was an ignominious end to the old order of things. The prelates sat dumb and helpless when the petition from barons, gentlemen, and burgesses was presented, craving, in the coarsest language, reformation in doctrine, discipline, the administration of the Sacraments, the power of the pope, and the patrimony of the Church. Only when the *Confession of Faith* was to be voted on did they venture to plead for delay. The Earl Marischal gave utterance to what must have been felt both by their friends and their foes: 'Seeing that my Lords the bishops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they should bear to the verity would, as I suppose, gainsay anything that directly impugns the verity of God; seeing, I say, my Lords the bishops speak nothing to the contrary of the doctrine proposed, I cannot but hold it to

be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine. And yet more, I must vote, as it were by way of protestation, that if any persons ecclesiastical shall after this oppose themselves to this our Confession, they have no place or credit, considering that they, having long advisement and full knowledge of this our Confession, none is now found in this lawful, free, and quiet Parliament to oppose themselves to that which we profess.' 'Dumb dogs,' Knox had delighted to call the bishops, and they well earned the epithet on that 17th day of August 1560.

Seven days later the pope's authority and jurisdiction in Scotland were abolished, all former Acts of Parliament contrary to the Confession and God's word were rescinded, and the administration of the Sacraments was restricted to those admitted to that effect, mass being forbidden under penalty of confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third.

Thus ingloriously passed away the mediæval Church in Scotland, unable to raise one brave word of defence or testimony, with no one bishop or priest ready to lay down his life on her behalf, sinking into the dust of oblivion, dishonoured, disinherited, and undone.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT

THE break with the past was now an accomplished fact. The party of extreme reform had triumphed, as completely as that of moderate reform had failed. But now both were united in a common effort to supply the place of the old Church by a new ecclesiastical system of doctrine, discipline, and worship. This system was inevitably one of a provisional character, equally fitted to develop either into a reformed Episcopal or a Presbyterian system. It certainly was not Episcopal, for it lacked the threefold ministry, and it no less clearly was not Presbyterian, for its ministers were not all of equal authority. Its character may be gathered from a brief survey of the three great Reformation documents: the Confession of Faith, the First Book of Discipline, and the Book of Common Order.

I. **The Confession of Faith** was, as we have seen, presented to the Reforming Parliament and sanctioned. Its moderate tone was probably due to revision by Winram and Maitland of Lethington. It remained the standard of doctrine in the Scottish Church *both in Presbyterian and Episcopal times*, from 1560 down to 1647, when it was superseded by the Westminster Confession. It contains twenty-five chapters, dealing mainly, first, with *the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity*, and the *Incarnation*, and the great facts concerning our Lord; then with *the Church*, defined as a company of faithful men who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus, its only Head, and having as its 'notes' (1) the true preaching of the word, (2) the right administration of the Sacraments, and (3) ecclesiastical

discipline uprightly ministered; then with the *Sacraments*, two in number, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, which are emphatically declared to be more than 'naked and bare signs'; then with the *Civil Magistrates*, to be honoured as God's vicegerents, and to whom chiefly pertains the reformation of religion.

II. The **First Book of Discipline** was compiled by the authors of the Confession, viz. Knox, Winram, Spottiswoode, Willock, Row, and John Douglas. It was not so enthusiastically received as the Confession had been, when it was presented to a Convention of Nobles in 1561. Many signed it, but the majority scoffed at it as a 'devout imagination,' for amongst its provisions there was the restoration of Church property—an unpalatable subject to them.

It is divided into nine heads, of which the first provides for the preaching of the Gospel as contained both in the Old and the New Testament, and the abolition of vows of chastity, fasting days, prayer for the dead, and festivals of Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification, and other feasts of our Lady.

The second deals with the administration of the two sacraments. In Baptism water alone is to be used, and sitting is prescribed as the posture for reception of the Holy Communion. The denial of the cup is condemned.

The third ordered the suppression of idolatry and all the monuments thereof, such as abbeys, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, and colleges, other than those used as churches or schools, and excepting also the palaces, mansions, and dwelling-places thereto, with the gardens and orchards.

The fourth head describes the lawful election of ministers. Vocation consists in Election, Examination, and Admission. 'Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve that church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary.' Readers are to be provided in churches where no ministers may be had.

Under the fifth head came the provision for the ministers, and the distribution of the rents and possessions of the Church. Superintendents were to receive more than ministers, and ministers than readers. The readers were inferior, and the superintendents superior to the ordinary ministers. These **superintendents** were to exercise a certain diocesan oversight over the ten dioceses into which the whole of Scotland was now divided for ecclesiastical purposes. These ten dioceses took the place of the old thirteen mediæval ones, and the superintendents were to have their chief residence, as far as possible, at the Episcopal cities of the old bishops. The dioceses of Orkney and Caithness became one, while Aberdeen, Brechin, and Argyll remained much as before, but Ross absorbed Moray, and St. Andrews, now called the diocese of Fife, included Dunkeld and Dunblane (while parting with a district practically identical with the modern diocese of Edinburgh), Glasgow was divided into two dioceses, northerly and southerly (Jedburgh), and Galloway appears under the superintendent of Dumfries. It is interesting to note that several of these features are still represented in the modern system of Episcopal dioceses in Scotland, the most notable being that of the existence of a separate diocese of Edinburgh.

Under this head provision was also made for **education.** Every parish was to have its school, every large town its college or grammar-school, while the three universities were to be liberally endowed. With regard to the poor, it was enacted that the able-bodied should be compelled to work, and that the aged and infirm should return to their native parishes and there be provided for.

The sixth head claimed the rents and patrimony of the Church for the above purposes. 'To our grief we hear that some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the tithes and other duties paid before to the Church than ever the papists were, and so the tyranny of the priests is turned into the tyranny of lord or laird.'

The seventh head concerns the censuring of offenders. Excommunication was to be as rigorous as in mediæval times. No eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting or conferring with the excommunicated one was to be permitted, except by licence of the ministry.

The eighth head related to the election and duties of

Elders and Deacons, while the ninth dealt with the 'Policy' of the Kirk in its services and discipline. Amongst other things, we read that the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated quarterly, and that at burials neither reading, singing, nor praying over or for the dead was to be practised.

III. The **Book of Common Order** was substantially the same as that compiled at Geneva by Knox and others, and published in 1556. It is mentioned several times in the Book of Discipline, and it gradually supplanted the English Prayer-book of 1552. The services were simple in character, but the officiant was not free to follow his own devices. The ordinary service began with confession of sin by the minister alone; then came a psalm, an extempore prayer, and the sermon, followed by prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, the Lord's Prayer, another short prayer, the Apostles' Creed, another psalm, and the benediction. Kneeling was the posture of prayer, and standing that of praise. On Sundays the first service was at 8 A.M., and in the afternoon Calvin's catechism was taught to the young.

There were also forms for the administration of the sacraments. In the ministration of the Lord's Supper there was prayer for grace to the communicants, but none for blessing on the elements. Portions of Scripture were read while the elements, passed from hand to hand, were partaken of by the recipients in their seats.

From the above outline it will be seen what the good and evil sides of the new system were. All religious truth was held to proceed from the Scriptures alone, and all ecclesiastical power from the people. Ordination was regarded as superstitious, and the threefold ministry as a needless institution. The seasons of the Church were rejected as unscriptural, and the bodies of the faithful were committed to the ground without a word of prayer. On the other hand, the Bible was made freely accessible, the common prayers were said in a tongue understood by the people, and the papal supremacy, with all its abuses and corruptions, was removed from the religious life of Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII

QUEEN MARY AND THE REFORMATION

It was not long before Knox and his friends found that the golden age had not arrived with the Reformation. It was one thing to draw up an ecclesiastical system on paper, and quite another to put it into practice. There was a fatal lack both of men and of money. At the end of twelve years, when Knox's system was abandoned for the no less unsatisfactory arrangement of titular bishops and archbishops, there were only 252 ministers (assisted by 151 exhorters and 455 readers) to nearly a thousand parishes. And the reforming lords never could be got to give up their spoils. In 1561, it is true, the Privy Council decreed, on the petition of the General Assembly, that one-third of all ecclesiastical revenues should be divided between the ministers and the Crown, the other two-thirds being left in the hands of those who now held them. But even this was not honestly carried out. When the rent-rolls were made up, the third part of the total sum was made out to be a little over £6000! But even the half of this was not available for the Kirk, a sum of about £2000 being all that superintendents, ministers, and readers received, while the portion falling to the Crown scarcely sufficed, according to Lethington, to buy a pair of slippers for the queen's feet.

Then again, the superintendent system was never fully carried out. Only six superintendents seem to have been appointed. The Bishop of Orkney, Adam Bothwell, adopted the Reformed religion, and administered his diocese as a Protestant bishop in a more or less satis-

factory manner. The Bishops of Galloway and Caithness were also commissioned in 1563 to plant new churches in their dioceses. Then again, many of the unreformed prelates remained in Scotland, and took their seats in Parliament as the Lords Spiritual, whether laymen or consecrated, alongside of the Protestant bishops. The Bishops of Ross, Dunkeld, and Dunblane remained within or returned to Scotland, and in 1567 Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane was deprived of his see and all his property for saying and hearing mass, and similar offences. All this will show what a complete ecclesiastical medley followed close upon the heels of the Reformation.

Without doubt **the attitude of Queen Mary** did much to thwart the settlement of religion on Knox's lines. When she heard in France of the treaty of Edinburgh, and of the doings of the Reforming Parliament in 1560, she emphatically declined to ratify either. The following year she returned, on the death of her husband, Francis of France, to take up as heavy a task as ever lay on monarch's shoulders. A mere girl in years, unswervingly devoted to the unreformed religion, she came to reign amongst men who were unscrupulous and unpolished and bitter, in a land that had just passed through the throes of civil war and ecclesiastical revolution. No wonder she was loth to leave France. The land of her birth had little happiness for her.

Mary was received by her subjects with great joy at first, but soon the clouds began to gather, when the Reformers learned that she was determined to hear **mass at Holyrood.** A mob assembled on the Sunday, and the cry was raised 'the idolatrous priests shall die the death.' In consequence the queen issued next day a proclamation of a conciliatory character, claiming on the one hand liberty to worship according to her conscience, and promising on the other that no alteration should be made in the existing order of things. But toleration was not a virtue in the Reformers' eyes. John Knox declaimed against idolatry in St. Giles, declaring that one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed enemies. But the queen was firm in her determination, and had her mass wherever she went. So irritated were the preachers that they tried to stir up the 'congregation' to the suppression of Mary's 'idolatry,' but

the laymen were more generous, and resolved that the queen should have liberty of worship.

It was during this period that Knox had his famous **interviews with Mary** at Holyrood. We have only Knox's own account of what passed, but we need not doubt that the fiery reformer had the better of the argument on these occasions. No wonder that the young queen was amazed, and, on occasion, moved to tears by Knox's rough heroics. He presented a type of ecclesiastic that she had never even dreamt of, informing her that he would be as content to live under her majesty, if she did not persecute the saints of God, as Paul was to live under Nero, and declaring that as a father in a fit of frenzy may have the sword taken from him and be bound in prison, so may princes whose blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy. When the queen suggested that he had the advantage over her in theology, he bombastically declared his readiness to meet the most learned papist in Europe. Doubtless he had forgotten this remark a little later, when he answered Ninian Winzet's repeated challenges (culminating in a pamphlet entitled 'The Last Blast of the Trumpet of God's Word against the Usurped Authority of John Knox and his Calvinian Brethren,' humorously suggestive of Knox's First and Second 'Trumpet Blasts' from Geneva) by attempting to throw him into prison. Knox's estimate of the queen is recorded by himself: 'If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me.'

As was natural, with a queen on the throne devoted to the Roman see, for a short time the **hopes of the unreformed party** were high. The Roman services, which had been all along held stealthily in many parts of the country, began to be more openly conducted. Bishops were even appointed to Brechin and Ross. The pope sent a nuncio to Mary, and invited her to send prelates and an envoy to the Council of Trent. But her star soon set. Her ill-advised marriage with Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, was the beginning of sorrows for her. A quick succession of tragic events followed. The murder of David Rizzio in Holyrood by the discontented nobles, the murder of Darnley at St. Mary-in-the-Fields (where Edinburgh University now stands), the marriage of Mary to Bothwell, the

reputed murderer of her former husband, the field of Carberry Hill, the prison of Lochleven, and the abdication of the hapless Mary, form a pitiful chapter of her life. The infant James VI. was crowned and anointed by the Bishop of Orkney, and the old persecuting oath of coronation, with a new application, was taken on his behalf in 1567.

Mary's subsequent escape from Lochleven, and flight into England after the battle of Langside, with her long subsequent imprisonment, had much importance politically for Scotland, but do not come particularly within the sphere of ecclesiastical interest. We may pass on to the year 1572, twelve years after the Reformation, when **titular Episcopacy** was established.

It had been felt every year increasingly that the ecclesiastical system of 1560 was not the great success it seemed to be at first. On all hands it was felt that something must be done. The Regent Mar wrote to Erskine of Dun in 1571, bewailing 'the corruption which daily increases,' stating the need of 'the reforming of things disordered in all sorts,' and declaring that 'the default of the whole stands in this, that the policy of the Kirk of Scotland is not perfect, nor any solid conference among godly men that are well-willed and of judgment how the same may be helped.' What had brought matters to a head was the custom which had grown up of filling vacant bishoprics without consulting the Assembly, a proceeding which was likely to produce friction between Church and State. The outcome of several conferences was **the Convention of Leith** in 1572, a meeting of superintendents, commissioners, and ministers, which was to have 'the strength, force, and effect of a General Assembly.'

The main result of the Convention was the **restoration, in name, of the Episcopate.** The titles of archbishops and bishops were to remain, and the boundaries of the dioceses, as before the Reformation; a chapter of learned men was to be attached to each Cathedral; the bishops and archbishops were to have no more authority than superintendents, and to be subject to the Assembly. Abbots, priors, and commendators were to be learned and suitable for their office, and be tried and admitted by bishops. All deaneries, provostries of collegiate churches, prebends, and chaplaincies founded on temporal lands, were to be bestowed

by their patrons on students in grammar, arts, theology, law, or medicine. The following General Assembly reluctantly accepted the findings of the Convention 'until further and more perfect order be obtained.'

This was a strange sequel to the First Book of Discipline. And still stranger to many, who are accustomed to regard John Knox as the father of Presbyterianism, will the fact seem that **the aged Reformer was not opposed to the restoration of the Episcopate.** He wrote a letter to the Assembly suggesting 'that all bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto within one year of the vacancy thereof, according to the order taken in Leith by the commissioners of the nobility and of the kirk in the month of January last.' Presbyterian historians represent this acquiescence of Knox as simply due to his desire to secure the Church's possessions to the Kirk. Dr. Cunningham, for instance, says: 'Anxious above all things to secure the Church's patrimony, he was ready to submit to anything but a surrender of principle to encompass his heart's desire. He submitted to the introduction of Episcopacy.'[1] This candid admission that **Presbyterianism was not one of Knox's principles** is interesting, in view of the experience that Knox had enjoyed of that form of Church government at its fountain-head in Geneva before the Scottish Reformation. But is not the suggestion that Knox and the extreme party were willing, for the sake of pelf, to see set up again a form of Church government that twelve years before they had abolished as contrary to the word of God, somewhat degrading to their memory? Is it not a truer reading of history to recognise in the results of the Leith Convention the proof that to some extent the catholic-minded Reformers had gained the ascendency in the councils of the Kirk? The novel and hybrid system brought into being by the proceedings of 1560 was discredited by its practical results, and the extreme men had for a season to stand aside and wait for their turn, which came again in 1592. Knox's influence was certainly on the wane, for Edinburgh was no longer safe for him, and even at St. Andrews, whither he had betaken himself, he was exceedingly unpopular with the majority of the inhabitants, as Bannatyne, his secretary, relates.

[1] *History*, vol. i. p. 345.

It was, indeed, no valid Episcopate that was sanctioned in 1572. The principle of the Catholic Church, that a bishop can only be validly consecrated by other bishops, themselves of valid consecration, was disregarded. John Douglas was admitted to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews by the laying on of hands of the Bishop of Caithness, Spottiswoode, Superintendent of Lothian, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, but they had no Catholic authority for their act. It is doubtful whether any of the three had even received the order of priesthood before 1560.

Douglas's appointment was not free from the suspicion of simony with the patron of the see, the Earl of Morton. Patrick Adamson, a future archbishop himself, preached a memorable sermon at the time, in which he described the three kinds of bishops—'My lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. My lord bishop was in the time of Papistrie; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my lord's title sure; the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel.' Thus at its very start the new system was tainted with the old leaven, and, as we shall see, its results were far from satisfactory.

Within a year of the restoration of Episcopacy three of the prominent figures of the Reformation period had died in Edinburgh—John Knox in his bed; his brilliant antagonist, Maitland of Lethington, in prison, having, it is said, taken poison to save him from the gallows; and the sturdy old soldier, Kirkaldy of Grange, hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. Maitland and Kirkaldy had espoused the cause of Mary, and occupied Edinburgh Castle, which was captured on 29th May 1573. **Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews**, it may also be mentioned, had been captured in Dumbarton Castle after Mary's defeat at Langside, and hanged in his Episcopal robes at Stirling in 1571. He was accused of being an accomplice in the murders of Darnley and the Regent Moray, but did not receive the benefit of even the semblance of a judicial trial. A man of far from blameless private character, he remained devoted to the Papacy and to the cause of Queen Mary, and performed in some sort his ecclesiastical duties after the Reformation, until he fell a victim of the feud between the houses of Lennox and Hamilton. His 'Catechism' has already been described.

A vivid picture of Knox in his later days at St. Andrews, whither he had to retire for safety from Edinburgh for a season, is given by James Melville (nephew of Andrew Melville, the founder of Scottish Presbyterianism), then a student at the University. 'I heard him teach there the prophecies of Daniel that summer and the winter following. I had my pen and my little book, and I took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of the text he was moderate, the space of half an hour; but when he entered on application, he made me so to grue [shudder] and tremble, that I could not hold a pen to write. . . . He was very weak. I saw him, every day of his doctrine, go hulie and fear [slowly and warily] with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in one hand, and good godly Richard Ballanden, his servant, holding up the other oxter [armpit] from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, by the said Richard and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit, where he behoved to lean at his first entry; but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous, that he was like to ding the pulpit in blauds [splinters] and fly out of it.'

Knox had been twice married, the first time, while in exile on the Continent, to an English lady, Marjory Bowes, daughter of Sir Richard Bowes, a courtier under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. He was sixty when he took as his second wife a girl of seventeen, daughter of Lord Ochiltree. His two sons both took orders in the Church of England.

CHAPTER IX

TITULAR EPISCOPACY AND PRESBYTERIANISM (1572-1592)

THE twenty years that followed the institution of pseudo-Episcopacy, as Andrew Melville used to call it, were kaleidoscopic in respect of the changes that now affected the kirk. The solution applied by the Convention of Leith to the religious difficulties and needs of the country was neither more final in character nor more beneficial in practical effect than that of 1560 had been. Still the two parties strove for the upper hand in the government of ecclesiastical affairs. **Still the state of religion languished.** The ministers were no better provided for than before. The recovery of the Church's patrimony remained, as formerly, an impossible ideal. When Regent Morton proposed that the Crown should collect and disburse the ministers' stipends, they were only worse off than before, for it was now the regent who robbed them himself. We hear in 1576 of ministers and readers making a living by keeping taverns, and being exhorted by the Assembly's commissioners 'to keep decorum' in this unusual clerical occupation. Two years later the Assembly laments 'the universall corruption of the haill estates of the bodie of this realm, the great coldness and slackness of religione in the greatest pairt of the professors of the same, with the daily increase of all kinde of fearful sins and enormities.'

And the **general development of titular Episcopacy** was not such as to command admiration in those rough and ready times. Some of the bishops were men of high character and commanding ability, notably Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews. But from the first they failed to occupy the position of rulers of the Church, for they had

the support only of a party in the Church, not of the whole body. So the men who really guided affairs were the leading ministers—Andrew Melville, Durie, Craig, Lawson, Pont, Balcanqual, Lindsay, and others. And very soon that **subserviency to the Crown**, which was the real secret of the failure of Episcopacy in Scotland, during all the times of its establishment, began to make itself apparent, and give its real edge to the contest between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Melville's criticism of Episcopacy in 1584, during his controversy with Adamson, held good for later times as well. He declared that Episcopacy was only an artifice for introducing a new popedom in the person of the king, and that for this purpose the jurisdiction exercised by Christ in the Church had been transferred to the bishops, who were nothing but cyphers and creatures of the king. His words were too true. The connection of Episcopacy with the Stuarts was fatal to the Catholic organisation of the Church in Scotland as a whole. More and more it became apparent that *under Presbyterianism certain rights of the people and clergy were recognised*, and that *under Episcopacy they were denied*. This fact constitutes the true inwardness of the struggle at that time between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Many, like Melville, were thoroughly convinced that Episcopacy was contrary to the word of God, but far more opposed it without much thought of the theological aspect of the question. Even in Melville's time two of his followers in the attack on Episcopacy accepted sees. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and one of the public protesters against the 'Black Acts' of 1584 aimed at Presbyterianism, accepted the king's appointment to the see of Caithness, the Assembly, however, refusing to ratify the appointment; and the contemptible Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, turned from being a violent opponent of Episcopacy to become Archbishop of Glasgow in 1582. David Lindsay, another supporter of Melville, became in 1600 titular Bishop of Ross.

Montgomery's name is associated with a title that became a byword in Scotland. His appointment to the see was due to a base act of simony. The Duke of Lennox, anxious to secure the revenues of the see, offered it to Montgomery, after more honourable men had refused it, at a yearly stipend of some £80 a year, his grace to pocket

he remainder. On Montgomery's acceptance, the Assembly properly inhibited him, and riots were engendered both in Glasgow and Edinburgh by the worthy prelate's efforts to assert his position. From Edinburgh he was driven with ignominy, 'men pursuing him with batons, and wives and boys pelting him with stones and rotten eggs.' When King James heard of the scene, he threw himself down upon the Inch at Perth, and gave way to roars of laughter. The transaction gave rise to the name of **Tulchan bishops**, which stuck to the titulars henceforth, although they were not all guilty of Montgomery's fault. The meaning of the term was explained by Dickson, moderator in the 1639 Assembly. 'When a cow will not give her milk, they stuff a calf's skin full of straw and set it down before the cow, and that was called a tulchan. So these bishops, possessing the title and the benefice, without the office, they wist not what name to give them, and so they called them tulchan bishops.'

The above outline will give a clue to the history of events from 1572 to 1592. As a matter of fact, no sooner was Episcopacy instituted than the extreme party proceeded to take their revenge by worrying the bishops, whose position, as subject to the General Assembly, was anything but an enviable one during the whole of this period. In this policy they soon found a most able leader in the person of **Andrew Melville**, who may justly be called the father of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Had Melville returned to Scotland two years before, instead of two years after 1572, it is quite possible that titular Episcopacy might not have been instituted when it was. Between him and **Patrick Adamson**, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, now began a great struggle which only ended at the latter's death, a short time before the first establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Both were men of great learning and ability. Both had studied at St. Andrews, and also abroad. Both had spent some time at Geneva, the source of Presbyterian polity, and met the reformer Beza there. But their paths led them to opposite ecclesiastical positions, and they became, for nearly twenty years, the two most prominent ecclesiastics in Scotland, as the champions of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy respectively. Of the two **Melville** was the younger man by eight years, and the stronger as well. He was born in

1545 near Montrose, the son of a gentleman who fell at Pinkie in 1547. After studying at St. Andrews he became a student at Paris, regent in Poictiers University, and Professor of Humanity in Geneva. He came back to Scotland in 1574, reputed to be one of the most learned men of his time, and thoroughly imbued with devotion to the cause of Presbyterianism. He became Principal, first of Glasgow University and afterwards of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. He was a fighter of the stubborn, sturdy type, slightly less heady and more far-seeing than Knox, although gifted like him with a command of strong language. He certainly deserved the epithet of fearless, far more than Knox did. Nothing could daunt his courage. Once when Regent Morton, in the plenitude of his power, was threatening him, he defiantly replied—'Tush! threaten your courtiers in that way; it is all the same to me whether I rot in air, or in the ground. It is out of your power to hang or exile the truth.' And again, a few years later, he proved his boldness at a critical juncture. A committee had been sent by the Assembly to lay 'the griefs of the kirk' before the king. When the document was produced, the Earl of Arran, James's favourite, demanded in anger, 'Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles?' 'We dare,' was Melville's bold reply, and, suiting the action to the word, he advanced to the table, and signed his name. The others followed his example, and king and advisers were nonplussed.

It was only natural that such a man should soon dominate the Assembly, and that, given eighteen years to do his work, he would in the end succeed.

On the other hand, **Adamson** was fighting at a disadvantage, as we have seen. Episcopacy, tied to the steps of the throne, was very vulnerable to a foe like Andrew Melville. But the archbishop made a good and an able fight, although a losing one. His character has to some extent been traduced by his opponents. He was called by Melville 'a juggler, a howliglass, a drunkard, a vile epicurean'; but we may fairly take with some caution the prejudiced statements of adversaries in the struggle of Presbyterianism against Episcopacy. However that may be, he was a man of great gifts, as even James Melville, nephew of Andrew, admitted. 'A man of great learning

he was,' says Archbishop Spottiswoode, 'and a most persuasive preacher, but an ill administrator of the Church's patrimony.' He was the author of several Latin poems, including a translation in hexameters of the Book of Job. He published a catechism in four books for the use of the young king, and a Latin rendering of the Confession of Faith. He compiled in 1584 a series of nineteen articles on the Church principles which he maintained, for the information of the ecclesiastical authorities in England, as well as for use at home. In them he defined the position of the king to the Church as that of sovereign head under Christ; claimed apostolic authority for the office of bishop, with right of government and ordination; and condemned lay-elders, presbyteries (as causing confusion in the Church, and continual sedition), shifting moderators, and the powers claimed by the Assembly to convene itself, and to make laws by itself. His last days in 1591 were clouded by misfortune. The king withdrew his Episcopal revenues and gave them to the Earl of Lennox, leaving Adamson in abject poverty and bankrupt. He was excommunicated for marrying the papist Earl of Huntly to a sister of the Duke of Lennox, by the Kirk, which evidently considered that marriage was only for good Protestants. When he lay on his deathbed, his reason seems partly to have failed him. He appealed to his great rival for assistance, and it was given. But advantage was taken of his shattered condition, to make him sign a recantation, which the Presbyterian historian, Dr. Rankin, says, 'seems to have been mainly a fraudulent or semi-fraudulent trick played upon a feeble and dying man by the same triumphant persecutors, so that the shame of it is theirs and not his.'[1] The recantation was used with effect at the Assembly of 1592.

A brief summary of the steps by which Presbyterianism drove out titular Episcopacy may now be given. It will be seen by what steady and sure steps Melville led his party to the goal, which they aimed at from the beginning.

In 1575, the year after Melville's return, Durie, one of his followers, made the first attack by raising in the Assembly the question, whether the name and office of bishop, as then existing in Scotland, had any warrant in the Word of God, and whether chapters, with their powers

[1] *Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 467.

of election, should be longer tolerated. To debate this a committee was appointed, three on each side; but their answer, as might be expected, was inconclusive.

In 1576 **each bishop was limited** by the Assembly to **a single pastoral charge**, with no other prerogatives. Several of the bishops, Boyd of Glasgow among them, declined to be so limited, and the Assembly was unable to enforce its resolution. In 1578, Melville being moderator, the Assembly decreed that all bishops and ecclesiastics with official titles should hereafter be **called by their own names**, and that chapters should cease, until further order, to elect diocesan bishops. In 1580 Episcopacy was formally condemned. **The bishops** were, on paper at least, **deposed** not only from their Episcopal office, but from all exercise of their ministry until admitted *de novo* by the Assembly. The following year, on the king's suggestion, **thirteen presbyteries were set up** in the middle part of Scotland, with the object of making better provision for the ministers' stipends. In this uncontroversial manner, with a purely financial aim, was instituted what was in a few years to become the leading characteristic of the Kirk.

In the same year, 1581, was introduced and sanctioned by the Assembly (but never by Parliament) **the Second Book of Discipline**. It recognised as convocations of the Church, (1) Œcumenical, for all nations—at present impracticable; (2) National—the General Assembly; (3) Provincial—the Synod; (4) Congregational—the Kirk Session, with no mention of the Presbytery. It was chiefly the work of Andrew Melville, and really consisted of a revision of the **Huguenot** discipline adopted by the Reformed Church of France in 1559. It restored the laying on of hands in ordination, but laid less stress on doctrine and the sacraments than the First Book had done. One chief characteristic of this system was the claim that the Church Courts should be independent of and even superior to the secular. The State was to be able to give no effective orders to the Church, whereas the Church could order the State to give effect to its rules and punishments.

Soon after this, however, a revolution of the wheel took place. The king, who had been captured by some of his nobles at **the Raid of Ruthven** (1582), escaped from their power the following year, and his captors and the ministers

who had sympathised with the raid fled to England, Melville being one of the fugitives. A brief Episcopal triumph followed. Adamson published his nineteen articles, after visiting the bishops in England, and in 1584 Parliament passed what came to be known as **The Black Acts**, four in number, by which the powers of the General Assembly were limited and the principle of Episcopacy was confirmed.

The triumph, however, was short-lived. In 1585 a league was formed, the exiled barons returned and seized the king once more, and the ministers returned to their duties. Next year Adamson was excommunicated by the Synod of Fife, but the Assembly did not ratify the illegal sentence. In 1588 commissioners from the Assembly waited on Parliament with the request that prelates should no longer have a place in Parliament, but this attack failed. **An Act of Annexation**, however, was passed by Parliament, by which all the temporal possessions of the bishoprics were taken from the bishops and given to the Crown. The impecunious but good-natured James was, nevertheless, no richer in the end, for his courtiers managed to secure these, the last of the ecclesiastical spoils, in gifts from the royal bounty.

Against this last blow, dealt by a king who hated Presbytery, the titular Episcopacy could not stand. In 1590 Melville claimed that victory was on his side, and the death of Adamson, happily for the prelate, preceded **the Parliament of 1592**, which eventually, on the petition of the Assembly, repealed the Black Acts of 1584, and formally **established Presbyterianism** in Scotland. Thus ended the stubborn campaign of seventeen years, which would hardly have been brought to its victorious conclusion but for the dogged generalship of Andrew Melville.

A brief reference must be made to the history of the **Roman Catholics during this period.** They continued to practise their form of religion, secretly or openly according to circumstances. The Assembly of 1572 decreed that all nonconforming papists should be excommunicated, and in 1574 a priest, Thomas Robinson, suffered death for saying mass, other priests being imprisoned or banished. Later, under the protection of the Earl of Lennox, the king's favourite, himself a secret Romanist, and from time to time encouraged by the doings of the oft-insurgent Marquis of Huntly, the 'Cock of the North,' they were bolder in the

profession and practice of their faith. The Jesuits, notably Father Hay, showed activity and zeal from time to time. In consequence of one of many popish scares, the king in 1581 commanded Craig, formerly Knox's colleague in St. Giles's, to draw up a Protestant manifesto denouncing 'the Roman anti-Christ.' This was known as **the Negative Confession** or the King's Confession, and was signed then and at various similar times of alarm. It reappeared in the time of King Charles I., in the fateful year of 1638.

CHAPTER X

TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUE EPISCOPACY (1592-1610)

THE first triumph of Scottish Presbyterianism was not altogether complete. The titular bishops and other prelates were still left, shorn indeed of ecclesiastical power, but sitting in Parliament as before. One of them, Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, in spite of the vigorous protest of the presbytery of Edinburgh, baptized the infant prince, Frederick Henry, in 1594, only two years after Presbyterianism had been established. And six years later, in 1600, the appointment as spiritual lords in Parliament of fresh titulars to the vacant sees had begun again. It is clear that the nation as a whole was not deeply interested in the abstract question of the respective merits of the two rival theories of Church Government. And as a matter of fact, the principle of parity of ministers held the field only for a few years. Melville, like many another man, was more successful in opposition than in power. After 1596 the influence of the Presbyterian party was on the wane, and in spite of their vigorous and violent resistance, the way was paved year by year for the establishment of a valid Episcopate in 1610.

The reason of the change is not far to seek, in the arrogance and disloyalty of the now predominant party. Presbyterianism, pushed to its extreme limits, meant not only the setting up of a republic in the religious sphere, but the establishment in the State of a power inimical to political sovereignty. Melville and his friends were loyal to James only so far as he would carry out their plans. In a memorable interview at Falkland in 1596, Melville, informing the king that he was only 'God's silly vassal,' told him that

'there are two kings and kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member.' When John Ross, minister of Perth, in 1594, called the king a traitor, a reprobate, and a dissembling hypocrite, the Assembly only admonished him to be more cautious. Another fanatical minister, David Black of St. Andrews, made in 1596 an attack on Queen Elizabeth as an atheist, and on King James as a traitor, asserting amongst other wild things that all kings were the devil's bairns. The standing Commission of the Assembly espoused his cause, but eventually he was banished beyond the North Esk. When we add to these seditious speeches of responsible ministers of the Kirk, such events as the Edinburgh riot of 1596, in which a mob, stirred up by the ministers, besieged the Tolbooth where James was, with threats of violence, and the Hamilton conspiracy against the throne of the same year, in which several ministers were implicated, it becomes clear that the Presbyterianism of that period was a menace to the throne. If historical candour leads us to condemn the subserviency of Episcopacy to the Stuarts, it no less brands **the fierce disloyalty of extreme Presbyterianism.**

So at least James judged. His dislike of Presbyterianism had been of long standing. When he was thirteen, it is true, Melville, writing to Beza, had claimed him as favourable to Presbyterian principles, but the potent influence of George Buchanan's well- and often-applied birch might well account for the young monarch's views at that date. At any rate, he threw his influence into the balance against Presbyterianism from 1596 onwards, and never rested until it was ousted from its legal status.

At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, James, secure now on the English throne, expressed **his opinion of Presbyterianism** with force and freedom. On the demand of the puritans for periodical meetings, 'his majesty was somewhat stirred, and thinking that they aimed at a Scottish Presbytery, "which," saith he, "as well agreeth with monarchy as God and the devil: then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. I remember how they used the poor lady my

mother, and me in my minority." Then turning to the bishops, and touching his hat, he added: "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for no bishop, no king."'

We now proceed to trace the proceedings of which the above is a general survey. **Up to 1596**, the date of the riot and the plot above mentioned, **Presbyterianism reigned supreme.** Acts were passed against Jesuits and other papists, and also against those of the anti-Presbyterians who were 'contemners of the decreets and judicatories of the Kirk.' The lives of people and king were strictly scrutinised. A deputation, for instance, was sent to Holyrood to confer with the king on his own sins and those of his household, especially the late hours and balls of the queen and her gentlewomen. The Assembly of 1596, bewailing the universal coldness and decay of zeal in all estates, ignorance and contempt of the Word, ministry, and sacraments, which continued in spite of all their efforts, took order against ministers not only light and wanton in behaviour, apparel and speech, but also swearers, banners, profaners of the Sabbath, drunkards, fighters, and such like. The clerical tavern-keepers, and other followers of incompetent trades for filthy gain, were to be admonished, and deposed if necessary.

In 1597 began the reaction. The assembly met at Perth, and not, as usually before, in one of the strongholds of Presbyterianism. Pulpit harangues on political matters ('speaking to the times') and summary excommunications were forbidden. No conventions of ministers, except sessions, presbyteries, and synods, were to meet without the king's consent. The king's power in Kirk affairs was increased, and a permanent commission was, at Dundee the same year, appointed to consult with the king on all matters ecclesiastical. Calderwood the historian saw in this commission 'the very needle which drew in the thread of bishops.' The same year Parliament decreed that the king might appoint fresh prelates to sit in Parliament, and the Assembly of 1598, not without strong opposition from Melville's party, agreed that fifty-one ministers, the same number as was returned from the old hierarchy, should have seats in

Parliament. Thus was **Episcopacy, of a political if not of a spiritual form, once more established.**

In 1598 appeared James's work **Basilikon Doron**, in which he characterised the Presbyterian leaders as 'fiery and seditious spirits who delighted to rule as *Tribuni Plebis* . . . breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason: and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. . . . Ye shall never find with any Highland or border thieves greater ingratitude and more lies, and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits.' Thus did 'God's silly vassal' repay, in kindred coin, the insults of former days.

The Assembly of 1600 agreed to provide a leet of six ministers from which the king might choose bishops to fill vacancies. The bishops were not to be called bishops but commissioners, and were placed under the authority of the Assembly, and subjected to various *caveats* or limitations of their powers. The titular bishops of Ross, Caithness, and Aberdeen were appointed, and thus, in the year of the Gowrie conspiracy, 'the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in busked and covered with *caveats*, that the danger and deformity might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many and opposed to.' So writes Calderwood.

In 1604 **James ascended the throne of England**, and the return of full Episcopacy was seen to be only a matter of time. In 1606 Parliament abolished the *caveats*, rescinded the Annexation Act of 1587 as far as it could, and affirmed the king's sovereignty over all persons and causes. In the same year the Melvilles disappeared from the scene, in a manner not redounding to the credit of King James. He summoned them to Hampton Court for a conference together with other ministers, and some bishops. Andrew Melville showed all his old fire in debate, but, unfortunately for himself, wrote a Latin Epigram upon the royal chapel. The result was that he was thrown into the Tower for three or four years, and on regaining his liberty, went abroad and taught in Sedan, where he died in 1622. James Melville, his nephew, was not allowed to return to Scotland. The king's high-handed and tyrannical conduct, not only to the Melvilles but also to the many ministers who were sent from time to time to ward in Blackness for opposing

the royal will, cannot easily be justified. He sowed the seed of which his son, Charles I., reaped the bitter harvest.

With Melville removed from Scotland, the **Presbyterian cause waned apace.** The Assembly of Linlithgow (1606) instituted permanent moderators of presbyteries. Bishops were to preside over the presbyteries in which they lived, and also over their diocesan synods. A sum of 100 pounds Scots (about £8) was assigned by James to each moderator.

In following years, 1607-9-10, Parliament restored a chapter to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, and consistorial powers to the bishops (making them judges in questions of marriage and divorce and other matters), and appointed two Courts of High Commission in the provinces of St. Andrews and Glasgow, to try those who were 'scandalous in life or religion.'

In the year 1610 **Episcopacy was restored** by the Assembly of Glasgow, at which Spottiswoode, titular Bishop of Glasgow, was chosen moderator, and within four months three titular bishops, Spottiswoode, Lamb of Brechin, and Hamilton of Galloway, were duly consecrated in the chapel of London House by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. Thus the line of true Episcopal succession, broken in 1560, was restored to Scotland for a time.

The cavil that **this restored succession was English** is neither a weighty nor a wise one. If Scottish Presbyterianism, cradled at Geneva, deriving its Church polity from the Huguenots, accepting its Bible from England, and its Westminster confession mainly from English Puritans, remains a native plant, surely the sacred act by which three Scottish titular bishops were duly consecrated in London, did not make Episcopacy an exotic. Scotland had not been without bishops, more or fewer, in one capacity or another, for a single day since the Reformation of 1560, and England did not in 1610 give her bishops, but, in accordance with the principles of the Church Catholic, linked the Scottish bishops on to the historic episcopate.

The objection that King James had too much to do in bringing about this event is a more valid one. It served his purposes to do so, just as it served those of the nobles to bring about the Reformation of 1560, and those of William of Orange to allow Episcopacy to be disestablished in 1689.

But one thing is absolutely clear. James only threw his weight on the side of a party in the Scottish Kirk. He did not force Episcopacy upon an unwilling, but upon an indifferent people. At the same time it is true that he interfered with the free election of representatives to the Assembly (an act repaid with interest in 1638), and the impolitic payment, at the close of the Assembly, of the moderators' stipends, arranged for at the Linlithgow Assembly of 1606, lent colour to the charge of bribery that was made by the Presbyterians.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST EPISCOPACY (1610-1638)

HAD the Scottish Kirk now been left to itself, there is every reason to believe that there might have been no further revolutions of the wheel. With time, and tact, and patience, the Presbyterians might have been brought to look with favour upon a reasonable system of Episcopal government. The system now established was, says Professor Cooper,[1] 'a system which combined, on the Ignatian model, presbyterial franchises, and synodical rights with Episcopal oversight—the system under which alone, it has been said, presbyteries performed their executive duties—the system which really gave us our parish schools—the system which certainly produced the brightest galaxy of theologians that ever adorned our northern sky, —John Cameron, John Forbes of Corse, William Forbes, Robert Baron, Alexander Henderson, Andrew Ramsay, David Dickson, Bishops Wedderburn and Maxwell, Durham, Samuel Rutherford, George Gillespie, Robert Baillie, Robert Douglas.'

But it was not left to work out its own salvation. It was, through the unwise and high-handed interference of James VI. and his son Charles I., driven into such a passion of discontent and rebellion, that within twenty-eight years the same Cathedral of Glasgow which saw the establishment of Episcopacy, beheld its disestablishment again. Of the two monarchs Charles was the more unwise, if also the more sincere. James, it is true, spared no pains in making Episcopacy more and more what he considered it ought

[1] *Introduction to Scottish Liturgy of 1637*, p. xi.

to be, a subservient prop to his throne. He appointed the bishops himself, and took care to choose men not so much for their abilities as for their pliancy. He on occasion bullied the poor prelates, and ordered them like footmen. He claimed and exercised the right of sending down instructions to the clergy, and even of dictating the business of the Assembly. 'To have matters ruled as they have been in your General Assemblies,' he told the bishops, 'I will never agree, for the bishops must rule the ministers and the king rule both, in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the word of God.' When the Assembly failed to enact his famous 'Five Articles,' he even threatened to cut down the ministers' stipends. Yet he managed to stop short of driving the Kirk to utter exasperation. It was left to his unfortunate son to do that, with the best of motives. Charles was undoubtedly swayed more by religious than by political motives. It was his dream to see the principles for which Laud and his school contended prevail in Scotland and in England. But he tried to push his principles in the most arbitrary and impolitic manner, leaving no place for the spiritual independence of the Kirk. And, as every one knows, he eventually plunged Scotland into revolt, by attempting to thrust upon it, by mere royal proclamation, a prayer-book which on other grounds would, in all likelihood, have never been objected to.

Yet let it be remembered to their credit, that both did much for the betterment of the Kirk. Both laboured to improve the position of the clergy. James did much to increase their stipends, and purchased back, out of his own pocket, portions of the alienated church lands, for the support of the bishops. It was Charles who secured for the ministers the teinds or tithes which the present establishment still enjoys. And it was that monarch's quixotic Revocation Act of 1625, by which he attempted to make the nobles restore to the Church all its lands acquired by them both before and after the Annexation Act of 1587, which drove them into opposition both to the power of the Crown and to the Episcopal government of the Church. Under James and Charles, too, the parish school system, frustrated at the Reformation by the greed of the nobles, first took practical shape. In 1616 James's Privy Council

had decreed that, in every parish, *where convenient means might be had for entertaining a school*, a school should be established; and the Parliament of 1633 ordered, without any such proviso, that a school should be built in each parish. Spottiswoode and the other bishops and the clergy were busy promoting the work of building and endowing schools, when the civil war put an end to their labours.

The bishops as a whole were, as already indicated, a mediocre set of men, **Spottiswoode**, Archbishop first of Glasgow, and later of St. Andrews, being perhaps the only really able representative of the order. Yet there were amongst them men of outstanding piety and learning. Such were **William Cowper**, Bishop of Galloway, the finest preacher of his day, renowned for goodness of life and erudition; the 'good, godly, and kind **Patrick Forbes of Corse**,' Bishop of Aberdeen, and the author of *Considerationes modestæ*; **William Forbes of Aberdeen**, first bishop of the see of Edinburgh, of whom Bishop Burnet's father used to say 'that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on those words of the apostles, "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?"'

The removal of the Melvilles and other prominent leaders had left the Presbyterian party weak, but men of a younger generation soon began to fill their places. The most prominent of these were **Alexander Henderson**, who, as moderator of the Assembly of 1638, was largely responsible for the overthrow of Episcopacy; **David Dickson**, **Andrew Cant**, and **Samuel Rutherford**, prominent in the days of the Covenant and the Westminster Assembly.

Among the ecclesiastical events of James's reign may be noted the continuance of harsh measures against the papists, and, in particular, the execution in 1615 of a Jesuit missionary, John Ogilvie, an act by no means redounding to the credit of Spottiswoode; the revival of academical degrees — dreaded as 'popish' — at St. Andrews; the visit to Scotland of the king, accompanied by Bishop Andrewes of Ely, and William Laud, Dean of Gloucester; the abortive attempt of 1616 to draw up a Scottish

Prayer-book, and the introduction of the Five Articles of Perth.

These articles prescribed (1) Kneeling at reception of Holy Communion; (2) Private Communion to the sick; (3) Private baptism in case of necessity; (4) Observance of the holy days commemorative of Our Lord's Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Advent of the Holy Ghost; (5) Confirmation of Children. They were issued by James himself for the Church's acceptance, but the bishops prevailed upon him to submit them to the Assembly of St. Andrews in 1617. The refusal of this Assembly to enact them in their entirety evoked, as we have seen, the royal wrath, but at Perth in 1618 the ministers were more complaisant, and, though not without strong opposition, they were carried. In many quarters their enactment was bitterly resented, and their provisions disobeyed.

In the reign of Charles I., in the year 1633, the bishopric of Edinburgh was founded, with St. Giles's as the Cathedral, and William Forbes its first bishop. The **king's visit to Scotland** this same year, again in company of Laud, now Bishop of London, produced a bad impression in many quarters. At the meeting of Parliament an act was passed, confirming the government of the Church as then existing. Charles was observed, when the vote was taken, marking on a roll of membership the suffrage of each individual. This led to a challenge of the vote by the Earl of Rothes, and a subsequent accusation that Charles had falsified the return. The end of the quarrel was the condemnation of **Lord Balmerino** to death for libelling the king. The king's clemency was interposed to save Balmerino from the scaffold, but the whole proceedings contributed much to the subsequent ruin of Charles. Another very unpopular act was the elevation of Spottiswoode to the Chancellorship of the kingdom in 1635, an offence against the public opinion of the country since the Reformation.

Now there followed one arbitrary act after another. In 1636 were imposed by royal authority, without any consultation with the Assembly, a **Book of Canons**, then an ordinal, or **Book of Ordination**, and in the following year the famous **Scottish Prayer-book**. The Canons,

founded upon the English Code of 1604, revised by Laud and Bishop Juxon, were of the ordinary Anglican character, and probably not in themselves objectionable. Of the Ordinal no print is known to exist. The introduction of the Prayer-book was the spark that lit the flame of revolt in 1637, and led to the ecclesiastical and political revolutions of the following year.

There are several misconceptions generally current as to **the Scottish Prayer-book**. In the first place, it was **not the work of Laud**, but of two Scottish bishops, Maxwell of Ross and Wedderburn of Dunblane. Laud's work was confined to preliminary suggestion and subsequent revision, and all that was most characteristic in it was done by Scotsmen. Yet the title 'Laud's Liturgy' still clings to it. Again, it was not the result of an attempt to supplant extempore worship by liturgical forms, for **since the Reformation there had been a Prayer-book in Scotland**. First there had been the English Prayer-book of 1552, which was gradually displaced by Knox's Book of Common Order. The Assemblies of 1601 and 1616 had tried to revise Knox's book, but unsuccessfully, and in 1634 another liturgy had been drafted in Scotland, but suppressed. Both Charles and Laud would have preferred the adoption of the English Prayer-book to the compilation of a separate book for Scotland, but gave way on the score of national feeling. The idea, canvassed at the time, and not yet extinct, that it was more 'popish' than the English book, proceeded from inability to distinguish between what is Catholic and what is Roman. The real offence of the book was the method of its introduction, by royal proclamation at the market crosses of Scotland, instead of by the authorised courts of the Church.

It was read, once only, in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, on the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1637. Organised riots took place in many churches, but that of St. Giles has been made historic by the name of the heroic but **mythical Jenny Geddes**. The only person of that name, known to contemporary historians, was a Jenet Geddes who showed her loyalty to Charles II. at the Restoration of 1661, around the bonfires in the High Street of Edinburgh. Yet a modern tablet in St. Giles's marks the spot from which, so visitors are told, she hurled her famous stool, which also,

for the confirmation of the credulous, may be seen in the antiquarian museum of Edinburgh.

The country was now thoroughly roused. Popery, it was said, was at the very doors. The nobles, who feared the Act of Revocation more than the Prayer-book, fomented and organised the forces of rebellion. Four strong committees, representative of nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses, called **The Tables**, were formed, ostensibly to receive the petitions of the people, but really to subvert the authority of the government. In 1638 **the National Covenant** was drawn up and signed, first in Greyfriars' Church and churchyard, and then throughout the country. It consisted of three parts: (1) *the negative confession* of James VI.; (2) a recital of acts of Parliament against popery; and (3) the Covenant proper, binding all who signed it to defend the Protestant religion against all innovations and corruptions. Aberdeen, headed by the famous 'Aberdeen doctors,' refused to countenance the Covenant, and a counter manifesto, consisting of the negative confession alone, was authorised by Charles, and signed by nearly thirty thousand people. But nothing could withstand the current of national feeling, aroused alike against king and bishops.

The Assembly met in Glasgow, and history repeated itself. As King James had interfered in the free election of representatives in 1610, so the Tables interfered now to secure a majority against Episcopacy. All the bishops were libelled by the presbytery of Edinburgh, an unconstitutional proceeding. A preposterous list of charges against their lives and characters was drawn up, which Dr. Cunningham justly calls 'abominable calumnies against men, many of them venerable for their piety, learning, and years, and whose only crime was that they were bishops.' On the seventh day, the Royal Commissioner dissolved the Assembly because of the presence of lay elders, the dictation of the Tables in the election, the insistence on trying bishops already prejudged and condemned. The great majority of the members, however, continued to sit; condemned, and deposed from the ministry, all the fourteen bishops, and excommunicated eight of them; condemned Episcopacy and the Five

Articles of Perth, with liturgy, canons, ordinal, and High Commission.

Thus, by dint of falsehood and misrepresentation, in open defiance of constitutional authority, was Episcopacy overthrown and Presbyterianism re-established.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRESBYTERIANISM OF THE CIVIL WARS AND COMMONWEALTH (1638-1660)

THE tyranny of the Stuarts was now abolished, but the cause of religious liberty in Scotland was no better off than before. For thirteen years the leaders of Presbyterianism tried to grind the country into agreement with themselves, until Cromwell took matters into his own hand, and silenced the General Assembly in 1653. In 1638 the bishops, except three who recanted (Dunkeld, Caithness, and Argyll), had fled for safety, and many ministers opposed to the Covenant had been deprived. Montrose was sent with an army to subdue stubborn Aberdeen, fill the pulpits with Covenanting ministers, and compel the people to sign the Covenant. The famous 'Aberdeen doctors' — Forbes, Baron, Leslie, Scroggie, Sibbald, and Ross—fled at the approach of Montrose, and thereby 'fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland beside at that time. Nor has that city, nor any city in Scotland ever since, seen so many learned divines and scholars at one time together, as were immediately before this in Aberdeen.' Penalties were soon imposed upon those who did not subscribe the Covenant. Private conventicles, it is interesting to note in view of later times, were forbidden, and witch-burning became, as usual under Presbyterian rule, a frequent occurrence. The 'malignants,' as the Royalists were called, were hardly dealt with. They were excluded, by the Act of Classes (1649), from any position of trust or office, unless they did penance to the Kirk, and on the eve of the battle of Dunbar (1650) they were carefully weeded out of the Scottish army.

Yet it was not long before a cleavage of opinion appeared

between themselves, and two parties, the **Moderates and Extremists**, appeared, bent on each other's subjugation. After the 'Engagement' of 1647, made with Charles I. in Carisbrooke Castle, in which the imprisoned king submitted to the Solemn League and Covenant, and promised to set up Presbytery in England for three years, the two parties were called the **Engagers** and the **Remonstrants**, according as they approved of the compact or condemned it as insufficient. Later on, in 1651, when the fanatical Act of Classes was repealed, the **Resolutioners** were the moderate men who approved of the resolutions of the Assembly, and the **Protesters** were those who, like the Remonstrants, took the extreme view. Of the former party were Robert Douglas, Baillie, and Dickson, and of the latter were Rutherford, Caut, Gillespie, and Guthrie. The strife between these two parties was as bitter as ever that between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism had been; but in the end the Moderates had the upper hand. Nearer the Restoration of 1660, James Sharp appears as one of the most able of the Resolutioners. He had much influence with Cromwell, and was associated with General Monk at the Restoration.

Events followed fast after the Assembly of 1638. In a short time the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton were in the hands of the Covenanters, and the following year their forces faced those of Charles at Duns Law. Compromise instead of conflict followed, however. Charles, when the Assembly met, agreed to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, 'not as contrary to God's law or the Protestant religion,' but 'as contrary to the constitution of the Church in Scotland.' In 1642 civil war had broken out in England, and in 1643, on the basis of **the Solemn League and Covenant**, a treaty was made between the Presbyterians and the Puritans, and a Scottish army was in the field against Charles. In Scotland the Solemn League and Covenant was ordered to be subscribed by every person, under the penalty of confiscation of their goods.

The Presbyterians hoped that, on the overthrow of Charles, their system of church government would be set up in the three kingdoms, and the **Westminster Assembly** (1643-1648) was held for the purpose of drawing up a common confession, directory, and catechism. There were six Scottish commissioners—Henderson, Rutherford, Baillie,

Gillespie, Lord Maitland (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale), and Sir Archibald Johnstone—out of a nominal assembly of one hundred and fifty-one members, of which the average attendance was about sixty. In 1644 the **Directory of Public Worship**, which is still nominally adhered to by the Presbyterians, was issued; in 1647 the **Westminster Confession of Faith**, and in 1648 **The Larger and Shorter Catechisms**. The metrical psalter of Francis Rous also came to the Presbyterians from England.

In 1644 **Montrose**, who had left the cause of the Covenant for that of the king, raised a Royalist force, and for a year swept the country. He was surprised, however, at **Philiphaugh**, and his army was scattered. The barbarities that followed the victory of the Covenanters were not forgotten in later days. Not only was a large body of Royalist troops, who had surrendered, butchered in cold blood, on the demand of the Covenanting ministers, but there was 'a piteous slaughter of the poor women, boys, and camp-followers, without distinction of age or sex.'[1] Many captives 'were driven together, and, by command of the Covenanting chiefs, thrown headlong from a high bridge and drowned in the river [Avon] below—men, women, and babes at the breast. As they struggled to the side they were beaten down with bludgeons, and hurled back into the waters. The noblemen and gentlemen were confined in loathsome dungeons, to be exposed to the insolence of the mob, and then condemned to death.'[2]

In 1646 Charles, defeated at Naseby, threw himself upon the protection of the Scottish army at Newark, but within a year he had been given up to his English foes. It is probably unjust to call the payment of £100,000 to the Scots a bribe, yet the transaction has a shady side. It had been agreed upon the previous year, but it would not have been paid now if the king had not been surrendered.

In 1649 Charles I. was executed, and **Charles II. proclaimed king** at Edinburgh by the indignant Scots. Little to his credit, Charles was persuaded to sign, not only the Covenants, but also a declaration professing his sorrow at his parent's backslidings and his own, and promising to prosecute the covenanted work in his kingdoms. Cromwell

[1] Bishop Wishart, *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 144. [2] *Ibid.* p. 150.

defeated the Scots at Dunbar (1650) and Worcester (1651), and left General Monk to subjugate Scotland. He did so with a firm hand, and Puritanism made and left its mark on Scotland. Sectaries of all kinds appeared in the country —Independents, Quakers, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Anabaptists, and many others. In 1653 Colonel Cotterel with a military force disbanded the Assembly, and the Kirk was left only with its sessions, presbyteries, and synods.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 was soon followed by the Restoration and by the re-establishment of Episcopacy both in England and in Scotland. The party of Episcopal government had not died out in Scotland, although it had been silenced. Douglas, the Presbyterian leader, wrote in 1660 to Sharp, 'that a generation had arisen in Scotland unacquainted with the work of the Reformation, and consequently disposed to condemn even the Covenant itself, to which they bore a heart hatred,' and that 'the generality of this new upstart generation have no love to Presbyterial government, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy or moderate Episcopacy.' Their hopes were fulfilled in 1661, when Parliament passed, almost unanimously, the Rescissory Act, deposing Presbyterianism, to the joy of some and the grief of others.

There is much, however, to deplore in the way in which Episcopacy returned. Not only was the Restoration marked by the vindictive executions of Argyll (who had crowned Charles king of Scotland) and others, but the king, in restoring the Episcopate, violated his solemn promises to maintain the Presbyterian Covenant.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND EPISCOPACY, 1661-1689

Of the bishops of 1638 only one survived at the Restoration, Sydserf of Galloway. He was appointed now to Orkney, and four Resolutioner ministers were appointed to sees, and consecrated in Westminster Abbey, in December 1661, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff. Their names were **James Sharp**, minister of Crail; **Andrew Fairfoul**, minister of Duns; **James Hamilton**, minister of Cambusnethan; and **Robert Leighton**, Principal of Edinburgh University. Sharp and Leighton, not having received episcopal orders, were ordained to the diaconate and priesthood before consecration, after demur by Sharp. The other two had been ordained during the first Episcopacy.

Of these four Sharp and Leighton were by far the more able men, and were destined, in opposite ways, to play prominent parts in the religious troubles that soon ensued. The career of **Archbishop Sharp** certainly did little to make Episcopacy beloved in Scotland. He was without reproach, it is true, in his private life, charitable, and hospitable, and diligent in the performance of his duty. But the personal ambition which led him to accept the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, after his previous career as a Presbyterian leader, if it did not make him deserve the epithets of 'traitor' and 'Judas' so lavishly bestowed upon him to this day, yet placed him in a very difficult, if not false, position. And his subsequent shielding of abuses, fostering of Erastianism, and encouragement of persecution only intensified the dislike with which his former

co-religionists regarded him. To this day his name is an ill-omened one in Presbyterian Scotland.

On the other hand, that of the saintly **Robert Leighton** is still revered throughout the length and breadth of the land. The son of the nonconforming Leighton who suffered in Laud's time, he had no particular cause to be zealous for Episcopacy, but probably accepted it in the desire to escape from the tyranny and fanaticism of the Covenant. Of his own accord he chose the smallest and poorest of the Scottish sees, that of Dunblane, where the fragrance of his memory still lingers. A model bishop, he laboured for the improvement of religious life in his diocese, both by practice and precept. His unwearied efforts to unite the warring religious parties on the basis of a modified Episcopacy, although unsuccessful in the end, stand out in happy contrast to the sad historical background of his time.

The other sees were filled mainly with men of no great ability or learning from among the Resolutioners—the party of loyal and liberal Presbyterians. Two deprived and exiled Episcopalians were appointed to Edinburgh and Aberdeen—Dr. Wishart, a large-hearted and scholarly man, and David Mitchell, distinguished for learning.

During the whole of this period the **form of public worship** differed little from that of the Presbyterians. The lessons of 1637 had not been forgotten, and no liturgy was introduced, except in one or two places, no ritual, surplice, or ornaments. The use of the doxology, Lord's Prayer, and, in baptism, the Apostles' Creed, was the chief distinguishing feature of the Episcopal service.

Among a number of measures passed by the Parliament of 1662 was one destined to be the beginnings of sore trouble for Scotland, **the Patronage Act.** It decreed that all ministers elected between 1649 and 1660 should seek presentation from the lawful patron, and collation from the bishop by a certain date. The covenanting ministers of the west were naturally loath to acknowledge either the authority of the bishops or the illegality of their previous tenure, and eventually from two to three hundred of them gave up their benefices rather than comply. The young men brought to fill their places, chiefly from the northern dioceses, were naturally unacceptable to the flocks, attached

as they were to the deprived ministers, and galled with a sense of injustice. Some of the extruded ministers continued to live in their parishes and hold conventicles, and thus began the history of the later Covenanters.

Parliament next passed, in 1663, a statute, nicknamed '**The Bishops' Drag-net**,' forbidding the covenanting ministers to exercise their ministry, and fines were imposed on all who refused to attend the parish church. **The Mile Act** followed, forbidding the nonconforming ministers to live within twenty miles of their former parishes, within six miles of Edinburgh or any other cathedral city, or within three miles of a burgh town. The High Court of Commission was revived for a brief period, to deal with ecclesiastical offences. From 1664 to 1666 the west folk were oppressed with fines, and troops were quartered upon them. Insurrection at last followed, and at **Rullion Green**, on the 28th November 1666, General Dalziel routed the undisciplined Covenanters. Seventy prisoners were banished and more than thirty hanged, two after being tortured to extract a confession.

The **persecution of the Covenanters** is often used by Presbyterians as a handy stone to fling against Episcopacy. But those who claim the Covenanters as their spiritual ancestors have no right to fling *that* stone. They were only treated as they claimed to treat their antagonists, and as they did treat them when they were in power. We have seen how the Episcopal ministers were deprived in 1638 and following years, how conventicles were forbidden by the Assembly of 1640, how the Covenants were enforced under pains and penalties, how Aberdeen was harried by Montrose and a covenanting army in 1639, and how the prisoners after Philiphaugh were massacred. In 1640 Aberdeen and the north country were devastated by the Earl of Argyll, and the able-bodied 'malignants' were dragged from their homes and sent to join the Scots army in England. Thirteen years after Rullion Green the Covenanters marched to battle at Bothwell Brig with the following words inscribed in red letters on their banner: 'No quarters for ye active enemies of ye Covenant,' and, in anticipation of victory, they had prepared a gigantic gibbet, and a cartful of new ropes for the benefit of their expected prisoners. These things do not, of course, excuse the

treatment of the Covenanters in the 'killing times,' but they must be taken into account in the formation of any impartial judgment. There is no doubt that, if the Episcopalians had in 1638 shown the same fanatical resistance as the Covenanters did after 1662, there would have been 'killing times' then enough and to spare.

It is well also to remember, that the population of Scotland as a whole had little sympathy with the later Covenanters. Their principles were supported, not, as is generally imagined, throughout the whole land, but **only in the five western shires**, comprising about a fifth of the population and the country. Those principles, however inspired by the spirit of religious independence, took on such a colour of open rebellion to constituted authority, as to render the Covenanters dangerous to the common weal.

Bishop Leighton was deeply distressed at these violent measures, and resigned his diocese. On being assured, however, that milder means were to be employed, he returned to Dunblane again, and for several years endeavoured to conciliate the disaffected ministers. He propounded a **scheme of modified Episcopacy**, which, however sensible it appears to-day, found scant favour both with his Episcopal brethren and with the extreme Covenanters. The Church, he suggested, should be governed by the bishops and clergy in their ecclesiastical courts, and in matters both of jurisdiction and of ordination the bishops should be guided by the majority of their presbyters. Ministers who submitted to the bishops should only be required to do so in the interests of peace, and without sacrificing principle. Provincial synods should be held every third year, or oftener at the king's summons, and in these synods the bishops might be censured for offences proved against them. In his efforts he was aided by Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and historian of these times. In spite of all discouragements he persisted in his pacific efforts, both as Bishop of Dunblane and as Archbishop of Glasgow, till in 1674 he resigned his see and retired to spend the rest of his days at peace in England.

Yet something was done in the way of conciliation. **Indulgences** were offered to the ejected ministers at intervals. In 1669 over forty compromised matters, and were reinstated in parishes, their example being followed in

1672 by fully eighty of their brethren. And in 1680, after Bothwell Brig, another indulgence was accepted by a few. The irreconcilables bitterly denounced the indulged ministers as backsliders and traitors, and were themselves the more confirmed in their narrow fanaticism.

In 1669 was passed the Erastian **Assertory Act**, claiming for the Crown 'the ordering and disposal of the external government and polity of the Church,' as well as the arranging 'concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and matters to be disposed and determined therein.' Sharp spoke against the measure, but voted for it, as did the peace-loving Leighton. Many of the bishops absented themselves from the meeting of Parliament, but did not thereby clear themselves of complaisance to a measure so repugnant to the Church's liberties.

Meanwhile the **conventicles in the west country** were being held more openly than before, and attended by men armed for resistance. Acts were vainly passed to repress them in 1670 and 1672, threatening death to the ministers, and inflicting heavy fines upon the congregations. The Bass Rock became a State prison, and many ministers and others were sent there to long and weary imprisonment. The Duke of Lauderdale's heavy hand was hated none the less by reason of the memory of the days when he was a Presbyterian Commissioner at the Westminster Assembly. In 1675 letters of 'intercommuning,' a kind of civil excommunication, were issued against a hundred Covenanters who had failed to appear when cited by the Privy Council. Magistrates were made responsible for conventicles held in burghs, heritors for meetings on their grounds, and heads of households were made answerable for their families and dependants. In 1677 the 'Highland Host' of ten thousand soldiers, six thousand of them being clansmen, were quartered upon the west country for three months, pillaging the people at their pleasure.

Whatever responsibility Sharp may or may not have had for these proceedings, they did not enhance his popularity with the Covenanters. The severe treatment and execution in 1678 of James Mitchell, who had ten years before attempted the Primate's life, still further inflamed their hatred against him. Charges of perjury in connection with Mitchell's trial were made both against Sharp and Lauder-

dale. The following year the archbishop was brutally murdered **at Magus Moor**, before his daughter's eyes. A party of artisans and peasants, headed by Hackston of Rathillet and Balfour of Kinloch, had been searching for Carmichael, sheriff-depute of Fife, an active suppressor of conventicles. Sharp fell into their hands instead, and neither his grey hairs, his sacred character, nor his daughter's entreaties could save him from their vengeance.

Open insurrection again followed. The insurgents routed Graham of Claverhouse at **Drumclog**, their commander putting to death one of the prisoners with his own hands, and raging because his order of 'no quarter' had been disobeyed, and five prisoners allowed to escape. In 1679 Monmouth defeated the rebels at **Bothwell Brig**, where a monument and an annual conventicle keeps their memory green to-day, as martyrs in the cause of religious freedom, —we have seen with what historical justification.

The Covenanters that were left only became more bitter. Under the leadership of such men as Richard Cameron (from whom they were called 'Cameronians') and Donald Cargill, they disowned the king, and declared war upon him. Cameron was eventually killed at Airds Moss, and Cargill executed. Two women, Isabel Alison and Marion Harvey, were hanged at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh in 1681. No doubt their language was seditious, but the punishment was disgraceful. 'The branks and not the gallows' was the appropriate penalty for a woman's unruly tongue.

In 1681 were passed the famous **Succession and Test Acts**. The Test Act provided that all occupants of public office, civil or ecclesiastical, should swear that they owned the Protestant faith as expressed in the 1560 Confession, and the king as supreme in all causes, temporal and spiritual; that it was unlawful for subjects to take up arms against the king or to enter into covenants and leagues; and that neither the National Covenant nor the Solemn League were binding. About eighty Episcopal ministers resigned their benefices in consequence.

In 1685 Charles II. died. He had been a Roman Catholic privately since 1669, and his brother James VII. made no secret of his religion. Severity increased against the Covenanters, now led by James Renwick. The name of **Graham of Claverhouse** became prominent as a diligent agent of the

Government. To this day Scotsmen are diametrically opposed in their opinions of his character. The one side sees in him a cruel and bloody fiend; the other estimates him as a Christian gentleman, conscientiously carrying out disagreeable orders. The case of *John Brown of Priesthill*, summarily executed by his orders, has been much debated in this connection. Covenanting historians only allege Brown's piety and nonconformity as the cause of Claverhouse's order, and expatiate upon the pathos of the scene. Claverhouse's own report is as follows:—'On Friday last, among the hills betwixt Douglas and the Ploughlands, we pursued two fellows a great way through the mosses, and in the end seized them. They had no arms about them, and denied they had any. Being asked if they would take the *abjuration*, the eldest of the two called John Brown, refused it; nor would he swear not to rise in arms against the king, but said he knew no king. Upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable papers, I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly.'

Another much controverted case, not, however, connected with Claverhouse, is that of the *Wigton Martyrs*, Margaret Lauchlison or M'Lauchlan, and Margaret Wilson. There is much mystery about the case. They were sentenced by a jury to be drowned at Wigton, for adhering to the murderous declaration of Renwick, but were reprieved by the Council in Edinburgh. The records of the Court that tried them have perished, and we cannot now learn the whole truth about the affair. That they were drowned in the Solway, in spite of the reprieve, seems beyond doubt.

James's first Parliament of 1685 renewed the Test Act and the penalties against conventicles, but refused to pass a bill in favour of Roman Catholics. Next year James, by his royal prerogative, made the bill an Act of Council, and established Jesuits at Holyrood, with a school and a printing-press. In 1687 an Indulgence was issued, suspending all penal laws against nonconformists, whether Presbyterian, Quaker, or Roman Catholic, and allowing freedom of public worship, provided that no disloyal doctrines were preached. Many covenanting ministers accepted the king's clemency.

James's sovereignty soon came to an end. The trial of

the seven bishops in London sounded its knell. **William of Orange** landed at Torbay, on November 5, 1688, and James had fled the country within a short time.

This political revolution marked another, and the last, change of the form of established religion in Scotland. William, while in Holland, trusting to the statements of the Presbyterian, William Carstares, had meant to overthrow Episcopacy in Scotland, believing as he did that it had little support in the country. On coming to England, however, he found out how matters stood, and changed his mind. He became **anxious to win the support of the Scottish bishops**, and authorised Compton, Bishop of London, to explain to Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, that 'if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.' This tempting offer availed not to move the staunch Jacobite bishop. Next day a memorable interview took place between the prince and Rose at Whitehall. 'My lord,' said William, 'are you going to Scotland?' 'Yes, sir,' replied Rose, 'if you have any commands for me.' The prince replied, 'I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' The bishop 'being something difficulted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling myself,' replied, 'Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me.' William turned on his heel, and the fate of the Episcopal establishment in Scotland was decided.

Another chance was given the bishops when the Convention of 1689 met in Edinburgh. The Duke of Hamilton, its president, assured the primate and Bishop Rose that he had the prince's word, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy, if the bishops would support him as the Church of England was doing.

Rightly or wrongly, the Episcopal leaders believed that they could not in conscience break their oaths to James, **and so by a mere political move Episcopacy was disestablished.** The *Claim of Right*, which embodied the resolutions of the Convention, declared 'that Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclination of the

generality of the people, ever since the Reformation (they having been reformed from Popery [by Presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished.' It was astute on the part of the Presbyterians to insert this oft-quoted and much relied-on statement. Its truthfulness is quite another matter.

The Presbyterian Carlyle of Inveresk declares that 'more than two-thirds of the people of the country, and most of the gentry, were Episcopals,' in 1689 and later. General Mackay, a zealous Presbyterian, wrote in 1690: 'Let men flatter themselves as they will, I tell you who know Scotland, and where the strength and weakness of it doth lie, that if I were as much an enemy to that interest [Presbyterianism] as I am a friend, I would without difficulty engage to form in Scotland a more formidable party against it, *even for their majesties' government*, than can be formed for it.' There is plenty of more evidence to the same effect. So much for the statement that Episcopacy in 1689 was 'contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people.'

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE FIRST JACOBITE RISING (1689-1715)

THUS was Episcopacy disestablished, not through the will of the people, but by reason of the politics, of Scotland. **Presbyterianism was set up**, not by the General Assembly, but **by Act of Parliament.** Commissioners from the diocesan synod of Aberdeen had supplicated the Parliament of 1689 for the convening of a free General Assembly to settle the polity of the Church, but the Presbyterians knew better than allow an appeal to lie there. They knew that they would have been outnumbered by six to one, in spite of their bold words in 'the claim of right.' And so in 1690 the entire government of the Church was, by Act of Parliament, placed in the hands of some sixty ministers, who had been deposed in 1661, and of such ministers and elders as they might admit.

The bishops have been blamed for allowing the Church to be disestablished, when compliance with William's wishes would have saved it. Such censure must arise from a defective historical imagination. We have no right to blame them for following the dictates of conscience. Would that all their predecessors had been as ready to suffer for conscience' sake. Neither are they to be blamed for failure to foresee the disasters that overtook the Church in the eighteenth century. When they left the Establishment, as freely and as conscientiously as did the Fathers of the Free Kirk in 1843, they had behind them the majority of the people of Scotland. Doubtless they hoped for a speedy revolution of fortune's wheel, which should undo the work of 1689. But that was not to be. Blow after blow was to

fall upon the devoted Church, until it should be reduced to a broken remnant.

One thing was lacking to the bishops at this crisis, the presence of a great leader. **A Napoleon was wanted**, to organise the disestablished Church, to devise means for its financial support, and to furnish it with a policy. Under such a man, the course of events might have been different. As it was, the bishops, good and worthy men as they were, did nothing worthy of the emergency. They simply disappeared from publicity, doing their duties quietly, and hoping for the turn that never came. Viscount Dundee, before he set off on the adventure that ended at Killiecrankie, humorously described them as 'the Kirk invisible.' When gaps were made in their number by death, they did not venture to fill up the sees, but, waiting until 'the king across the water' should come into his own again and exercise the old royal prerogative, simply continued the Episcopal succession by consecrating as 'non-ruling' bishops, Fullarton, the scholarly Sage, Archibald Campbell, grandson of the covenanting Marquis of Argyll, and others.

The Presbyterians had in **William Carstares** a wise and able leader, of high personal worth, and of moderate principles. He had great influence with William of Orange, with whom he spent some time at the Hague before 1689, and he may justly be called the second father of Scottish Presbyterianism, as Andrew Melville was its first. Not only was the settlement of 1690 largely due to his influence, but in 1694 he saved the existence of the General Assembly—when William was determined to bend or break it, in the matter of the Oath of Assurance—by forcing his way into the king's bedroom at midnight, and persuading him to burn the despatches which he had sent off, but which Carstares had intercepted. He died under George I. in 1715, Principal of Edinburgh University. Two nonjuring Episcopal ministers were seen weeping at his graveside. He had supported their families for years. The tolerant spirit that he showed during his career was all the more worthy, seeing that he himself had suffered torture with the thumbscrew in 1683, after the Ryehouse Plot. He was not the last to endure that barbarity, however. In 1690 Neville Payne, a Roman Catholic, suffered it in Edinburgh

by William's orders, the covenanting Earl of Crawford acting as chief inquisitor.

William's ecclesiastical policy was one of toleration. He tried again and again to include the Episcopal clergy within the Establishment, but the Presbyterians, no doubt wisely for themselves, would have no such arrangement. They were still in a minority, and feared to be outvoted in the Assembly. And although the joint efforts of William and Carstares kept the Assembly itself within bounds, the two commissions of visitation appointed in 1690 to depose Episcopalian ministers and settle Presbyterian ones, did not show the same moderation. For ten years they were busy ejecting the Episcopals, often with scant success. In many cases the military had to be employed to settle the Presbyterian minister. In many he was not settled for several years. In Glenorchy the intruder was escorted to the bounds of the parish, and made to swear that he would never return, while the Episcopal minister remained in possession till his death, thirty years after. The like happened in many other places. So late as 1707 there were one hundred and sixty-five Episcopal ministers ministering in their parishes in spite of all efforts to dislodge them.

Many, however, were extruded. In the west country **'the rabbling of the curates'** had taken place on Christmas Day 1688 and during the months following, whereby over two hundred Episcopal incumbents were ejected by Cameronian mob violence from their homes. In 1690 most of the principals and professors of the universities were deprived, and in central Scotland the oppression of the visitation commission was so severe as to call for William's repeated remonstrance.

Not all the Episcopal Clergy, however, were Jacobite. Many were willing to acknowledge William, and some to submit to Presbytery; and in 1695 over a hundred of them accepted an indulgence, without conforming to Presbyterianism, but taking the oaths of allegiance and assurance. By the *Assurance Oath* (passed 1693) they acknowledged William as king, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*.

The accession of Queen Anne (1702) ushered in a better period for the Episcopal Church. Deeply devoted to the Church of England, the Queen had much sympathy for the struggling disestablished Church in Scotland. In

consequence of an 'Humble address and supplication,' she wrote to the Privy Council, asking that they should be protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion. The *Union of Parliaments* in 1707, however unpopular at the time in Scotland, yet indirectly made for the relief of the Episcopalians, by lessening the influence of the General Assembly.

The case of **James Greenshields**, an Episcopal priest, soon made that clear. He was summoned in 1709 by the Edinburgh Presbytery to answer for the crime of using the English Prayer-book in worship. He disclaimed their authority, and, on persisting to use the Prayer-book, was thrown into prison. A bill of suspension was presented to the Court of Session, but refused by them, chiefly on the ground that ordination by a deprived bishop was not valid! The appeal was next carried to the House of Lords, and Greenshields won the day, to the triumph of the Episcopals and the proportionate disappointment of the Presbyterians.

As a result of this and similar cases, a **Toleration Act** was passed in 1712, declaring the liberty of Episcopal worship under Episcopally ordained pastors, with the right to use the English Prayer-book. Nonconformists were also exempted from the jurisdiction and discipline of the Established Church. Needless to say, the Presbyterians fought tooth and nail against the passing of such a measure.

The English Prayer-book, it may be mentioned, had been coming increasingly into use in Scotland since the Revolution. In Queen Anne's time this was especially the case. After the Treaty of Union the clergy were emboldened still further, not only to use it openly in their chapels, but also at the grave-side. Nineteen thousand copies were sent by sympathisers in the south, for distribution over Scotland.

In 1714 the good Queen Anne passed away, and the incoming of the Hanoverian dynasty brought days of affliction and disaster for the Disestablished Church.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE FIRST JACOBITE RISING TO THE REPEAL OF THE PENAL LAWS (1715-1792)

Up to the accession of George I., the Disestablished Church had still a very strong position in the country, diminished though her numbers were bound to be in all quarters where Presbyterianism, entrenched in Establishment, could freely exercise its privileged powers. Yet a large body remained faithful. In Edinburgh there were ten places of worship and twenty-two clergy, considerably more than the number of the ministers of the Establishment. There were still, especially in the north, many parishes into which no Presbyterian minister had been able to intrude. But a great and startling change was now to take place. Adherence to the Jacobite traditions of Episcopacy within a few years brought a series of penal laws upon the Church's devoted head, which if they did not altogether succeed in their object, and extinguish her very existence, yet reduced her by persecution to a remnant, the mere 'shadow of a shade.' After the risings of 1715 and 1745, the whole power of the Hanoverian government was so vindictively exercised to work her ruin, that it seems wonderful that she emerged at all from her tribulation. When she did emerge, she possessed the allegiance only of a small fraction of the population, and she is at the present day only slowly recovering from the effects of the vengeance of the government of the first two Georges. If Scottish Presbyterianism owes its present establishment to the political exigencies of William of Orange, it no less truly derives its present numerical preponderance from those of George of Hanover and his son.

The loyalty of the bishops, and of the majority of the Episcopalians, to the Stuart cause, wrought her harm in two directions. It implicated her in the romantic but unsuccessful efforts that were made to place the Stuarts on the throne, and it also weakened, at a critical time in her history, her internal life and efficiency, by robbing the bishops of the proper use of their Episcopal powers of government. It will be convenient to trace these two lines of effect separately.

The Earl of Mar's rash and ill-managed adventure of 1715 resulted in the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir and the defeat of Preston. Many of the Episcopal clergy and laity were implicated in the affair, and it was only reasonable that, as individuals, they should bear the consequences of defeat. The government, however, went beyond the punishment of the individuals, and resolved to strike a blow at their religion. George wrote to Edinburgh, commanding that all the Episcopal chapels in the city should be shut, and the ministers prosecuted for not registering their letters of orders and praying for his majesty. Legal difficulties prevented the shutting of the chapels, but the fines were imposed on all the clergy but one. In the diocese of Aberdeen alone thirty clergy, of whom twenty had up to that time occupied the parish churches, were ejected by soldiers, and similar proceedings took place elsewhere.

These measures were followed up by the first Penal Act of 1719, by which no Episcopal minister could officiate in any place where nine or more persons, in addition to the members of the household, were present, unless he had taken the oath of abjuration and prayed for the king. The penalty was six months' imprisonment, and the closing of the meeting-house for the same period. Under this act a number of 'qualified' congregations, consisting chiefly of English families, enjoyed freedom of worship. At first they acknowledged the Scottish bishops, but on the latter disowning them, a breach was formed between English and Scottish Episcopalians in Scotland which has hardly yet been closed.

The rising of 1745, under Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' of Jacobite song, furnished Scottish history with one of its most romantic episodes, but ended on the mournful field of Culloden. The barbarities which the victorious troops perpetrated upon their

unfortunate prisoners are well attested by contemporary evidence, and cover the name and memory of Cumberland with disgrace.

The Episcopal Church, although not so openly implicated in the '45 as in Mar's rebellion, was now marked out for dire vengeance. Up and down the country, chapels were burned by Cumberland's troops, and where burning was unsafe, the congregations were compelled to pay workmen to pull them down. The clergy had to 'skulk' or hide whenever troops were in the neighbourhood. John Skinner of Linshart, the poet-priest, who was no Jacobite, came home one night to find a company of Campbells pillaging his house, and even searching the room where his wife lay in a critical condition. Had the persecution stopped at such proceedings as these, the damage might have been undone. But the worst was yet to come. Penal laws, more stringent than that of 1719, were as soon as possible introduced, with the object of either bending or breaking the wills of the Episcopal clergy and people. In 1746 it was decreed that every Episcopal clergyman should take the oaths of abjuration and of allegiance to King George, pray for his majesty by name, and register his letters of order by the 1st of September. Otherwise he might not minister to five or more persons at a time, under penalties of imprisonment and banishment. Various penalties were also fixed for the laity attending the proscribed services. After the 1st of September no clergyman could qualify who had been ordained by a Scottish bishop. It is believed that no more than five clergy qualified, and two of these afterwards submitted to their bishops and were absolved. A still more stringent act followed in 1748, by which it was declared that no letters of orders, not granted by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, should, from and after the 29th of September, be sufficient to allow a pastor or minister to 'qualify' and obtain registration, and that any such previous registration should be null and void. Thus was Scottish Episcopacy proscribed and annihilated, as far as an Act of Parliament could do it, for the Scottish clergy were now prohibited from conducting worship even with the statutory number, in any house but their own.

The clergy undauntedly went on with their ministrations.

They held services with small numbers, within their own houses, at different hours and on every day of the week, and sometimes they met among the woods and mountains. They resorted to various expedients, accommodating the statutory four both in 'the but and the ben,' and holding service in the passage between. Often the bulk of the congregation stood outside the window under heavy rain, or ankle deep in snow. Sometimes farmers were fined for lending their barns for service.

On occasion, too, the clergy, however careful, were caught within the meshes of the law. In 1748 three non-juring pastors, Greig of Stonehaven, Petrie of Drumlithie, and Troup of Muchalls, were shut up in **Stonehaven Jail**. The fisherwomen, carrying their unbaptized children in their creels, waded through the stream at the back, clambered up the rocks to a point below the barred window of the prison, and held up their offspring to receive the baptismal sacrament. On week days the valiant Mr. Troup used to enliven the spirits of his visitors outside, by playing lively Jacobite airs on the pipes or fiddle.

Yet as the years went on, the devotion of the pastors could only keep a remnant together, mostly along the north-east coast. In the Highlands many congregations were left without a pastor, and refusing to accept Presbyterianism, remained shepherdless. By a strange irony of fate, at the disruption of 1843 many of the descendants of these Episcopalians threw in their lot with the Free Kirk, and accepted a form of Presbyterianism more anti-Episcopal than that of the Establishment itself.

We now return to show how the influence of the Stuarts **tended to paralyse the powers of the Episcopate**. We have seen how the bishops did not at first fill up vacant sees, but consecrated **non-ruling bishops**, in deference to the royal prerogative, which was represented by a body of trustees, with Lockhart of Carnwath as their most active member. In process of time, the folly of this arrangement became more and more apparent. The remaining diocesan bishops died out one by one, until only Bishop Rose was left, with the whole government of the Episcopal Church in his hands. When Rose died in 1720, the non-ruling bishops formed themselves into **an Episcopal College**, exercising corporate jurisdiction over the whole Church, with Fullarton as Primus

inter pares. Three of these college bishops were also individually elected by the clergy of Edinburgh, Angus, and Aberdeen to perform the necessary Episcopal acts within those districts. In 1722 and later years, mainly on the nomination of the chevalier through his trustees, other presbyters were raised to the episcopate, as college bishops, and as time went on, more of their number were chosen as diocesan bishops over their respective dioceses. Soon a sad strife broke out between the diocesan and the college bishops, over the question of **The Usages.** The usages originated among the non-jurors of England, who, now untrammelled by State considerations, desired to see restored to the Eucharistic worship some of the main features of the early liturgies, as contained in the Prayer-book of 1549. These usages were, (1) the express invocation of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the elements; (2) the prayer of oblation; (3) the commemoration of the faithful departed; and (4) the mixed chalice. There were also minor usages to which less importance was attached, such as immersion in baptism, and the chrism in confirmation and in the anointing of the sick.

The battle was mainly confined to the bishops; the collegers, partisans of the chevalier, being opposed to the usages, and the diocesan bishops, the 'usagers,' being in favour of them. We need not follow the details of the long and sad controversy. For some twenty-five years it divided and distracted the Church, staggering as it was beneath the burden of persecution. It brought about the dissolution of the non-juring body in England, and our wonder is that it did not cause the extinction of the suffering Episcopal Church in Scotland too.

The battle of the usages is closely bound up with the history of **the Scottish Communion Office,** which is based upon the Scottish Prayer-book of 1637 and (through the influence of the English non-juring office of 1718) the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549). We have seen how the use of the English Prayer-book extended in the reign of Queen Anne. Various causes kept the 1637 Prayer-book from being very widely used, although in 1712 it was reprinted and to some extent employed. Yet there was a desire to have a national communion office, and in 1724, six years after the English non-juring office had appeared, Bishop Gadderer published

the first of the **'wee bookies,'** as the copies of the Scottish communion office were called. It consisted of the office of 1637, with some omissions, but the parts were freely transposed in actual use by Gadderer and others, the alterations being marked in the margins by pen and ink. In 1735 two booksellers published, as a private venture of their own, a 'wee bookie' embodying these changes actually printed. This was republished in 1743, about which date the Scottish office was almost universally used outside the diocese of Edinburgh. In 1744 Bishop Rattray published *The ancient liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, which, although used by very few, was the source of some of the most characteristic features of our present Scottish liturgy. In 1755 Bishop W. Falconer published a communion office embodying many of the points in Rattray's book, and in 1764 he, now Primus, and Bishop Robert Forbes issued what is regarded as the authorised edition of the Scottish liturgy, whose 'true reflection of the spirit of primitive devotion, and the unquestionable merits which it possesses as a formulary of worship, have won the admiration of theologians and liturgiologists of high eminence. As it stands, it is a worthy monument of the learning and piety of the Scottish Church.'[1] Its use is to-day canonically restricted in the land of its birth, but across the seas in the Church of America its influence is wide and great as **the basis of the American Communion Service.**

Two other matters of interest during this period may be noted. The first is the negotiations for **union with the Eastern Church** which the Scottish bishops carried on in company with the English non-jurors during the years from 1716 to 1723. The scheme arose through the visit to England of Arsenius, metropolitan of Thebais. A proposal was made for 'a concordate betwixt the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches, and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church.' Five points of difference were stated: (1) the honour due to the Blessed Virgin; (2) the authority of canons of general councils; (3) the invocation of saints and angels; (4) the worship of the sacred symbols in the Eucharist; (5) the worship of the images of saints. The Czar Peter entertained the proposals favourably, and Arsenius laboured to bring about an

[1] Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 1.

understanding, but the end was an adverse decision from a synod at Constantinople in 1723.

Of greater and more lasting importance was the **consecration of Dr. Samuel Seabury**, the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America. Before the establishment of the Republic of the United States in 1783, the clergy of the American Church had been ordained in England, and when the clergy of Connecticut, after the Declaration of Independence, applied to the English bishops for the consecration of Seabury, the required oath of royal supremacy formed an insuperable obstacle. In this dilemma application was made to the Scottish bishops, with the result that, in an upper room in Longacre, Aberdeen, Seabury was consecrated by Primus Kilgour, and Bishops Skinner and Petrie, in the year 1784. The bond thus formed between the American and Scottish Churches was still further strengthened by Seabury's adoption in 1786 of the Scottish communion office, with some slight alterations, and by the subsequent modelling of the American office of 1789 upon it.

The accession of George III. in 1760 was the beginning of better days for the Episcopal Church. The new king was less unfavourably disposed than his predecessors had been, and it was soon seen that the penal laws were not to be so rigidly enforced as before. The clergy accordingly began to perform their duties more openly, and humble places of worship began to be erected. In **John Skinner**, son of Skinner of Linshart, the author of 'Tullochgorum,' the Church found what she had lacked for many years, a leader of marked powers and of statesmanlike wisdom. In 1782 he had been appointed coadjutor-bishop of Aberdeen, and he became Primus in 1788, the year in which Prince Charles Edward died. Accordingly it fell to his lot to lead the sorely reduced Church out of her legal disabilities. Bishops and clergy agreed to pray for George III., and in 1789 Skinner, with two other bishops, went to London to petition for **relief from the penal statutes.** A bill was passed in the House of Commons, but Chancellor Thurlow, for some reason, prevented its being passed in the Upper House. However, a second attempt in 1792 was more successful, and the days of legal oppression were over for the Disestablished Church.

She had suffered terribly for her devotion to the Stuarts. Leaving the privileges of the Establishment in 1689 with some six hundred clergy and two-thirds of the people of Scotland, she finally emerged from her tribulation with four bishops, about forty presbyters, and less than a twentieth part of the population.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE history of the Disestablished Church after the repeal of the penal laws is mainly of a domestic character, and contains few outstanding events. It would be beside the purpose of this short history to describe the proceedings of successive synods, or to register the steps by which the present financial and administrative organisation, and the 1890 Code of Canons, have been arrived at. It will suffice if we notice a few of the characteristic features and of the more remarkable figures of the period.

The most obvious result of the freedom of the Church was its closer approximation to the Church of England. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the north-eastern part of Scotland, particularly the Aberdeen district, formed the stronghold of Scottish Episcopacy. Everything indigenously Episcopal throughout Scotland bore the Aberdeen stamp. So late as 1830-38 all the six bishops of the Church belonged to the north-east, and three of them lived within the diocese of Aberdeen. But even then the causes were at work which brought the centre of gravity Edinburghwards, and led the Scottish and English Churches, estranged for a century, into close harmony with one another.

One of the terms on which the penal laws were repealed was the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion by the Scottish Church. It was found difficult to get the older clergy to agree to this, but twelve years afterwards, at the 1804 Convocation of Laurencekirk, the Anglican formulary was accepted without qualification. A more unfair condition for the repeal of the penal laws was conveyed in a

clause disqualifying the Scottish Episcopal clergy from officiating or holding a benefice in England, and it was not until 1864 that this restriction was finally removed by Parliament. The use of **the English Prayer-book** had become common in Queen Anne's reign, but without being strictly followed, each clergyman introducing changes 'according to his own judgment or caprice.' The bringing about of conformity in the services of the Church was mainly due to the efforts of **George Gleig**, Bishop of Brechin (1808-1840) and Primus. He was editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and for mental power, deep learning, and wide literary reputation, he stands in the front rank of the post-Revolution Episcopate. It was through his influence that the synod of 1811 enacted that all presbyters and deacons should 'adhere strictly to the words of the English liturgy in the Morning and Evening Service.' At the same time it was recommended that the surplice should be introduced with 'prudence and discretion.'

Another bond of union with England was formed in the gradual **reconciling of the 'qualified' chapels**, with their English or anti-Jacobite congregations. These congregations had been formed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ayr and elsewhere, for the accommodation of English residents, military and civil, and of Scottish Episcopalians who were loyal to the dynasty of Hanover. They were ministered to, necessarily, by men of English or Irish orders, who had complied with the provisions of the penal statutes. Necessarily also, they were under the direct supervision of no bishop. In 1792 there were about twenty-four of these separated chapels, but by 1806 thirteen of them had joined the Scottish Episcopal communion. To-day only one remains separate, at Montrose.

To these early influences must be added the **increased facilities for communication** of the latter half of the century. During that period the influx of residents from England and Ireland had been great, and it steadily increases still. There are few of our congregations to-day which do not contain a larger or smaller proportion of Church people from the two sister Churches. To that circumstance, as well as to the use of a prayer-book which bears on its title-page the words '**according to the use of the Church of England**,' is to be ascribed the fact that the old Disestablished Kirk of

Scotland is so commonly but wrongly called 'The English Church.' Hence also the ready credence to the frequent charge, made by those who ought to know better, that Scottish Episcopacy is an alien on Scottish soil, an exotic transplanted from England. After all, however, hard words do not harm like penal laws.

No better antidote to the 'English' myth could be prescribed than a study of the remarkable story of **the Skinner family**. The united and continuous service in the ministry of the Scottish Church, of father, son, and two grandsons, covers more than a century, from 1742 till 1857. Two were deans, two were bishops, both the latter also becoming primus. The greatest of the four was *John Skinner of Linshart* (*b.* 1721, *d.* 1807), Dean of Aberdeen, a famous song-writer in the days of Burns, author of such household poems as 'The ewie wi' the crookit horn' and the immortal 'Tullochgorum,' a skilled writer of Latin verse, a profound Hebrew scholar, and an accurate theologian. Although his loyalty to the Church kept him in her service, he was no Jacobite, and it was due to him more than to any other man that the Church was saved from becoming a mere semi-political, non-juring sect. Although never advanced to the highest order of the ministry, he was on many important occasions 'the power behind the throne,' in the days when his son **John** (*b.* 1744, *d.* 1816) **was Bishop of Aberdeen and then Primus.** Primus Skinner, who as a boy had shared his father's imprisonment in Aberdeen gaol, rendered invaluable services to the Church. Through him mainly was brought about the repeal of the penal laws, and the bridging over of the schism with the 'qualified' congregations. An able and prudent administrator and organiser, he contended for the adaptation of the Church to changed circumstances, and was the moving spirit in the production of some of its most important measures. He was succeeded in the see by his second son, **Bishop William Skinner** (*b.* 1778, *d.* 1857). His episcopate of forty years, and his primacy of sixteen, were marked by energetic and fruitful work in the further consolidation of the Church. **Dean John Skinner** of Dunkeld (*b.* 1769, *d.* 1841), the elder son of Bishop John, was the author of *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, and is to be remembered for his efforts to secure for the laity a share in the administration of the Church's affairs. And, in the present day, a

worthy descendant of 'Tullochgorum' in the fourth generation holds the deanery of Edinburgh diocese and cathedral.

No name in the annals of Scottish Episcopacy is more widely and deeply venerated than that of **Bishop Alexander Jolly**, the saintly Bishop of Moray. Like Leighton, he commands the admiration of many Scotsmen who are in no sympathy with his Church principles, as a model of primitive and apostolic piety. From his earliest youth he had devoted himself to the service of the Church, passing as she was through her darkest hours. He studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and was ordained in 1776 at the age of twenty by Bishop Kilgour. In 1796 he became coadjutor, and two years later sole Bishop of Moray and Ross, at the same time discharging the duties of a pastor in Fraserburgh. His character was one of the greatest simplicity and goodness. He lived alone without a servant, in order that he might have more quiet for sacred study and meditation, and he read daily a fixed number of pages of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament, with portions of the early fathers, especially Chrysostom and Augustine. What portion of his scanty income he could save from charity he spent on the books, many of them now rare and interesting, which to-day form the 'Jolly Library' in the Theological College at Edinburgh. His greatness of character was discerned and honoured by all classes of people. The country people used to call him 'Saint Jolly,' and the story of the sceptic in Fraserburgh who explained his salutation whenever he met the good bishop by saying 'My hands winna keep from my cap,' is paralleled by the testimonies of such contemporary ecclesiastics as Dean Hook and Bishop Hobart of New York. When George IV. visited Scotland in 1822, the bishops, who waited on him at Holyrood, were greatly distressed at the anticipated effect of Jolly's old-fashioned wig. Whether it was worn or not, 'His Majesty was particularly struck with the venerable appearance of Bishop Jolly, whose reverential deportment in the royal closet was very remarkable.'[1]

The Oxford Movement of 1833 had a very great effect upon the Scottish Church, whose principles of primitive truth

[1] T. Stephen's *History*, vol. iv. p. 503.

and apostolic order, as well as her disestablished position, rendered many of her members in peculiar sympathy with Tractarian teaching. One result of the Oxford Movement was the Eucharistic Controversy of 1857-60, during which Bishop Forbes of Brechin and the Rev. Patrick Cheyne of Aberdeen were indicted for erroneous teaching. Mr. Cheyne, as author of *Six Sermons on the Most Holy Eucharist*, was tried in 1858 and suspended from office as presbyter and as deacon. In 1860 Bishop Forbes, whose *primary charge* of 1857 had begun the controversy, was tried by his brother bishops. In his *Theological Defence* he was largely assisted by John Keble, who was also present at the trial. In the end Bishop Forbes was censured and admonished, it being explained that he only asked toleration for his opinions, and did not claim for them the authority of the Church, or any right to enforce them on those subject to his jurisdiction.

Happily, in the forty years since these trials, the Church has travelled far in the direction of a wise toleration. Good Bishop Forbes died in 1875, deeply mourned by his diocese and by the whole Church. The memory and results of his devoted work are still green in Dundee, where, as a model bishop, a hard-working parish priest, and a public-minded citizen, he was beloved and respected by all classes of the community. An accomplished scholar, a historian, and a theologian, he found time to write several valuable books, of which one of the best known is his work on the Thirty-nine Articles.

An important feature in the history of the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century is the growing power entrusted to the laity. After the Revolution, as we have seen, the administration of the Church was entirely in the hands of the bishops, and it was only gradually that the presbyters received any proper share of responsibility. The laity were longer left without any share, and therefore with little interest, in the conduct of the Church's affairs. In 1824 a movement in their favour was initiated by a visit to Scotland of Dr. Hobart, Bishop of New York. He impressed, among others, *John Skinner of Forfar* with a sense of the importance of the matter, by showing how beneficial to the American Church the co-operation of the laity had been. Skinner, who had previously advocated

the presence of laity in mixed conventions, wrote a circular letter to the bishops and clergy, urging that lay delegates should be associated with the clergy in diocesan synods, and should sit with them in general conventions, and be allowed a voice, not only in all matters of temporal concern, but in framing rules of lay discipline. Nothing came of Skinner's proposals, and *Mr. W. E. Gladstone's* appeal in 1852, '*On the functions of Laymen in the Church*,' only produced an abstract resolution from the Episcopal Synod, 'That the admission of the laity into ecclesiastical synods, under certain conditions, and to speak and vote therein on a large class of ecclesiastical questions, is not inconsistent with the word of God,' nor with the 'pure constitution of the Church.' In 1863, however, a beginning was made. Lay electors were allowed to vote in the election of bishops, laymen were allowed, with the bishops' permission, to address diocesan synods, and lay readers and catechists were sanctioned. In 1876, by the formation of *the Representative Church Council*, the laity were admitted to a full share in the financial work of the Church. This step has been of immense value to the Church, and has stimulated her progress exceedingly. In 1905 a still more important step was taken, in the admission of the laity to an indirect share in the Church's legislative function. By the formation of the *Consultative Council on Church Legislation*, a standing body of clergy and laity, power has been given not only to consult, and make representation on, all matters proposed for legislation by the Provincial Synod, but also to consult on any subject seeming to need legislative action.

Since 1864 some noteworthy efforts have been made, in emulation of good Bishop Leighton's work, to bring about a comprehensive **Church Reunion in Scotland.** If no great outward results have been yet arrived at by the attempts, yet good has been accomplished indirectly, in the abating of long-standing prejudices, and in the growing discernment, on both sides, of what is good and beneficial in Presbyterianism and Episcopacy alike. Attention has been directed to the many truths held in common, and the old accentuating of points of difference has been greatly modified.

In 1864 the celebrated **Dean Ramsay**, with the Rev.

Dr. Rorison of Peterhead, engaged in a public correspondence advocating reunion on the basis of the opinion that Episcopacy was not essential to the *esse*, but to the *bene esse* of the Church. Dr. Lee replied on the Presbyterian side, and a conference was arranged to discuss the situation, but it never met, and the idea was eventually abandoned. Another and more sustained effort was made by **Bishop Charles Wordsworth**, an able and scholarly successor of Leighton, who held the united see of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane from 1852 to 1892. During his long episcopate he laboured in season and out of season, in the pulpit, on the platform, and through the press, trying to impress the country with a sense of the evils arising from its religious divisions, and advocating the formation of one national church on the basis of the historic episcopate. In the scheme which he propounded he was prepared to make some concessions to Presbyterianism, on the ground of the exceptional circumstances of the Revolution settlement. In future, he suggested, all presbyters might be ordained by a bishop, with presbyters assisting, but the existing generation of ministers might be left the option to receive Episcopal ordination or not, or to receive it hypothetically, as they thought best. In the next generation the schism would be healed. Although the scheme was not acceptable to either side, the learning, charity, and courage with which, to the very end of his life, Bishop Wordsworth pursued the path of the peacemaker, have produced an abiding effect on the religious temper of Scotland.

Bishop Wordsworth's successor in the see, **Bishop, and now Primus, Wilkinson**, has taken up the same work of reconciliation, with a less ambitious policy, and with happier result. Through his efforts a **Committee on Christian Unity**, representative of the Established, Free, United Free, Congregational, and Episcopal communions in Scotland, was formed early in the nineties, for prayer and consultation. It was felt that the time had not yet come to talk of schemes for Church reunion, but that something could and ought to be done to further Christian unity. The different assemblies were approached, with the object of appointing a day of united intercession for unity throughout Scotland, and this day was eventually observed. *The*

Christian Unity Association was then formed for a continuance of the work of prayer, and for academic study of the points of difference between the religious bodies represented. It now meets periodically, and the tracing of its influence and results will be one of the tasks of the historian of the future.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF CHIEF DATES

A.D.	
397.	St. Ninian builds Candida Casa.
410.	Withdrawal of Roman Army from Britain.
563.	Landing of St. Columba at Iona.
597.	Death of St. Columba.
635.	St. Aidan sent to Northumbria.
664.	Synod of Whitby, and end of Northumbrian mission.
850.	Kenneth M'Alpine removes primacy to Dunkeld.
1068.	St. Margaret comes to Scotland.
1100.	Diocesan Episcopacy introduced.
1174.	Treaty of Falaise.
1225.	Annual Provincial Councils instituted.
1407.	Burning of Wickliffite, John Resby.
1433.	Burning of Hussite, Paul Crawar.
1472.	Archbishopric of St. Andrews instituted.
1494.	Trial of Lollards of Kyle.
1525.	Lutheranism appears.
1543.	English Bible sanctioned by Parliament.
1546.	Burning of Wishart, and murder of Cardinal Beaton.
1552.	Hamilton's Catechism.
1559.	Last Provincial Synod.
1560.	The Scottish Reformation.
1572.	Titular Episcopacy established.
1592.	First establishment of Presbyterianism.

A.D.

1610. Restoration of valid Episcopate.
1637. Scottish Prayer-book introduced.
1638. Second establishment of Presbyterianism.
1661. Second restoration of valid Episcopate.
1662. Patronage Act.
1679. Murder of Archbishop Sharp. Battle of Bothwell Brig.
1688. Landing of William of Orange. Rabbling of 'Curates.'
1689. Disestablishment of Episcopacy.
1690. Third establishment of Presbyterianism.
1715. First Jacobite rising.
1719. First penal law.
1745. Second Jacobite rising.
1746. Second penal law.
1748. Third penal law.
1764. Authorised edition of the Scottish Communion Office.
1784. Consecration of Bishop Seabury.
1792. Repeal of penal laws.
1864. Penal disabilities removed.
1876. Formation of Representative Church Council.
1905. Formation of Consultative Council on Church Legislation.

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