

A
HISTORY
OF
SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL
AND
CIVIL AFFAIRS,
FROM THE
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

BY
THE REV. JOHN MARSHALL.

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TO THE
PRIMUS,
AND THE OTHER BISHOPS
OF THE
CHURCH IN SCOTLAND,

This Volume

IS RESPECTFULLY, AND DUTIFULLY, INSCRIBED

BY

THEIR LORDSHIPS' FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IN the midst of much bodily suffering, and many other disadvantages of a peculiar nature, the following work has been written ; and the writer hopes that, on that account, the eye of criticism will look leniently on it. Within the compass of its pages, he believes that historical facts have not been trifled with : the manner in which these facts have been dwelt upon, and illustrated, he leaves to the judgment of the reader. He cannot allow the work to pass from his hands without a few words of preliminary remark.

It was suggested to him by a distinguished member of the College of Bishops ;—by one who bears a name which is for all ages—by one who stands in close relationship to a great English poet, who has entered into his rest, but of whom it may be truly said, as ~~it~~ was said of an illustrious orator of the British House of Commons, that “his name will be remembered when all of us are silent, and most of us forgotten.” Can it be supposed that we refer to any other name than that of WORDSWORTH ?

In June 1858, the idea of a new and popular History of the Church in Scotland originated with the Right Rev. Dr Wordsworth, Bishop of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. Nearly twelve months have been bestowed on the labours

connected with it. It now remains to be seen whether these labours have been expended in vain.

Among those to whom the present writer has been indebted, in the course of the composition of this History, for friendship and support, none stands higher than the Very Rev. John Torry, Dean of St Andrews. He acknowledges, also, his obligations to the Rev. William Farquhar of Fitscandly, and the Rev. W. G. Shaw, of Forfar, for their kindness in assisting him to revise it.

From the Very Rev. Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh, he has received valuable materials.

There are two other names which the writer wishes to place upon record, in connection with this work. These are that of Mr Robert Chambers, of world-wide celebrity, a personal friend of more than thirty years' standing; and that of Mr Bryce, whose genius has studded, and continues to stud, the land of his fathers with mansions, in magnificent proportions, which not only embellish that land for the present, but on which the breezes of summer will blow, and the storms of winter will burst, for centuries to come. To these two men the writer is, indirectly, under obligations as to the carrying out the work; and such obligations are sacred and eternal.

In the composition of the work, the writer has been greatly indebted to the *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, by the Rev. John Skinner; to the *History of the Church in Scotland*, by Bishop Russell; and, more particularly, to the *History of the Church of Scotland*, by Thomas Stephen, Medical Librarian of King's College, London. From Bishop Russell's edition of *Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and from a series of admirable sketches on the subject of the *Ecclesiastical History of North Britain*, which appeared, some years ago, in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, he has also derived much valuable information.

With respect to these sketches, which are from the pen of the Rev. Gilbert Rorison, of Peterhead, it is much to be regretted that they are incomplete. They commence with

the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, and they reach only to the death of Wishart, in 1546, on the eve of the Reformation. Throughout, they are highly talented; in many places, they are brilliant; and, had they been brought out in a perfect shape, in all probability the present work would never have been written.

The writer wishes to add a few words more. In the composition of such a work, it was impossible for him not to draw a broad-line of distinction between Episcopalians and Presbyterians: He is, himself, on principle, and after an investigation of historical facts which commenced with boyhood, a thorough Episcopalian; but he has the highest respect for his Presbyterian countrymen. His ancestors, by father's side, and by mother's side, were Presbyterians; and the probability is, that some of them may have suffered for their doings at Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Aird's Moss. Those distant times of bigotry, and bloodshed, have passed away. Should a Presbyterian, therefore, happen, while perusing this History, to meet with an anecdote, in which Presbyterianism is represented in a ridiculous light, let him take it in good-humour; and let him read it as he would read the pages of *Hudibras*, whose satire is so liberally, and so pleasantly, bestowed on the extravagances of the age of the Puritans and Oliver Cromwell.

ERRATA

Page 68, line 17th, delete *tautological*.

362, line 1st, for *Tummet* read *Garry*.

328, line 18th, for *primitive* read *punitive*.

377, line 6th, delete *of*.

380, line 3d, for *images* read *pictures*.

405, line 27th, read *John Bowdler, Esq.*

449, line 16th, read 1,000,000 *persons*.

ASTICAL

RS.



A
HISTORY
OF
SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL
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CIVIL AFFAIRS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SECTION I.

Origin of parishes—Churches—Chapels—Chaplains—Scottish Episcopal churches not chapels—Rectories—Spelman—Various kinds of Rectors—Rector *navis*, and Rector *chori*—Vicars—Ministers—The Great Rebellion—Joseph Mede—Position, and titles, of Bishops in ancient times—Archdeacon Sinclair—The Title “My Lord”—Bishops of Sodor and Man—Obadiah and Elijah.

BEFORE entering upon the direct, and more immediate, object of this work, it may be desirable that I should make some remarks on a few subjects, which, however interesting in themselves, are not specifically connected with Scottish matters, but which rather belong to ecclesiastical and civil history in general.

The first of these to which I shall call attention is the origin of parishes. “According,” says Dr Hook in his *Church Dictionary*, “to the original constitution of the Church, the Bishop, as the pastor of the flock, is bound by his office to oversee each individual of his diocese; and, when missions are first established, and the number of Christians is small, this he is able personally to do. Our own Church (the Church of England) was first established by a missionary Bishop, attended by priests and deacons, acting immediately under him, but having no distinct cure of souls. But, when many were converted, and the Church became nearly co-extensive with the nation, the Bishops were obliged to do by deputy what they could no longer personally perform; and dioceses were subdivided into parishes, in which the Bishop of the diocese placed a clergyman of the second order in the ministry, not only to discharge the duties pertaining to that order, to preach and administer the sacraments, but also to superintend the people; the Bishop reserving to himself the superintendence of the diocese generally, and of the clergy in particular.”

As far as Scotland is concerned, while the institution

of parishes was unknown, the clergy acted simply as local missionaries under the Bishop; officiating wherever their services were required, and wherever birth, death, or sickness demanded their attention. As to the origin of parishes, within the boundaries of the northern part of Great Britain, we know nothing with certainty. It may suffice to say, that, by the twelfth century, they were fairly established, and recognised by the civil as well as the ecclesiastical law of the land.

Churches.

It being necessary that edifices should exist, in which the public worship of God should be conducted, and in which the ordinances of religion should be administered, churches gradually arose. The word *Church* is derived from the Greek word *Kuriakos*, the Lord's house; from which word comes the Saxon word *Cyric* or *Kyrk*; and, by adding a double aspiration to it, our usual word *Chyrch*, or *Church*.

Chapels:

The word *Chapel* comes from a different source, and has a curious, and almost ludicrous origin. It is derived from the Latin word *Capella*, a young goat, or kid; and means, in fact, a little church—an offshoot from the parent one. In the most ancient periods of the gospel, the Cathedral—where lived the Bishop and his council of presbyters, with the deacons—was the only church of the diocese. By and by, parish churches were erected for the accommodation of the Christian population among whom they were placed. In process of time, families who lived at an inconvenient distance from the parish church, were allowed to have their private oratories in the immediate neighbourhood of their respective residences, where they might enjoy the ordinary rites of religion; but still under the proviso, that, on the more solemn feast-days of the church, their parish churches should be their regular places of resort. Thus, we repeat, originated the term *chapels*; while the clergy who were licensed to officiate in them were called *capellani*; or *chaplains*.

Chaplains.

Scottish
Episcopal
churches
not chapels.

From what we have said, it is evident that the places of public worship of the Scottish Episcopal Church are not chapels. They are churches. They are houses of God, solemnly set apart from profane use, and consecrated to the high and holy purpose of our presenting

ourselves, periodically, at the footstool of Him whose creatures we are.

While on this subject, it may not be out of place to give some information respecting the nature of Rectories, whether in that branch of the Church which was planted in England, or in that which held, and still holds, its footing on the north side of the river Tweed. The title *Rector*, as implying a person appointed to take charge of the spiritual interests of a parish or congregation, has been so long unknown in Scotland, that the true meaning of it has become obsolete.

Spelman's definition of a Rectory, or Parsonage—that is, of a legally constituted Rectory in England—is as follows: "A Rectory, or Parsonage, is a spiritual living, composed of land, tithe, and other oblations of the people, separate or dedicate to God in any congregation, for the service of His Church there, (touching divine worship, and works of charity,) and for the maintenance of the *governor* or minister thereof, to whose charge the same is committed. By this definition, it appears that the ordinary living, or revenue, of a Parsonage is of three sorts;—the one in land, commonly called the glebe; another in tithe, which is a set and regular part of our goods rendered to God; the third, in offerings and oblations bestowed upon God and His Church by the people, either in such arbitrable proportion as their own devotion moveth them, or as the laws, or customs, of particular places do require them."

The definition of Spelman is certainly a correct one, as far as the Church of England is concerned; but we must remember, that, according to Dr Johnson, the primary meaning of the word *Rector* is merely that of "ruler, lord, governor." Where there are no such things as land, tithe, and offerings, Rectories may be. The late Bishop Hobart was Rector of his church in New York; Bishop Doane is Rector of that of which he is pastor in New Jersey; and this title is universally used in the American Church.

It has been supposed, and the assertion was once made, to the present writer, by the late venerable and excellent Lord Medwyn, that no such title as that of Rector has ever been known, in Scotland, since the

downfall of the Romish hierarchy, in 1560. This is a mistake ; and, in proof of its being so, we need merely refer to an epitaph in the churchyard of Rattray, in Perthshire, in which the following words occur : ‘ Hic situs est Mr Silvester Rattray, hujus ecclesiæ Rector, et minister, qui obiit penul. Jan. anno 1623, ætatis sui 67.’

Various kinds of Rectors.

There are various kinds of Rectors. There are the Lord Rectors of the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. There are the Rectors of convents, and seminaries, or colleges, on the continent. There are the Rectors of large schools ; such as the High School, Edinburgh, Perth Academy, Ayr Academy, Dundee Academy, and the Grammar School, Aberdeen.

Rector *navis*, and Rector *chori*.

Virgil speaks of the pilot of a ship as *Rector navis* ; and in the Church of England, there has been, in days of old, if there is not still to be found therein, such a person as *Rector chori*. Plain English readers will smile, when we inform them that the latter expression means nothing more than the leader of a choir, or band.

Vicars.

Many are puzzled to know the difference between Rectors and Vicars. We shall endeavour to explain it. Rectors, in the Church of England, are men who draw their tithes *directly*. Vicars are men who receive *vicariously*, whether from clergymen, or from laymen, while they are the instituted and inducted pastors of a parish, the means of their temporal livelihood. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, when the Church of England was spoliated by that sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant, the tithes of the parish of Woburn were conferred by him on one of his minions, named Russell, the ancestor of the present Duke of Bedford, with the arrangement, that he should pay, out of them, a certain sum per annum, to the clergyman of the parish. Thus the clergyman became a Vicar, instead of a Rector ; the Bedford family were enriched by Church robbery ; and while, in the present day, the Vicar of Woburn receives no more than about £250 a year for the discharge of his clerical duties, the Reforming house of Russell, whose leading members are among the loudest to clamour about the inadequate manner in which many

of the clergy of the Church of England are paid, draw, from Church property, not less than £1000 or £1200 a year.

The word Minister frequently occurs in the English *Book of Common Prayer*; and it does so on the understanding, that the person to whom it is applied is the presbyter *ministering*, or officiating, during divine service. As it is ordinarily understood by the laity, this term is very ignorantly, and even offensively, misapplied. "Minister," says Dr Hook, "is the Latin term to designate that officer who is styled deacon in Greek. The term was applied, generally, to the clergy *about the time of the Great Rebellion*; since which time it has been used to denote *the preacher of any religion*. Joseph Mede protested against calling our presbyters ministers of the Church, or of such or such a parish. "We should call them," he observes, "ministers of God, or ministers of Christ, not ministers of men; because they are not only God's ministers, who sends them, but the people's magistrates, to teach, instruct and oversee them. Were it not absurd," he adds, "to call the shepherd the sheep's minister? If he be their minister, they surely are his masters. And it would be well if the clergy would always call themselves by their distinctive titles."

The position, and titles, of Bishops, in ancient times, are, in consequence of the authority which they are commissioned to exercise in the Christian Church, worthy of some attention.

That Bishops were the immediately commissioned successors of the Apostles, authorised to transmit their spiritual power to others, is a matter to be decided simply by historical evidence; and we cannot do better than refer our readers, for information on this point, to the brief, but excellent work, by Archdeacon Sinclair, with regard to it. The present writer earnestly, and respectfully requests, that that most respectable body, the ministers of the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, will possess themselves of this work; for it is his warmest desire, and the fondest wish of his heart, that the time may yet come—that it may not be far distant—whem Ephraim shall cease to "envy Judah,

Position,
and titles,
of Bishops
in ancient
times.

Archdeacon
Sinclair.

and Judah to vex Ephraim;" when Scottish Episcopacy and Scottish Presbyterianism shall meet on mutual ground, and, acting on the solemnly expressed opinions of Calvin, with regard to Church government, not only worship the same God, and plead for salvation through the same Saviour, but also adopt the same principles as to the manner of doing so.*

The title
"My Lord."

It is a vulgar error, that Bishops of the Church of England are styled "Lords" because they are temporal barons, or because they sit in Parliament. The title "My Lord" has always been given to the Bishops of Chester, Gloucester and Bristol, Peterborough, Oxford, and Ripon, although they do not sit in Parliament by barony, but by writ of summons. The Bishop of Sodor and Man (anciently styled Bishop of Sodor, Man, and the Isles) has always been called "My Lord," although, properly speaking, he never sat in Parliament at all. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia was styled "My Lord" by George the Fourth, although such title was not inserted in his letters-patent. All Colonial Bishops are styled "My Lord," although it is notorious that none of them have seats in Parliament. Bishops were called "Lords" before Parliaments, or temporal Lords existed. In fact, the title is strictly ecclesiastical and scriptural; given to the prophets of the Lord by virtue of their office, even when they were persecuted by the civil power.

Bishops of
Sodor and
Man.

Having referred to the position of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, with regard to the British Parliament, it may be interesting to a certain class of our readers to peruse, on this subject, the following letter to the writer, from the present Lord Bishop of St Asaph, who was formerly Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man:—

"ST ASAPH, March 2, 1859.

"MY DEAR SIR—1. There is a tradition that the

* In a letter to a friend, who had been made a Bishop in the Church of Rome, Calvin says: "Episcopacy itself *has proceeded from God, and was instituted by God.*"—*Opusc. p. 72.*—*Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 122.—Calvin also says, that "*equality of ministers breedeth strifes.*"—*Ibid. p. 121.*—Calvin quotes Titus, I. 5.

Bishop of Sodor and Man has a right to a *seat*, but not to a vote, in the House of Lords.

"2. But it is so long since such a right has been exercised, that the tradition would have to be established. The tradition is, that he had a stool there; and I believe that he sat in his robes.

"3. There is an idea, that, if the Manx legislature ceased to exist, by the Island's having a representative in the House of Commons, and so becoming part and parcel of England, the Bishop would, as holding a barony under the crown, become a member of the House of Lords. On this point, I do not know enough of constitutional law to be able to give any opinion.

"4. As to the *lawn sleeves*,* it is, I believe, only a regulation of the House. A Bishop votes not as a personal, but as an official member of the House. The House, then, will not regard him as a member unless his dress signify the fact; *e. g.*,

"A judge may sit in the House—not vote—but then must be in his robes.

"5. In courtesy, a Bishop of Sodor and Man would be admitted within the Throne, in his ordinary dress, as any Colonial Bishop; so that the tradition (No. 1) is different from this.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

"THOS. VOWLER ST ASAPH."

The writer has received another letter from his Lordship, in which he says:—

"ST ASAPH, April 25, 1859.

"MY DEAR SIR—If you mention the See of Sodor and Man, you may, perhaps, as connected with Scotland, as well mention the probable origin of the name. The Western Isles formerly belonged to Norway, and formed two Bishoprics, under the Metropolitan See of Dronheim; the Northern and Southern. When the Norwegians conquered Man, they added that island to the southern diocese, and it became the diocese of

* The writer had consulted his Lordship as to whether a Bishop might vote, or even sit, in the House of Lords without his lawn sleeves.

Soudar and Man, (Sodor and Man,) and has so remained. There, probably, never was any place called Sodor.

"This is, to my mind, the best derivation for a name which has given much trouble.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

"THOS. V. ST ASAPH."

Obadiah
and Elijah.

We have spoken of the title "My Lord" as one strictly ecclesiastical and scriptural; given to the prophets of the Almighty in olden times. Thus, we see it given to Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 7-13), and, after his translation, to his successor Elisha (2 Kings ii. 19.) "Art thou," said Obadiah, "that *my Lord* Elijah?" "I am," was the reply; "Go tell *thy Lord*, Behold, Elijah is here." "Was it not told *my Lord*," exclaims Obadiah, "what I did when Jezebel slew the prophets of the Lord?" The same style of language will be found in connection with Elisha. "And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as *my Lord* seeth."

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SECTION II.

Words, and forms, of great signification, and importance—The Peerage—St Chrysostom—Titles of Scottish Bishops—Titles of the highest respect given to Bishops, in the earliest and purest times of the Christian faith—The first Colonial Bishop—The second, Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia—The term Pope—Presbyters, and their rights—Parishes, and their boundaries—Camden and Selden—Manse—Oratories—Tithes—Form of endowing churches—The Offertory—Structure of ecclesiastical edifices—Altar at the east end—First churches oblong—Cathedrals cruciform—The churchyard—The Baptistry—Entrance at the west—The Narthex, or Porch—The Nave—The Chancel—The Screen—Praying towards the East—Burying the dead with their faces towards the East—English ecclesiastical edifices—The Cross—The Middle Ages—Barr on Church architecture—The Nave and Aisles—The arrangement and embellishing of the Chancel—General arrangement of churches—The Font—The Reading Pew, or Prayer Desk—The Lectern, or Lecturn, or Eagle—The Faldstool, or Litany Desk—The Altar, or Communion Table—The One Sacrifice, and One Altar—A Commemorative Sacrifice—Bishop Heber—The Credence, or Prothesis—The Sedilia—The Lights upon the Altar—The Rood Screen—The Sacrarium.

WORDS, and forms, are everything to some people, and something to every one. Much depends upon a name. If a Bishop's proper title is not given to him, the next step will be to deny his authority. "What is Majesty," said Burke, "without its externals? A jest." So it is with regard to religion. Let the ministers of religion be treated with disrespect, religion itself will soon come to be despised. The same principle applies to the persons of the dispensers of justice. The judge of

Words, and forms, of great signification and importance

assize is heralded, in splendour, to the seat where he is to vindicate, and uphold, the omnipotence of the law. The trumpet is blown before him. The streets are lined with armed men. The nobles of the land, and the first, and foremost, in authority, and renown, and honour, bow down before him. He represents not merely his sovereign, but that which keeps all human society together; and, without which, mankind would be a race of savages, continually warring with one another.

The Peer-
age.

When a man aspires to the Peerage, he aspires to it because he considers it a post of honour, and of dignity, in which he is not only to discharge his duties as a legislator, standing between the despotism of the crown on the one hand, and the licentiousness of the people on the other, but because, in such a position, he will be addressed in a manner becoming the great and important functions which will be entailed on him.

St Chrysos-
tom.

Such being the principles of human law, and such being part and parcel of the constitution of human nature, we need not be surprised when we find St Chrysostom enunciating as follows: "Every heretic speaking with a Bishop, doth neither call him Bishop, nor Archbishop, nor Most Religious or Holy; but what? *Your Reverence*, your Wisdom, your Prudence; and he giveth him *common names*, thereby denying his authority. The devil so dealt with God himself."

Titles of
Scottish
Bishops.

Recently, the question has repeatedly been put, What is the proper title by which to address a Scottish Bishop of the present day? To this question we unhesitatingly and decidedly answer, "My Lord."*

Titles of the
highest re-
spect given
to Bishops,
in the
earliest and
purest ages
of the
Christian
faith.

That titles of the highest respect were, in the earliest and purest ages of the Christian faith, given to Bishops is beyond dispute. In settling this matter, the general language, and practice, of the Church Catholic are what we must be chiefly guided by. When Arius, the renowned heresiarch, wrote to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, he addressed him as "my most desired

* The present Bishop Gillis, of Edinburgh, a prelate of the Church of Rome, once said to the writer, in his Lordship's own house: "You are quite right, Mr Marshall. Bishops were *Lords* before lay-Lords ever were heard of. There is not a Court in Europe where I am not acknowledged as 'My Lord.'"

Lord Eusebius." The Bishops who accompanied Athanasius out of Egypt inscribed a letter to the Bishops assembled at Tyre, "To our most honoured *Lords.*" The Synod of Jerusalem speak of "their pastor and *Lord Athanasius.*" Gregory Naziazen thus says: "Let no man speak untruth of me, nor of my *Lords* the Bishops."

Innumerable are the examples which might be adduced in proof of the fact, that Bishops ought to be treated with the greatest respect and reverence; and that they ought, both officially, and in the intercourse of private life, to be addressed in a manner indicative of the highest regard for the office which they fill. Enough, however, has, at present, been said on the subject. The first English Colonial Bishop was Dr Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia. He did not trouble himself about titles; neither did his successor, Bishop Stanzer. Dr Middleton was created the first Bishop of Calcutta; and, from the date of his accession to his high office, he was recognised as *Lord*. "My Lord Bishop of Calcutta," said George the Fourth to him, "I am glad to see you at Court."

The first colonial Bishop.

The son of the first Bishop of Nova Scotia was, afterwards, also Bishop of that distant country; and he was invited to the coronation of William the Fourth, and, subsequently, to that of Queen Victoria, as "*Lord Bishop,*" but not, of course, to do homage.

The second Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia.

The term Pope is one which was, originally, applied to all Bishops. Its modern application to the Bishop of Rome alone is simply a conventionalism.*

The term Pope.

The Presbyters are the second order of the Christian Priesthood. They are the councillors of the Bishop, or subordinate rulers with him; and, in primitive ages, they were always acknowledged as such. In the present day, this important historical truth seems to have been much overlooked; and the result is, that much confusion has been introduced into both the Scottish and English branches of the Christian Church.

Presbyters, and their rights.

* The word Pope, *Papa*, or father, is now to be found in every Scottish and English family. Anciently, in Romish times, the first toast after dinner, was, "*Au bon Père,*" to the good Father. It is now, at English and Scottish feasts, known as "*A bumper.*"

Parishes,
and their
boundaries.

We have already spoken of the origin of parishes. In Scotland it is an obscure point; but the boundaries of such parishes appear to have been generally determined by those of the manors, or large estates, of which they principally consisted. The lord of the manor built the church; he founded the Rectory; and he endowed the Rector with a tithe of his lands for ever.

Camden,
and Selden.

Camden tells us, that the southern part of Great Britain was divided into parishes about the year 630; but Selden, who was one of the greatest men of his time, proves that the clergy lived in common long after the middle of the seventh century. But, that parishes were formed at least before the end of the twelfth century, there cannot be a doubt; seeing that several Saxon laws, still in existence, refer to them.

Manse.

When a parish was created, it was endowed with one entire "manus," or as much land as was usually held by a ceorl or freeman of the lower rank. From this word is, we presume, derived the word "manse," which is still given to the parsonage houses of the parochial cures in Scotland.

Oratories.

Oratories, in early times, were small chapels, for private devotion, furnished with an altar, but *not consecrated*. The word Oratory is derived from the Latin word *Oratorium*.

Tithes.

The institution of tithes is one which reaches as far back as to the days of Abraham. It is not necessary that we should here discuss the question, as to the divine right and permanent obligation of tithes; that is, of tithes properly so called, and apart from offerings. It may not be amiss, however, to state the opinion of Spelman on this important point. His position is, that tithes are "God's ancient demesne, and the nobler part of his inheritance;"—that they are founded principally on the law of nature; and that the payment of them, towards the support of God's Church, of the services of religion, and of a Christian priesthood, sufficiently numerous to discharge, in an effectual manner, the duties of the sacred office, is as much binding upon the laity, under the Gospel dispensation, as it was under the Patriarchal and Jewish economies.

The form of endowing churches, in early times, was certainly an interesting one. The donor of lands, or of any endowments whatever, for the service of God, gave them in a formal writing, sealed and witnessed; and the tender of the gift was upon the altar (*super altare*) while the donor was on his knees. On this subject, much interesting information may be derived from Sir Henry Spelman's work on *Sacrilege*.

We cannot omit taking notice of the solemn manner, in the Primitive Church, of men's contributing to the support of the worship of God by means of the Offertory. The offertory was a weekly contribution, made by Christians in the course of divine service, by means of which the ordinances of the Church were, in a great measure, supported, the clergy provided for, and the poor protected against the assaults of want. It is expressly recognised, by St Paul, in Scripture (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2); it is enjoined by the rubrics of the Prayer Book of the Church of England; and it is consonant with the principles of common sense. The thorough revival of the offertory, in the present day, would, we believe, be a complete remedy for all the evils connected with a deficiency of funds for the carrying out of God's purpose in connection with the salvation of man.

While the Church was in a state of persecution, it is not to be expected that the places in which the first Christians assembled to address the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth Eternity, should have been places at all commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the duty which was entailed upon them.

In fear of their idolatrous tyrants, they met at early dawn, or rather before daybreak, in dens, in caves, and in secret parts of the earth; and there, offering up prayers, and hymns, and thanksgivings to the Author of every good and perfect gift, they bound themselves together, as one united body, not only in the Apostles' doctrine, but also in the Apostles' fellowship. When this condition of things, however, passed away—when Jesus of Nazareth had triumphed over all the power, and all the greatness, of the mightiest empire which the world ever saw—when the prophecy of Isaiah, that *kings should be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing*

Form of
endowing
churches.

The Offer-
tory.

Structure
of ecclesi-
astical
edifices.

mothers, of the Church, had been fulfilled, in the conversion of Constantine, the Roman Emperor, to Christianity—the devotion and the zeal of the early followers of Jesus were allowed to display themselves without reserve. Then they built magnificent edifices for the worship of the one true God. Then they reared majestic and sumptuous piles; in which the human soul, separated, and cut off, as it were, for the time, from all connection with the debasing things of this world, might aspire directly to heaven. In the structure of these piles—in the position in which they stood—in the parts and portions of which they were composed—nay, in the most trifling ornaments which adorned their walls—everything spoke a language, and everything embodied a meaning, redolent of the passage of the Christian from time to eternity, from the cradle to the grave. In the erection of a House of Prayer, the primitive Christians were not satisfied that it should simply be sufficiently large to accommodate a certain number of persons. Their object was, not merely that it should be ample enough to give room for those persons to worship their heavenly Father. Their religious structures constituted a language of themselves. Every Christian temple, reared to the honour and glory of God, had, as it were, a soul and a sense within it, which was intended to speak both to the eye and to the heart of the spectator. In so doing, it aimed at elevating his devotions, and at informing his mind. It told him of that spiritual Church, of which the earthly building is but a symbol. It led him “onwards to that heavenly Jerusalem,” of which the material fabric is, as it were, the vestibule. Some one or other of the mysteries of the Christian faith—as, for instance, the mystery of the Trinity—was always embodied in it. It invariably shadowed forth some part of the ecclesiastical polity—that, say, of the division of the members of the Church Catholic into clergy and laity—and it was never found wanting in conveying to him who gazed on it some lesson of instruction, either in religion or in morals, were it only by means of the numerous extracts from Holy Writ with which its walls were enriched.*

* *The Lord's House.* By the Rev. John Marshall. Pp. 18-15.

“In the erection,” says Barr, (Church Architecture, p. 21), “of an edifice for the solemn celebration of religious worship, the early Christians, from various mystical and sacred motives, always placed the altar at the east end of the building; and, consequently, in this respect, the plan of the structure was directly opposed to that of the Jewish Temple, which had its sanctuary towards the west. The Anglican Church never sanctions any unnecessary deviation from the practice of antiquity, and, therefore, in her disposition of her houses of prayer, from the remotest period, adopted the ancient arrangement, which ought never to be departed from, especially as it may tend to remind her members of that part of the world where Christianity had both its origin and perfection; and there does not appear to be any reasonable objection to the usage being observed.”

Altar at the east end.

“The plan,” says the same author, (pp. 22, 23) “of the first places of Christian worship was oblong, a figure that continued for a long time to be preferred to that of the cross, which did not become generally adopted until the reign of the Emperor Constantine: but a cruciform structure, however expressive and significant, in order to be properly effective, ought to be of considerable dimensions. * * * Such edifices ought always to be composed of a few bold, well-defined portions, and their plan should consist of a nave and chancel, together with a tower or belfry, and an entrance-porch. If a vestry be required, it may be erected on the north or south side of the building, near the east end.” The edifices to which Mr Barr here refers are ordinary churches; the cruciform figure being, in his opinion, suited for cathedrals alone.

First churches oblong.

Cathedrals cruciform.

Another writer, on this very interesting subject, thus speaks:—“In the most ancient churches, there was, first of all, the entire space, the *churchyard*, as we should call it, answering to the court of the Gentiles in the Jewish Temple, enclosed by a wall, to intimate the separation of the Church (of Christ) from the world. Within this, but still without the sanctuary or proper church, was the *baptistery*, or building enclosing the font; for, as baptism is the divinely-appointed sacra-

The church yard.

The Baptistery.

ment of admission into the Church, (Catholic,) it was held that this enclosure, separate indeed from the world, but not yet a part of the church itself, was the fittest place for the administering of this holy sacrament. Then came the sacred edifice itself, extending from the west to the east, of a length far greater than its breadth, and terminating at the east end in a semi-circle; representing, as nearly as might be, the body of a ship, in allusion to the ship into which our blessed Lord entered, which was always looked upon as a type of the Church; and also—for the two allusions may well exist together—to the ark, in which Noah, and all who were with him, were saved from destruction, while every creature without perished. The entrance was at the west; and the whole interior was divided into three portions, answering to three several divisions, in which the ecclesiastical polity requires that the members of the Church shall be distinguished. There was, first, the *narthex*, or porch, for penitents and catechumens; for all, that is, who might receive the teaching of the Church, and join in a part of her worship, but who were not yet received to the last solemn rite of Christian worship, the Lord's Supper, or who were, for some reason, debarred from it for a time. Then followed the *nave*, or body of the church, for the communicants or perfect Christians, as they were called; and, still farther eastward, the sanctuary—the *chancel*, as we now speak—appropriated to the clergy, or those who are separated from the rest of the church for the divine service. Each of these portions of the church was separated from the other two by a screen or a veil, to intimate the reality and the importance of the distinction which they signified between the different classes of Christians.”*

Entrance
at the west.

The *Nar-*
thex, or
Porch.

The Nave.

The Chan-
cel.

The Screen.

It will thus be observed, that, in the earliest churches, the great divisions of them were, first, The porch, for non-communicants; secondly, The nave, for those in full communion; and, thirdly, The chancel, for the clergy. The nave was so called from the Latin

* POOLE'S *Appropriate Character of Church Architecture*, pp. 19-21.

word *navis*, a ship; the chancel from the Latin word *cancelli*, which signifies the rails or lattice-work enclosing the altar, or communion-table. The porch, in after-ages, lost its original use of holding non-communicants, and of being the place wherein baptism was administered; and, subsequently, it dwindled down to the small and insignificant portion of an ecclesiastical edifice which we now see it.* “In ancient times,” says Pugin, “the Church porch was used for the performance of several religious ceremonies appertaining to baptism, matrimony, and the solemn commemoration of Christ’s Passion in Holy Week, &c. It was, also, the place where the parishioners assembled for civil purposes.”†

The extract from the work of a living writer, on ecclesiastical architecture, which we have just presented to them, makes our readers aware of the fact, that the position of the churches of the early adherents of Christianity was from west to east. At the west end of the sacred edifice the door of entrance was placed; while at the eastern extremity the altar, or communion-table, was to be found. Thus, in the performance of their public devotions, the east was the quarter towards which the faces of the primitive disciples of the Christian faith were invariably directed. The reason of this circumstance may be briefly stated. As the east is, in the natural world, the quarter from which light first dawns upon the children of men, so, spiritually, Christ is said to be the Sun of Righteousness, who rose, with healing on his wings, to enlighten all nations. Nor is this any fanciful analogy of mere uninspired human beings. In the Holy Scriptures themselves, we find the metaphor originated, and kept up with a strictness, and a frequency, which justify us in treating it with at least some degree of reverence and respect. The prophet Zechariah, when predicting the coming of Messiah, says, in one place, “Behold, I will bring forth my servant THE EAST;” (Zech iii. 8. *אשר עלה* translated, in the English version, “The

Praying
towards the
East.

* *The Lord’s House*, pp. 15, 16.

† Pugin’s *Examples*, Vol. I.

BRANCH ;") and, in another, " Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is THE EAST. (Zech. vi. 12. Again erroneously translated, "The BRANCH.") In the first chapter of St Luke's Gospel, where, in our version, the expression *Day-spring* is employed, the original gives, as the correct language of the Evangelist, "THE EAST from on high hath visited us." (Luke i. 18.) It was on this account that to the primitive Christians the *east* stood as but another word for light, and the *west* for darkness. It was on this account that they regarded the east as the peculiar residence of their blessed Redeemer in his glorified form. It was on this account, that, as Daniel and the ancient Jews, during the Babylonish captivity, turned towards Jerusalem in prayer, so *they* always prayed in the direction of the east. It is on this account, that, even on the anti-Catholic and ultra-Protestant soil of Scotland, we are accustomed, in laying the bodies of our parents, our brethren, our offspring, and our friends, in the dust, so to arrange them in their last resting-place, as that they shall, reposing in expectant blessedness, look towards the east.

Burying the
dead with
their faces
towards the
East.

Here, we cannot refrain from placing before the reader of these pages some lines, beautiful in themselves—exceedingly beautiful when considered in connection with their subject—the outpourings of a pious and devout mind, in relation to the striking symbolical form on which we have just been commenting. Speaking of the spiritually eastward course of a Christian's life, the author of the lines says :—

Our life lies eastward : every day
Some little of that mystic way
By trembling feet is trod :
In thoughtful fast, and quiet feast,
Our thoughts go travelling to the East,
To our incarnate God.
Fresh from the font, our childhood's prime,
To life's most Oriental time,—

* * * * *

Still doth it eastward turn in prayer,
And rear its saving altar there.

Still doth it eastward turn in creed,
 While Faith, in awe, each gracious deed
 Of her dear Saviour's love doth plead ;
 Still doth it turn, at every line,
 To the fair East—in sweet, mute sign,
 That, through our weary strife and pain,
 We crave our Eden back again.

—*Faber's Poems*, pp. 227-229.

“ With regard to worshipping towards the East,” says the late Bishop Blomfield, in one of his Charges, “ there can be no doubt of its having been a very ancient practice of the Church ; for it is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, and by Tertullian. Bishop Stillingfleet, one of the most learned of our divines, considers it to be one of those customs derived from the primitive times, and continuing to our own, which there is no reason to oppose, but rather to cherish.”

It must be interesting to the present generation to know what were the sentiments of their forefathers on the subject of the erection, and arrangement, of edifices for the public worship of God. Were the writer of the present work addressing himself, peculiarly, to the denizens of the southern, instead of the northern, part of Great Britain, he would, in communicating the desired information, have, simply, to say, *Circumspice*. Let them look around them ; and, in the vast and mighty monuments, which they have left behind them, of their faith, their piety, and their ardent devotion to that particular branch of the Church Catholic which was more particularly their mother, we gather at once their notions as to the proper structure, the compass, the magnitude, and the decoration, of the House of Prayer.

Unfortunately—and for this we have to thank John Knox and his followers, the children of an iron and bigot age—there is not, with the exception of the Cathedrals of St. Mungo in Glasgow, and of St. Magnus at Kirkwall, in Orkney, one perfect or un mutilated specimen left to us, within the whole range of Scotland, from her northern to her southern boundary—from her eastern to her western sea—of the self-sacrificing ardour of our ancestors in their worship of God. Let us go, however, to merry England ;—let us go to that land of

English
 ecclesiasti-
 cal edifices.

the noble-hearted, the generous, and the free;—and there, in her populous cities, in her villages, on her mountain-tops, and in her sweet-lying valleys, we discern evidence overwhelming of the identity of the opinions of the men of the middle ages, on the subject of church architecture, with those of the first-born followers of the Lamb. There we see the lofty cathedral, gorgeous above all our previous ideas of gorgeousness or splendour. There we see the parish church, with its Gothic proportions and beauty—its oblong form—its nave, and its chancel—its stained glass eastern window*—its passages of Scripture on the walls—its every part bodying forth some lesson of Christian faith, or some lesson of Christian duty. While gazing on such an object—while looking on the time-honoured edifice before us—we cannot avoid being struck with the contrast which exists between a modern church and an ancient one. The former, a mere meeting-house—without order—without arrangement—without beauty—erected at the least possible expense, and made to crowd within it as many individuals as can, by whatever means, be assembled together: the latter, a large and venerable pile—massy and well proportioned—built for duration—

With pillars crowded, and the roof upheld
By naked rafters intricately crossed:—

all connected with it—whether the “admonitory texts,”—the “ornamental scroll,”—the “winged heads” of “rudely-painted cherubim,”—the “marble monuments,”—the “sepulchral stones,” or “foot-worn epitaphs,”—giving clear and satisfactory testimony in favour of the fact, that

They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build.†

To convey some notion how appropriately passages

* “The windows of a church,” says Barr, “should always be elevated a considerable height from the floor; for such an arrangement not only diffuses a more pleasing light to the interior of the sacred structure, but also prevents external objects from being visible, to distract the attention of the congregation.”—P. 36.

† Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*.

from the Word of God may be selected and arranged, and how impressive may be their general effect, we may repeat the whole series of inscriptions from a small chapel at Luton, in Bedfordshire. The chapel, which is the property of the Marquis of Bute, was built by one of the Napier family in the reign of James I.; and the beautiful wainscotting, with which it is fitted up, was brought from Tittenhanger, where it had been fixed by Sir Thomas Hope, in 1548.

Over the principal doorway are the words, *DOMUS DEI, PORTA CÆLI, the House of God is the Gate of Heaven*; and on the north and south sides of the entrance, *LAUDATE EUM, JUVENES, LAUDATE EUM, VIRGINES*, from Psalm cxlviii. verse 12. On the two transverses of a beautifully-carved door is an inscription from Psalm cxviii. 20, *PORTA DOMINI, JUSTI INTRABUNT*. With reference to a nearer approach to the altar, we have the words, *LAVABO INTER INNOCENTES MANUS MEAS, ET CIRCUMDABO ALTARE TUUM, DOMINE*: and on the altar itself, not only are the names of our blessed Lord found in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as they were inscribed by Pilate on his Cross, but also the following passages from Heb. xiii. 10; Matt. xxvi. 27; 1 Peter i. 12; and 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, *HABEAMUS ALTARE—EX HOC OMNES—IN QUÆ DESIDERANT ANGELI PROSPICERE—HOC IN MEMORIAM MEI*. Even the singular addition of a chimney-piece, in the chapel, has its appropriate inscription, *ECCE IGNIS ET LIGNUM, UBI EST VICTIMA HOLOCAUSTI?*—Gen. xxii. 7.

The use of texts of Scripture is enjoined by a passage in the eighty-second Canon of the Church of England, which appoints, "that the Ten Commandments be set up on the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same: and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels, and places convenient."—*Poole*, pp. 101-108. In a foot-note to this passage, Mr Poole very properly remarks that the direction here given, in the eighty-second Canon, "obviously pre-supposes that the congregation are facing the east."

There is one characteristic of the Church architecture

The Cross. of early times—especially of the period usually denominated the Middle Ages—on which we may be permitted to make a passing remark. The feature to which we allude is that of the prominence of the *Cross*, as the emblem of our salvation, on every structure raised for the devotional purposes of Christian men. Within and without the religious temple, a thousand years ago, the Cross invariably presented itself as the great symbol of the Christian Faith. In all the decorations of the House of God it bore a striking and conspicuous part. Like a “guardian crest,” it surmounted always even the lowliest edifice consecrated to the service of Jehovah. Unlike their degenerate descendants of the present day, our forefathers did not heap obloquy and derision on the Cross. On the contrary, they seized every occasion of putting it boldly forward; signifying, thereby, that they were not ashamed of the sufferings of Christ—that they were Christ’s soldiers and Christ’s servants—and that, as such, they were sworn to fight manfully under His banner, against sin, the world, and the devil, even unto their lives’ end.

How beautiful is the language of Wordsworth, while writing on the subject of the Cross, as the symbol of Christianity!

And we will not conceal the precious Cross,
 Like men ashamed. The sun, with its first smile,
 Shall greet that symbol, crowning the low pile,
 And the fresh air “of incense-breathing morn”
 Shall woefully embrace it; and green moss
 Creep through its arms, through centuries unborn.

It is a remarkable fact, that, in Scotland, the prejudice against the exhibition of the Cross, on the outside of religious edifices, seems now passing away. Not only has the mediæval style of Church architecture, to a certain extent, found its way within the precincts of the Presbyterian Establishment, and even of its offshoot, the Free Kirk, but the Cross is often to be seen displaying itself as a conspicuous ornament on the most elevated part of its walls. Still the prejudice prevails against its being exhibited *within* the religious edifice; but, according as civilization and intellectual refinement

make progress among the middle and lower classes of the Scottish people, so will this prejudice find its place "in the tomb of all the Capulets."

Perhaps the present writer will be excused for mentioning, that he was the first, since the era of the Reformation, to erect a church, in Scotland, on the principles of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages. That church was erected at Blairgowrie, in Perthshire, the Montpelier of Scotland;—the fair and fertile barony which was declared, by Mary Stuart, in the days of her palmy state, while endowing her loveliest handmaiden, as the bride-elect of Roland Græme, to be "such as a queen might well bestow."

The Middle Ages are usually considered to be the period extending from the fifth to the fifteenth century. The Middle Ages. It is the practice to speak of them as the Dark Ages; but they were not dark. On the contrary, although the cultivation of literature was then chiefly confined to the clergy, that cultivation was used in a most valuable manner. To the clergy of the Middle Ages we are indebted for the preservation of the precious lore of antiquity; and to them, too, we owe the possession of many a rare work of the best writers of polished Greece and classical Rome. The fierce Barons of the Middle Ages were, indeed, ignorant, and but few of them could sign their own names; and the same remark may be made with regard to the lower classes—for there can scarcely be said to have been any middle class—of the same time. But, in many respects, the enlightenment of the Middle Ages throws into the shade the darkness of the nineteenth century.

In reference to the grounds around monasteries, convents, and other religious abodes, it has often been said that the clergy were in the habit of taking possession of the most fertile portion of the land. It has seldom, however, been taken into consideration, that the places where they located themselves were, by the clergy, assiduously and regularly cultivated, in such a manner as that they became, in their hands, "like the Garden of Eden;" while, as respects the fierce Barons to whom we have referred, they were so intent on spoliation, and robbery, and on every evil work of the

flesh, that they permitted every district with which they were connected to become as "a desert."

Barr on
Church Ar-
chitecture.

On the subject of Church Architecture, as it existed in the Primitive and Middle Ages of Christianity, we cannot recommend our readers—more especially our younger ones—to a better than Mr Barr's interesting little architectural work. It is brief and comprehensive in its details: it is lucid, and exact, in its language: and it is so moderate in its price, that a person in almost any rank or position of life has it in his power to obtain it. For the information of those who do not possess this valuable manual, we shall select a few extracts from it.

The Nave,
and Aisles.

"The nave and aisles (from *ala*, a wing) are not required to be so highly ornamented as the chancel; but round the walls, under the windows, a series of arcades, or panels, may be appropriately introduced, for the reception of monumental inscriptions, which might prevent the introduction of marble tablets, and other unsightly memorials."—p. 38.

The ar-
rangement
and embel-
lishing of
the Chancel.

"The chancel, as in former times, ought always to be designed of a proper depth, and dignified proportions; or, a compartment of the nave may be elevated and railed off, for the reception of the altar, in preference to its being placed in a shallow recess, projecting at the east end. This portion of the sacred edifice being set apart for the most solemn and impressive administration of the Blessed Eucharist, should be more highly embellished than any other part of the building; and may, with great propriety, be vaulted with stone, although the nave and aisles are covered with nothing more costly than a roof of framed timber. The windows, also, should be filled with stained glass, and the walls enriched with mural sculpture and other decorations. If arcades, or panels, are introduced, they ought not to have sepulchral memorials inserted within them, but may be richly diapered, or ornamented with devices of a mystical and sacred character. Tiles, painted with various patterns, are excellent materials for paving the chancel-floor, which should, in every instance, be on a higher level than the rest of the church, in order that the altar may be distinctly visible;.

—an arrangement that is strictly in accordance with the practice of antiquity, to which it is always proper to refer, for information and guidance, in matters of this nature. Bishop Heber observes, that the chancel is ordered to be left as in times past; and it is very evident, that all the old chancels, anterior to the Reformation, were much elevated, and approached by many steps,—examples of which distribution are still often met with in our ancient churches and cathedrals.”
—pp. 40, 41.

In a Discourse written by the author of the present pages some years ago, and already referred to, (*The Lord's House*, 1843,) he transcribes pretty largely, in notes, from Barr on the subject of Ecclesiastical Architecture; and he thinks that, with a view to give information on the subject, he cannot do better than, here, to reproduce these notes, for the benefit of those who have no other means of becoming acquainted with them. We, therefore, give the following extracts from them :

General arrangement of churches.

“The Font,” says Barr, p. 51, “is ordered by the eighty-first Canon of the Anglican Church, to be of stone; and, with respect both to its general form, and the enrichments carved upon its exterior, should be designed of a proper date and character, to accord with the style of the edifice in which it is placed.”

The Font.

The word *font* is derived from the *fountains*, or streams, in which the Christians of old were baptized; and the reason why it is commanded by the Church of England to be of stone is, because it represents the *rock* from which, when smitten by Moses, the waters of life flowed,—the rock on which our Saviour declared his Church to be built,—and Christ himself as the Rock of our Salvation. The water used in baptism ought never to be applied to any profane use; but should be conveyed into the ground by an aperture at the bottom of the font.

“A font,” says Poole, p. 78, “of such structure as to carry with it any reverence at all, is almost never seen in a modern church; and, even in ancient churches, the fine old font gives place too often to a wretched basin, on a still more wretched pedestal. * * The ancient place of the font is so far from being regarded, that

we have a person, writing on the subject of the arrangement of churches, absolutely making it the praise of a portable basin, that it may be placed, if convenient, upon the altar !”

The Reading Pew, or Prayer Desk.

“The Reading Pew,” says Barr, pp. 57, 58, “should be constructed of oak, and there is never any occasion of its being made a lofty and prominent erection like a pulpit, since it is not desirable for the clergyman, when praying, to be exalted above the people more than is necessary for being distinctly heard. It ought always to be furnished with a double desk, like those which, according to Bishop Sparrow, were in use before the time of Oliver Cromwell ; so that the minister may be enabled to look towards the congregation when making his addresses to them, or reading the Lessons, and, when kneeling at prayers, to turn towards the altar ; a practice which was not only followed by the early Christians, but appears also to be implied in the Rubric of the Church of England. Nor is it in accordance with the becoming and significant order of her ritual observances, that the priest and people should offer their petitions to the throne of Heaven with their faces turned in opposite directions.”

The Lettern, or Lectern, or Eagle.

“The Lettern, or Lectern, is a movable desk, from which, in former times, the Lessons were read, and for this purpose is still retained in many of the Cathedrals and College chapels (of England). This beautiful remnant of ecclesiastical furniture is gradually making its reappearance in our parochial churches ; in which it might always with propriety be used, whenever there is more than one clergyman to officiate,—otherwise, the Prayer Desk, with a double book-board, is preferable.” —Barr, p. 59.

The Lettern was, anciently, sometimes called the Reading Desk, and also the Eagle. The Eagle was so called, because, when figured like the king of birds, with expanded wings, on which the Bible lies, it indicates the carrying of the Gospel into all lands ;—even to the uttermost parts of the earth.

It is somewhat curious, as a relic of former days, that the desk occupied by the precentor, in Presbyterian meeting-houses, is still termed “the lettern.”

Where a Lettern is not used, the propriety of having a Prayer Desk, with two book-boards, is very evident. The present writer has had an opportunity of remarking, that, in the Isle of Man—a place of primitive usages—this practice is almost universal. The arrangement, here spoken of, is clearly contemplated in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England; for, in the Rubric preceding the first Lesson, it is said: “He that readeth so standing, and *turning himself* as he may best be heard of all present.” In the present day, nothing is more common than to hear persons ask, Why should the minister turn his back upon the people? But the proper way of putting the question is, Why should the minister and the people, in the performance of their devotions, turn their faces in different directions? Indeed, it is as contrary to the dictates of common sense, and right reason, for a clergyman to guide the devotions of his people with his face towards them, and his back to the altar, as it would be for the leader of a deputation to the Sovereign of England’s Court, while reading an address to the latter, to look in the direction of the deputation.

“The Faldstool, like the Lettern, is still used in several of the Cathedrals and College Chapels, and has also been lately again introduced into some of our parish churches. This small low desk, at which the clergyman kneels to offer up the Litany, should be placed ‘in the midst of the church,’ either near the west end of the nave, or at the entrance to the chancel; the latter situation, according to Bishop Sparrow, being that from which it was anciently the custom for this supplication to be made.”—Barr, p. 60. In Scripture, there is but one Litany, or General Supplication, spoken of; and that is in the second chapter of Joel, where the Almighty himself specially commands it to be offered up “between the porch and the altar.” See Joel, ii. 15, 16, 17.

The Faldstool, or Litany Desk.

“The Altar, or Communion Table, should be placed on an elevation of three steps at the east end of the church, or chancel. * * It must be provided with a velvet or silk covering, on which the Holy Name, (I. H. S.), the Cross, and various other sacred and

The Altar, or Communion Table.

mystical emblems, may be appropriately embroidered. The sacramental plate, consisting of a flagon and chalice for the wine, and a paten for the bread, ought to be of silver or gold, and never of any inferior metal. The Service Books, also, should be bound in the ancient style of the Middle Ages, adorned with large, richly-worked covers, and clasps."—pp. 64, 65.

The One
Sacrifice,
and One
Altar.

"As, since the foundation of the world, we know of but ONE SACRIFICE acceptable to God, and beneficial to men for its own sake,—even the sacrifice of Jesus Christ,—so, in this high and strict sense, we know but of ONE ALTAR, even the Cross, on which the Lamb of God himself, both priest and sacrifice, was offered for the sins of the world. But, as in the Church of God, BEFORE our Lord's coming, there was an altar on which were offered, by God's ordinance, gifts and sacrifices *prefigurative* of that upon the Cross, so, in the Church of God, SINCE the Lord's coming, there is an altar on which, by his appointment, are offered gifts and sacrifices *commemorative* of that upon the Cross. The table of Holy Communion, or Lord's Table, in the Christian Church, is therefore called an altar, because on it are placed, in presentation before God, the appointed memorials of the Lord's body and blood; and because on it are also offered the alms of the faithful worshippers. See our Lord's directions to his followers on this point, Matt. v. 23, and St Paul's declaration, Heb. xiii. 16.*

A Com-
memora-
tive Sacri-
fice.

"It is called a *Table* with reference to the Lord's Supper, and an *Altar*, on the score of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving there offered to God Almighty.†

"Christ's Table here below is a secondary altar in two views; First, on the score of our own sacrifices of prayers, praises, souls and bodies, which we offer up from thence; Secondly, as it is the *seat* of the consecrated elements, that is, of the body and blood of Christ, that is, of the grand sacrifice, symbolically represented and exhibited, and spiritually there *received*; received

* Hook's *Church Dictionary*.

† King Edward's Letter, A. D. 1550.—See Collier's *Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 304.

by, and with the signs bearing the name of the things."*

"The Pulpit should be constructed either of stone, The Pulpit. or of some handsome and durable wood, and the sides may be enriched with panels and tracery. The Anglican Church does not prescribe any particular situation for the pulpit, but only that it be set in a convenient place within the sacred building. Ancient custom, however, seems to dictate that its position should be at the east end of the nave, against one of the pillars, or by the side of the chancel arch; and, since it is enjoined, in the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, that the priest is to consecrate the elements in the sight of the assembled congregation, the pulpit and reading-pew ought never to be improperly exalted in front of the altar, otherwise it is impossible that this injunction can be complied with. Such an arrangement, moreover, is highly objectionable on another account; for it obliges the clergyman to turn his back directly on these sacred mysteries, which, Bishop Heber remarks, 'are, or Bishop Heber. ought to be, in every church, the chief object of a Christian's reverence.' On the authority, also, of the same learned and excellent prelate, there is never any occasion for the pulpit being elevated more than six feet above the level of the floor."—Barr, pp. 62, 63.

The pulpit is designed for no other purpose than that of preaching. No prayer is intended, in the Liturgy of the Church of England, to be uttered there. We may remark, here, that the Liturgy means, simply, the Book of Common Prayer. It is a Greek word, (*λειτουργια*), and signifies *a public work*, or work done publicly.

With reference to what is called the Bidding Prayer, or exhortation to prayer, before the sermon, ordered, in the 55th Canon of the Church of England, it may be well to say a few words. By the Canon to which we refer, it is commanded to be used "before all sermons, lectures, and homilies." From the ancient formulas, it appears that congregations sometimes stood, and at

* Waterland's *Distinctions of Sacrifices*.—Works, Vol. VIII., p. 331.

other times knelt, during the Bidding Prayer. In the English Universities, standing is the usual position. "Ye shall *stonde* up," says one form; "ye shall *kneelen* down," says another. Both of these forms are as old as about the year A.D. 1349; and were used in the diocese of Worcester.

The Cre-
dence, or
Prothesis.

"The Anglican Church, in accordance with the practice of antiquity, has enjoined that the priest himself is to place the elements reverently upon the communion-table; and, therefore, by the side of the altar there should be a small table, called a Credence, for the reception of the bread and wine previous to their being consecrated, or, a niche may be made in the south side of the chancel, and used for the same sacred purpose."—Barr, p. 67.

"Of the Credence, or Prothesis, much has been said and written; but the question of its restoration to its place, in the Church, is hardly yet determined. In use, it is simply a table, for the reception of the elements before their oblation on the Christian altar. Either this table, or some substitute for it, is still necessary, or at least convenient, for the service of the altar. For want of it, it has become far too common to omit one of the very important requirements of the Rubric in the Communion Service; and, in consequence, the petition in the Prayer for the Church Militant, that God would *accept our oblations*, seems to lose half its meaning. The Rubric appoints, that, immediately after the offertory, *the priest shall place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient*; and then it is, that, with especial reference to the alms, and to the offerings just mentioned, he prays: 'We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations.'"—Poole, pp. 154, 155.

The Sedilia.

"The seats for the clergymen," says Barr, p. 65, "may be either arched recesses, built in the south wall, or wooden chairs decorated with carving; but, like the old sedilia, their position should be always on the side of the chancel, instead of facing the congregation."

To use Poole's words, p. 153, "the sedilia, at the south side of the altar, are provided for the clergymen

assisting at the Holy Eucharist, as the chair at the north side is for the consecrating priest. They vary in number from one to five, the most usual number being three. They are usually niches in the wall, with stone seats."

In the Scottish Presbyterian churches, there is a faint imitation attempted of the Sedilia; a pew being set apart, in them, for the *elders*.

"Of the Lights upon the Altar, the injunction of King Edward* expressly says, that they are to *remain*, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world. We may add, that the number, being limited to two, marks also a reference to the two natures, the manhead and the Godhead, in the one person of our blessed Lord. Nor can it be supposed, that the triangular form of the base of candlesticks for churches, almost universally adopted in those which are carved of wood, is without reference to the ever-blessed Trinity."—Poole, p. 150.

There is yet another article of ecclesiastical architecture, connected with the early and middle ages of Christianity, which ought to be touched upon. It is the Rood Screen. In those early and middle ages, the Rood Screen was wont to separate the chancel from the nave; and it drew the distinguishing line between the clergy and the laity. We need merely describe it as an elegant and transparent partition, through which the eye may distinguish objects beyond it.

The most peculiar part of a church, in the early and middle ages of Christianity, was the Sacrarium. This was the place on which the altar rested. From the nave to the chancel, there was an approach of some steps. From the outer part of the chancel to the Sacrarium, there were some steps more. "There will also," says M. Poole, "be several steps at the approach to the chancel, to mark the greater elevation of the Christian communicant—the *επίσκοπος*, or perfect man, as he was called of old—above the mere hearers of the truths of Christianity. * * The number of steps will vary

* King Edward the Sixth, of England. See the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, prefixed to the Order for Morning Prayer, daily throughout the year.

according to the size of the church. * * The last approach to the altar which is allowed to the laity is the altar-rails,—the *cancelli*,—from which, as already noticed, the chancel has its name.”—Poole, pp. 143, 144.

We here close our remarks on the subject of the ecclesiastical arrangements, and furniture, of the early and middle ages of Christianity. These remarks will, we hope, go so far to shew our readers that—to use the language of the great Lake poet—in connection with religious worship, he does not necessarily go astray,

Who treads upon the footmarks of his sires.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SECTION III.

Dioceses—Curates—“Bishops and Curates”—Episcopacy in general—Three orders in the Christian Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons—The Augsburg Confession—Melancthon—Calvin—Bucer—Beza—The Polish and Hungarian Reformers—The Reformers of Italy—Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—The Scottish Reformers—Grotius—Synod of Dort—First symptoms of Presbyterianism.

AFTER parishes were fairly established, the next thing which came to be attended to was the proper apportioning of Dioceses; that is, of certain districts, containing so many parishes, over which the Bishop presided. Thus, the Bishop came to be called the “Bishop of the diocese.” In England, where territorial jurisdiction is strictly attended to,—some dioceses contain a small, others a large, number of parishes. The diocese of London contains about twelve hundred.

There is one word which has given rise to much misapprehension. This is the word *Curate*. In Scotland, the vulgar idea is, that a Curate is a clergyman who does the work of an amply-endowed Rector, or Vicar, on a miserable salary, while the latter simply draws his tithes, and lives in idleness and sloth. It is not so. The word *Curate*, although usually applied to an assistant-clergyman, means simply a person holding a *cure* of souls,—a pastoral charge of any kind; and so the English Book of Common Prayer speaks, in the “Prayer for the Clergy,” of “Bishops and Curates.” As regards that class of men who are popularly known under the name of “Curates”—in other words, who assist Rectors, and Vicars, in the management of extensive parishes, or officiate for them during their unavoidable absence—it may be safely said, that, as a general rule, there is hardly a clergyman of the Church of England, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down-

wards, who has not started in life as a curate. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Howley, was once Curate of Farnham, in Kent, with a salary of £60 a year. The system of Curacies is one, which, were it always properly regulated, is of great advantage to the Church ; seeing that it enables a young man to acquire experience, under the surveillance of a person who is his superior in years, in learning, and—what is of very great consequence—in an acquaintance with the manners, habits, and modes of thinking, of his fellow-creatures.

Clerk.

Another word, connected with Episcopacy, requires explanation. It is the word *Clerk*. This word means a clergyman ; and is so used, in several places, in the English Prayer Book, although in others it refers to a layman, commonly called the parish-clerk. In the technical phraseology of English law it also means a clergyman. In old times, it seems to have indicated scholarship, because learning was chiefly confined to the clergy. An English sovereign was named Henry Beauclerc, or Henry the good scholar ; and the phrase, “benefit of clergy,” meant a benefit for those who could read and write.

Episcopacy
in general.

The argument, in favour of Episcopacy's having been the form of Church-government established by the Apostles, is one which has been so often brought forward, and so clearly established, that we hardly require to dwell on it. It may be well, however, that, for the benefit of those who have neither time nor inclination, to plunge into the researches connected with ancient Ecclesiastical History, we say a few words with regard to it.

Three
orders in
the Chris-
tian Church

That, at the period of the Reformation, three distinct ecclesiastical orders existed throughout every part of Christendom, under the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who were possessed of different degrees of rank and power, and who had different duties to perform, is a fact as patent to the historical student as is the fact of the existence, upon earth, of our Saviour, and as the fact that the Scriptures are the work of inspired men, and written by the persons to whom they are attributed. In no part of the world, was there a

single branch of the Christian Church constituted otherwise than as we have here stated. When Romish tyranny and corruption had reached their height, and the Reformers of Europe were determined to get rid of both, it was with the greatest reluctance that some of them considered it necessary to depart, for a time, from the manner of Church-government which had been universally acknowledged, and adhered to, during every past age of the Christian faith.

The earliest declaration of faith, enunciated by Protestants, was the Augsburg Confession. The authors of this document—conscientious and reluctant innovators—openly avowed their sorrow that the ancient system of Church-government should have, anywhere, been forsaken. “Now,” say they, “here, again, we desire to testify to the world that we would willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government, if the Bishops would only cease to exercise cruelty upon our churches. This our desire will excuse us before God—before all the world—and unto all posterity; that it may not be justly imputed unto us that the authority of Bishops is impaired amongst us, when men shall hear, and read, that we, earnestly deprecating the unjust cruelty of the Bishops, could obtain no equal measure at their hands.”

The Augsburg Confession.

Melancthon's pen was that which drew up this Confession; and, in a private letter to Luther, he expresses himself as follows:—“I know not with what face we can refuse Bishops, if they will suffer us to have purity of doctrine.” In one part of his writings, he, in reference to “the solitary monk who shook the world,” says:—“Luther did always judge as I do.”

Melancthon.

Calvin declares that he subscribed most willingly, and heartily, to the Augsburg Confession. “Bishops,” he remarks, “have invented no other form of governing the Church but such as the Lord hath prescribed by his own word.” Again, after describing the character of a truly Christian Bishop, he gives utterance to this strong language:—“I should account these men deserving of even the severest anathema, who do not submit themselves, reverently, and with

Calvin.

all obedience, to such a hierarchy." Calvin's name is a great name;—one of the greatest belonging to those who, on the continent, shook off the shackles of Rome.

Bucer.

Bucer concurred with Calvin, in his sentiments on the subject of the divine origin of Episcopacy. In his work *De Regno Christi*, he writes thus:—"We see, by the constant practice of the Church, even from the time of the Apostles, how it hath pleased the Holy Ghost, that, among the ministers to whom the government of the Church is especially committed, one individual should have the chief management both of the churches and of the whole ministry, and should, in that management, take precedence of all his brethren. For which reason, the title of Bishop is employed to designate a chief spiritual governor."

Beza.

Of the foreign Reformers, none was more learned—none more thoroughly versed in Scripture—than Theodore Beza. He was the friend of Calvin. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he warmly eulogises the form of government of the Church of England, and uses these remarkable words:—"If there be any who reject altogether Episcopal jurisdiction, (a thing I can hardly be persuaded of,) God forbid that any one, in his senses, should give way to the madness of such men."

The Polish
and Hun-
garian
Reformers,
1623.

In the midst of the Reformatory movements of the 16th and 17th centuries, throughout Europe, the same attachment to the primitive constitution of the Christian Church was displayed. The Polish and Hungarian Reformers of the latter century enjoined the following oath upon every candidate for admission to Deacon's orders:—"I, N. N., swear before the living God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and before His Holy Angels, that I shall yield unto the Bishop and Presbyters (*senioribus*) all due obedience, as unto my superiors. So help me God."

The Re-
formers of
Italy.

The Reformers of Italy professed their attachment to Episcopacy in the strongest manner. "I profess," says Jerome Zanchius, a learned Venetian, "before God, that, in my conscience, I repute them no other than schismatics who make it a part of Reformation of the Church to have no Bishops, who should preside

over their Presbyters, in degree of authority, *where this may be had*. Furthermore, with Mr Calvin, I deem them worthy of all manner of anathemas, as many as will not be subject to that Hierarchy which submits itself to the Lord Jesus."

The Lutheran Churches of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark held precisely the same views. The divine origin of Episcopacy was, with them, a fundamental principle, while relieving themselves from Romish error.

Sweden,
Norway,
and Den-
mark.

What Scotsman, who is, in the slightest degree, acquainted with the history of his country, is ignorant of the sentiments of John Knox on this subject? Knox, remembering Calvin's aphorism, that "parity breedeth strifes," appointed Bishops, under the name of Superintendents, to whom he gave jurisdiction, and authority, over specified districts. Knox himself states that he officiated, for some years, as a clergyman of the Church of England, at Berwick and at Newcastle. He is said to have been chaplain to King Edward the Sixth; and he refused a Bishopric, in England, on the ground that he foresaw the troubles which came upon the kingdom in Queen Mary's reign. His two sons, Nathaniel and Ebenezer, studied at St John's College, Cambridge. The former died there, in 1580; the latter became Vicar of Clacton-Magna, in Essex, and died in 1591.

The Scot-
tish Re-
formers.

There is no limit to the evidence in favour of Episcopacy, as an institution which, to use Calvin's expression, "has proceeded from God." It spreads itself over every page of history, since the Apostles' times. It is to be found in the writings of all ages, since Christianity dawned upon the world. It evinces itself even in the writings of those who have been the chief means of laying the foundation of Presbyterianism, while they deplored the reasons which compelled them to do so.

One great name, peculiarly connected with Christianity, cannot be overlooked here, as an advocate for the primitive and Apostolic origin of Episcopacy. We allude to Grotius, the celebrated lawyer, statesman, metaphysician, and divine. Grotius examines the arguments in behalf of Episcopacy on the one hand,

Grotius.

and in behalf of Presbyterianism on the other. He holds the balance with an equal hand. The result at which he arrives is given in a few words :—"So light, and foolish, is what the latter (Presbyterian writers) have put forth in answer to the former, (Episcopalian writers), that to have read the one is to have already refuted the other : especially touching the angels of the Churches, concerning whom, that which the disturbers of ecclesiastical order bring is so absurd, and contrary to the sacred text itself, that it deserves not confutation."—"The Bishop," he says, in another place, is of approved Divine right."—"The histories of all times manifest the vast advantages that have accrued to the Church by Episcopacy."—"Those who think Episcopacy repugnant to God's will must condemn the whole Primitive Church of folly and impiety."*

Synod of
Dort.

The Presbyterian Synod of Dort affirmed the same principles as Grotius ; and declared, that "they had a great honour for the Church of England, and heartily wished that they could establish themselves upon this model ; lamenting that they had no prospect of such a happiness ; and, since the Civil power had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them." (Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II., p. 718.)

First sym-
ptoms of
Presbyte-
rianism.

Year after year did the continental Reformers cling to their veneration for Episcopacy. As the struggle of parties, however, went on, and as the exasperation arising from continued warfare with the Church of Rome increased, this veneration, in the minds of some of the Reformers, gradually abated ; and, with a few of them, it ultimately died away. The oppression, and cruelties, of the Romish Church hastened this change. The blood shed by that Church, in its endeavours to main-

* Grotius died in the inn of an obscure village, while travelling. The landlord of the inn, seeing him in extremity, sent for the *Cure* of the district, who came, and commenced repeating some of the ordinary expressions of consolation usual on such occasions. The dying man opened his eyes, and said :—"I am GROTIUS."—"What," said the astonished priest, starting back, "are you the great Grotius?"—Such was his reputation, in connection with his defence of the truths of Christianity, and so universal was his fame.

tain its long-usurped authority throughout Europe, caused many to flee, not only from its corruption of doctrine, but, also, from the slightest approximation to its mode of discipline, and government. Thus, they ran into an extreme. They fled from Scylla, and they fell upon Charybdis. Rome adhered to the Apostolical Succession ; the disciples of Calvin—after that great man was laid in his grave—renounced it. Men arose, who, contrary to Calvin's advice, fiercely assailed the rights of Bishops ; and, who declared that Bishops and Presbyters were one order, and that the former possessed no power, authority, or jurisdiction over the latter.

CHAPTER I.

The object of this work—Dawn of Christianity in Scotland—Fordun—St. Rule—St. Andrews—Origin of the Scots—Tertullian—St. Ninian—Candida Casa—The Picts—Death of St. Ninian—Palladius—Paddy's Well, Paddy's Fair, and Paddy's Chapel—St. Kentigern—St. Columba—Iona—The Nunnery of Iona—St. Oran—The City of the Silent—A prophecy—Place of tombs—King Coil—Duncan, and Macbeth—Fictions respecting Columba—Facts—The Druids—Coleridge's Ancient Mariner—Characteristics of Columba—Death of Columba—Burial of Columba—Remarks on Buchanan—Progress of Christianity in North Britain—Aidan—Finan—Colman—Controversy about Easter—Tuda—Dunkeld and St. Andrews—The Primacy—Fordun, the earliest Scottish historian—The Culdees—Episcopacy, at the time, universal—Encroachments of the Papacy—Augustine, or Austin the Monk—Vasco de Gama—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, everywhere recognised.

The object
of this
work.

THE object of the present writer is, to give a popular account of Scottish Ecclesiastical and Civil affairs, from the time when the invaluable blessings of Christianity were introduced into Scotland ; and, more particularly, to give an account of that branch of the Church Catholic, or Universal, which is sometimes designated the Scottish Episcopal Church, or the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and sometimes simply the Church in Scotland. In the prosecution of this object, he will not aim at any display of learning ; but will endeavour to state facts, and, in a clear and lucid manner, to point out, to those who may peruse his work, the leading events, as far as Scottish Episcopacy is concerned, of a period stretching backwards throughout no less than sixteen hundred years.

Dawn of
Christian-
ity in Scot-
land.

It is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain the exact period when Christianity was introduced into Scotland. The darkness of heathenism had covered it : the light of the Gospel entered it by a faint and glimmering

ray. The incidental notices of Bede give us little information on the subject. Fordun tells us that it first Fordun. knew the glad tidings of salvation in 203; and we 203. read of a probably fictitious Donald, king of the Scots, who embraced Christianity in that year. It is not improbable that one of the Apostles was the primary herald of the doctrine of the Cross to our savage and benighted forefathers.*

There is one legend, connected with the introduction St. Rule. of Christianity into Scotland, which is deserving of a passing notice. It is that of St. Regulus, or St. Rule. This saint, who was a Grecian monk, of the early part of the fourth century, is said to have had a vision; in consequence of which, accompanied by a few companions, he embarked on the tideless Mediterranean, and, in possession of the relics of St. Andrew, the Apostle, passing the Pillars of Hercules,† found his way into the mighty waters supposed to cover the Atlantis of Plato, and where the philosophers of antiquity believed the Gardens of the Hesperides to be.‡ He, and his companions, coasted Spain and France. They reached the German ocean; and, in a storm, were cast ashore near where St. Andrews now stands. The legend goes on to say, that these shipwrecked strangers were received by Hergustus, King of the Picts, in the most hospitable manner; and that, impressed by their grave and devout demeanour, he granted them lands, and gave them every facility for settling in his dominions. St. Rule remained in the neighbourhood of his shipwreck, during the rest of his life. He served God, with fastings and prayers. He built a humble church, and dedicated it to St. Andrew.

* There is hardly any boundary to the credulity of the early Scottish chroniclers. Pinkerton charges Fordun with being "the notorious father of forty-five Scotch princes."—*Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, Vol. I., p. 294. For an idea of Wyntoun's credulity, see Wilson's *Archæology*, p. 13.

† Gibraltar, in Spain, and Mount Calpe, in Africa, were known to the ancients under this name.

‡ Plato speaks of a great island, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, called *Atlantis*. Whether this was a continent where the Atlantic ocean now is, or whether it was the present America, is unknown.

St. Andrews.

On the site of this church rose the future Cathedral. A tower, and a cave hewn in the solid rock, where he is believed to have performed his lonely orisons, still bear his name; and there are few lovers of poetry, who have revelled in the gorgeous pages of the great Minstrel of the North, that will not recognise the following lines of the Palmer, in the splendid romance of *Marmion*:—

But I have solemn vows to pay,
And I must hasten far away,
To fair St. Andrew's bound;
Where good St. Rule his holy lay,
From midnight to the dawn of day,
Sang to the billow's sound.

The legend of St Rule is a beautiful, and a picturesque one; but we regret to say that it is not history. It is probably, an improvement on some event, which occurred at a future time in the Scottish annals. St. Rule, like the mighty Junius, stands the shadow of a name. It is well known, that St. Andrews became, in after-ages, the chief seat of Scottish Christianity;—that is, the chief seat of the Christianity of the Scots. Let us pause, for a moment, to consider the origin of this race.

Origin of the Scots.

The word *Scot* is derived from the Celtic word *Sciuta*, and signifies an *emigrant*, a *wanderer*. It was, probably, applied to the Scottish race from their nomadic propensities. It is the same word which appears in *Scythæ*—the inhabitants of Scythia—a notoriously nomadic race. In the Slavonic translation of Heb. xi. 38, we have the word *Scuta* used to describe those who wandered in deserts, (Ancient British Church, p. 157); and it is not unlikely that the word *Scout* is from the same root. It is amusing to think, that the wandering propensities of the Scottish people are still jocularly remarked upon by other nations. It is a common saying, “that there is no part of the world in which a Scotsman, and a Newcastle grindstone, are not to be found.”

It is due, at the same time, to the Scottish nation, to remark, that, wherever a Scotsman is seen, there, generally speaking, education, intelligence, energy,

prudence, sagacity, and foresight, are to be found. A very large portion of the people of England can neither read nor write; while there is hardly a cow-boy, in Scotland, who cannot peruse the Scriptures, and who cannot lift his pen to communicate with a distant friend.

In the early part of the third century, Tertullian Tertullian. boasted that the religion of Jesus had penetrated where all the military power of Rome had been unable to find access; and he states, that "parts of Britain, inaccessible to the Romans, had been subjugated to the sway of Christ," (*Adversus Judæos*, cap. vii.) It is not, however, till the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, that any authentic records of the progress of Christianity, in North Britain, are to be met with. Then arose St. Ninian. Then arose a great St. Ninian. preacher of the faith;—the man who, according to what may be assumed as veritable history, gave, in Scotland, the first grand impulse to the belief which teaches man how to live, and how to die.

St. Ninian was born about the year 360, in the Born, 360. north-west of Cumberland, or the south-west of Galloway. When about twenty years of age, he made a journey to Rome, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies, in what was, undoubtedly, the metropolis of the Christian world. Damasus was then Bishop of Rome. He patronised the young man; and placed him under teachers, who imparted to him the truths of religion systematically. At the time when Ninian was at Rome, the famous St. Jerome was, as the intimate friend of Damasus, resident there; and nothing can be more probable, than that from the lips of that great theologian, he may have received some of his earliest lessons. Fifteen years Ninian remained at Rome. Siricius succeeded Damasus. By Siricius, about the year 397, Ninian was consecrated; and was sent, as a Consecrated, 397. missionary, to the Britons. At this time, he was nearly forty years of age.

On his way to Britain, Ninian visited St. Martin of Tours, then an old man; who, throughout Christendom, was supposed to possess the gift of miracles, and who received him with much cordiality and affection. When

Ninian and St. Martin parted, they parted to meet no more.

As a Bishop, Ninian once more set foot on the soil which had given him birth. He took up his abode, and fixed his See (*Sedes*), as the basis of his future spiritual operations, in the province of the Roman Valentia—the Strathclyde, or Cumbria, of the later British period—among the Novantes, at their chief town, then called Leucapia, now Whitehorn. He was in a quiet and sheltered spot, in which he was hardly seated, when he commenced his erection of *Candida Casa*,—the first British church built of stone, and which, on that account, possesses a celebrity which will last for ever. This church was dedicated under the name of his aged friend, St. Martin of Tours.

Candida
Casa.

Of the primitive edifice of *Candida Casa*, or Whitehorn, not a stone is at present to be seen; but, for ages, it took rank with Iona and St. Andrews, as one of the most sacred shrines of North Britain. In subsequent times, it was known as “St. Ringan’s.” To St. Ringan’s shrine the pilgrims of centuries trooped. Monarchs led the van. Thither, in 1474, went the queen of James the Third; and thither, in 1507, went, on foot, the gallant monarch, who valiantly, but rashly, marched, with the flower of Scotland, into England, and, surrounded in death as in life, by the best and the bravest of Scottish birth, perished on Flodden Field. The object of the pilgrimage of the latter monarch was, the recovery of the health of “his own Queen Margaret;” whom, although sometimes led astray by temptation’s force, he continued to love with all the ardour of his youthful prime.*

The Picts.

St. Ninian did not confine his ministrations to the race named Scots. He extended them to another race, occupying the more northern parts of North Britain, and who went under the name of Caledonians, or Picts. They were so called by the Roman writers; but it is needless, in a popular work, to enter into a

* *Ancient British Church*, p. 172.—In 1581, when a new state of religious matters existed, these pilgrimages were put down by law. Such was the toleration of the sixteenth century, and of the creed which, in Scotland, superseded that of Rome!

discussion on the subject either of the origin of the Picts, or of the origin of their name. The reader will, elsewhere, find plentiful discussions on this subject.

St. Ninian's labours, among the Scots and the Picts, seem to have been pre-eminently successful; and he appears to have consecrated Bishops, ordained Presbyters, and organised parishes, to a considerable extent. At Candida Casa, he taught young and old. He composed manuals, for the use of his clergy. He wrote a *Commentary on the Psalms*; and composed a work, entitled *Sentences from the Fathers*. Living a life of holy meditation, he is noted, in history, as a lover of solitude; while, at the same time, his sphere was that of action, whenever the welfare of his fellow-creatures required it to be so.

St. Ninian is supposed to have died about the year 430. He was buried at Candida Casa. He left no successor; but the seed which he had sown did not prove to have been cast on stony ground. The district in which he chiefly laboured was that which stretches, on the west coast, from Clyde to Solway, and, on the east, from Forth to Tyne; and, at that period when his labours commenced, the tide of Roman conquest was ebbing fast, and the disciplined legions which had once mastered the world were beginning to recede before the onsets of the hordes of Caledonia.

Next to St. Ninian, as a missionary of the Christian faith in Scotland, was Palladius. Palladius was a Roman by birth; and was sent in the year 431, by Pope Celestine, as "the first Bishop to the (Irish) Scots believing in Christ." (Bede, lib. I. cap. xiii). After sojourning, for a brief period, in Ireland, he was forced, by persecution, to leave it. He passed over to North Britain; and took up his abode at Fordoun, in the Mearns, where he died. In 1494, William Shevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, collected his bones, and put them in a silver shrine; where they remained till, at the Reformation, the shrine itself became an object of secular cupidity. At this moment, there is a well, in the minister of Fordoun's garden, which goes under the name of *Paddy's Well*; and a market, which is yearly held, on the first Tuesday after the 11th of July,

Death of
St. Ninian,
430.

Palladius.
431.

Paddy's
Well.

Paddy's
Fair, and
Paddy's
Chapel.

within the bounds of the parish, is known as *Paddy's Fair*. *Paddy's Chapel*, also, still stands within a few yards of the parish church. While adverting to the market called *Paddy's Fair*, it may chance that some of our readers may experience gratification at being told, that the word *fair* is derived from the Latin word *feria*, which signifies a holiday; such holiday being, previously to the Reformation, always accompanied, or succeeded, by a market, and the market being retained after the holiday had been abolished.

458.

St. Kenti-
gern.

In 422, Valentia was evacuated by the Romans. About the year 453, the Saxon's made their appearance on the shores of the Forth. Dunedin, and Arthur's Seat, became known. The tribes of Germany and Scandinavia poured into Scotland. The Saxon warrior wooed his British bride. Celt and Saxon coalesced. Of an illicit attachment, Kentigern, the future Saint and Bishop, was born. His father was Ewen, a British noble, and his mother the daughter of Lothus, prince of the territory called, after him, Lothian. It is said that, when the father of the erring maiden knew of her fault, he condemned her to be flung headlong from the top of the lofty mountain known as Dimpelder Law. She avoided the terrible doom—crossed the Frith of Forth, in an open boat—took refuge in the neighbourhood of Culross—and there gave birth to Kentigern. St. Serf baptised both mother and child. The mother took the name of *Tanu*. The name of the child signified *Head Lord*; and, in the course of time, he took the surname of *Mungo*, signifying the gentle, the affable, the courteous. Kentigern left the monastery of St. Serf; who bewailed, in him, "the light of his eyes, and the staff of his old age." He was consecrated by an Irish Bishop; and became the religious head of *Glasghee*, the *Grey Ravine*, where, centuries afterwards, arose that noble Cathedral which still exists entire, in the greatest mercantile city which Scotland can boast of.

St. Kentigern is said to have been made a Bishop in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Considering the country, and the time, to which he belonged, this is not improbable. He is said to have died in the year 601.

The character of Kentigern is semi-divine. He was the contemporary of Arthur of the Round Table, who died in 542. Morken, Arthur's successor, as Regulus of Strathclyde, treated him with rude insolence, and even with personal violence, and he withdrew into Wales. He remained in Wales only for a short time. Morken died, and Roderick the Bountiful reigned in his stead. One of Roderick's first acts was, to recall Kentigern. His disciple, in Wales, was Asaph. He left Asaph—the future St. Asaph—to preside over his Welsh Monastery, and returned to Glasgow, and to his labours in the district of Strathclyde. Within that sphere he yielded his soul to God. The gentleness, and devotion, of his nature is matter of history; and the dove-like softness of his eye won many a soul to Christ.

We are approaching a hallowed name. We are St. Col-
umba. approaching the foremost name—that of St. Columba—in the Ecclesiastical Annals of the North; and we are nearing the shores of that country concerning which Dr. Johnson has written in the following glowing and imperishable language:—"We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions; whence savage clans, and roving barbarians, derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses—whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present—advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

Iona!—Sacred is that sea-girt isle. Sacred are the Iona. ruins which it contains; and sacred are the memories which connect it with the tales of piety, and with the deeds of self-endurance, and self-denial, of generations that are past. Let the traveller to Iona sit on the hill

which skirts its southern shore. Let him meditate on the primitive Apostle of the isles around, who sat at the feet of them that were not far distant from those who began at Jerusalem. Let him turn himself towards the brightness of the rising sun. He will trace out the long way, by which the piety, the precepts, and the practice of a pure and unspotted Christianity flowed, like an unsullied stream, down from the original fountain-head, and caused this wilderness to be as the garden of Eden, and to blossom as the rose. He will, in his mind's eye, see a little band, St. Columba and twelve companions, in their small bark, breasting the waves, and, from the shores of Erin, advancing upon the strand where foot of civilised man had never before trod. He will see them land. He will see the meek take possession of the unknown rock upon which their sandals tread. He will see the hearts of a barbarous people opened to shew kindness to them, and to find salvation for themselves. He will see pagan priests adopting the doctrine of the Cross. He will see savage kings, and predatory tribes, bowing down before white-robed men, who have come to tell them of the crucified Galilean, and of the happiness which awaits the just when time shall be no more.

The mind's eye of the traveller will see farther. Seven centuries shall have rolled away; and he will discern towers, and arches, and altars, and crosses, and buttresses, and palaces, covering the iron-bound coast which contained Columba's humble cell. He will mark the gorgeous tombs of the Lords of the Isles. He will perceive a magnificent cathedral, built upon the sand; the stately pile overshadowing the cell of unhewn stones where the Culdees worshipped. All these have perished, or are in a state of ruin. The splendid ecclesiastical monuments of the past are gone; but the faith which Columba preached lives for ever.*

"On to Iona!"—Such is the language of Wordsworth; and, therefore, we will dwell, for a little, on

* See a *Visit to Iona*, by an American clergyman, named Richmond.

this holy and consecrated spot. Seven miles south of Staffa lies the fountain-head, from which Christianity, as far as North Britain is concerned, welled. Mournful and pleasing associations arise in the mind, as we approach its low, white shores. The appearance of the island is humble; but it is picturesque, calm, and inviting. The square tower of the ancient Cathedral rises sharp, and bare, and weather-beaten, above its roofless walls. There is no ivy, such as, in more genial regions, is generally found mantling the walls of old ruins. Its history, however, relieves it from the necessity of any adventitious advantages, in order to invest it with interest in the eyes of the stranger.

The island of Iona is separated from the Ross of Mull by a Sound, called the Sound of Iona, about a mile broad. The name of the island has been variously derived by etymologists and historians. According to some, the word Iona means the Blessed or Holy Island. In Gaelic, *I*, pronounced *E* in English, signifies Island; and, for ages, this name has been given to Iona, by way of distinguishing it, pre-eminently, as *The Island*. Many other derivations are given of the name; but on these we shall not here enter, except to mention that Icolmkill, another name for the island, means the "Island of the cell of Columba." The island is about three miles long, and one broad. It contains a superficial area of 2000 imperial acres; of which about 600 are in a state of occasional cultivation, while the rest are hill-pasture, morass, and rocks. The Duke of Argyle is the sole proprietor.

Columba never occupied a higher position, in the Christian ministry, than that of presbyter; and when, at thirty years of age, he went to St. Etehen, a Meath Bishop, who ordained him, he found him, like Cincinnatus, and the prophet of old time, at the plough.

Before saying anything more, as to Columba and Iona, let us make a few remarks on the subject of the discussions relative to the introduction of Christianity into Britain. We have seen that this topic has been a contested one; and that Tertullian, in the third century, tells us that all the boundaries of Spain, and the various nations of Gaul, and even the parts of Britain

which were inaccessible to Roman arms, had been subdued to a knowledge of Christ ; and there is very little reason to doubt, that, so early as the year 104, it had laid hold on what was then regarded as the uttermost ends of the earth, (Ultima Thule). By Nicephorus, an early historian, it is asserted that Simon Zelotes, after he had travelled through Egypt, Cyrene, Africa, Mauritania, and Lybia, came at last "to the Western Ocean, and the British Isles," and there preached the gospel. St. Paul is, by others, supposed, after his first imprisonment at Rome, to have undertaken the same journey, and to have performed the same office ; and there are not wanting some, who attribute the primary acquaintance of our savage and heathen ancestors with the pure and holy doctrines of the Cross to the beloved disciple St. John.

We have spoken of the conversion of Donald, King of the Scots, in 203, to Christianity. It is said to have taken place in consequence of a correspondence between him and Victor, Bishop of Rome. This is a monkish fable, utterly destitute of all foundation ; and, as such, it is now generally, if not universally, abandoned.

The Nunnery of Iona.

Let us return to St. Columba and Iona. There are the ruins of a Nunnery in Iona ; but monastic establishments for females were no part of Columba's system, and they were only introduced, in after-times, into Scotland when the Bishop of Rome had got a footing there, and had placed his yoke upon the necks of a hitherto free people. This Nunnery could not have been built earlier than 1200. Its style of architecture is Norman ; and during the period of its existence, till after the Reformation, it was liberally endowed.

St. Oran.

St. Oran was a follower, and the bosom-friend, of Columba. The "city of the silent," in the island of I is named after him ; and is called the burial-place of

The City of the Silent.

St. Oran. Mournful is the feeling with which we enter its sacred enclosure, and tread, with reverential feeling, its lonesome graves. While there, nothing but the sound of the silent murmuring sea is heard ; and the air of seclusion, calmness, and simplicity, which reigns about the place, harmonises with the solemnity, and sentiments of devotion, which fill the mind. The

stranger, who stands in the burial-place of St. Oran, sees the memorials of ancient grandeur, in this remote field of sepulture, around him. He looks to the heavens above, and he looks to the earth beneath ; and he feels that he is standing where monarchs of our own and of distant lands—where potentates of the Isles—where chieftains of the clans—where Bishops and Priests—all of whom have desired to be laid in the Blessed Island—sleep. He walks surrounded by an atmosphere of holy awe ; and he measures his steps as if the dead beneath him could hear the sound thereof, and as if it were in his power to disturb their last and long repose.*

The preference shewn, by monarchs, and potentates, **A prophecy.** and chieftains, and Bishops, and Priests, for a grave in Iona, was much aided by a popular belief, resulting from an ancient prophecy, that, seven years before the end of the world, a deluge should drown the nations, and that Iona alone should be preserved amidst the flood. This prophecy was in Gaelic ; and the following is a translation of it, by the late Dr. Smith of Campbelton :—

Seven years before that awful day,
 When time shall be no more,
 A watery deluge will o'ersweep
 Hibernia's mossy shore ;
 The green-clad Islay, too, shall sink,
 While, with the great and good,
 Columba's happy isle will rear
 Her towers above the flood.

Iona claims to have been the place of burial of more **Place of** than forty Scottish kings ; of two Irish kings ; of one **tomb.** French king ; and of two Irish princes of the Norwegian race ;—besides of chieftains, and ecclesiastics, without number. Malcolm Canmore took away from it the right of Royal sepulture, and transferred it to Dunfermline. Among those who wished, unsuccessfully, to be buried here, was Colus, " King of Norroway," who is celebrated **King Coil.** in story and in song—who gave his name to the central

* Richmond's *Visit to Iona*.

district of Ayrshire, Kyle—and to whom Burns refers when he says :—

'Twas in that place o' Scotland's Isle
That bears the name o' auld King Coil.

Duncan,
and Mac-
beth.

The last two Scottish kings who were buried in Iona were Duncan the First—"the gracious Duncan"—in 1034, and his murderer, Macbeth, in 1040. Thus Shakspeare alludes to the interment of the former :—

Rosse. Where is Duncan's body ?
Macduff. Carried to Colme's-kill,
The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
And guardian of his bones.

Fictions
respecting
Columba.

The fictions respecting Columba—such as that he worked miracles, possessed the gift of the "second-sight," and prophesied—we pass over. They are to be found in the chronicles of Scotland, before anything in the shape of authentic Scottish History had so much as dawned ; and we must sweep them away, as we would sweep the cobwebs from the windows, the walls, and the columns, of some stately and magnificent old religious pile. His zeal, his piety, his energy, and his love for his fellow-creatures, are undoubted. His learning, his administrative capacity, and his self-denial, united with his princely rank—for he was the descendant of kings—made him, both in Ireland and in Scotland, the most influential man of his age ; and he was worthy, both in life and in death, to be the centre of those kings, and nobles, who now sleep around him, amid

Iona's piles,
Where rest from mortal coil the mighty of the Isles.

Leaving fiction behind us, we shall briefly record the leading facts of his life, as related by Cumin, the sixth Abbot, who wrote the life of Columba about 60 years after his death, and by Adamnan the eighth Abbot, who wrote about 20 years later. (See notes to Mr Borison's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* for August, 1852).

521.

Columba was born in 521. As we have already

intimated, his descent was from Royalty; and, with **Facts,** his twelve companions, he left Ireland, in his frail *currach*, and landed at Iona, in the middle of summer, 563. His object was, to Christianise Pictland and 563. Scotland; and he did more, for the accomplishment of this object, than any other man has ever done.

Iona is said to have been, previously, in the possession of the Druids; who were expelled by the Culdees. **The Druids.** It is of little consequence to know from what prince Columba received the right to settle in Iona. The spot where he, and his companions, landed, at the south end of the island, is still pointed out; and is called, in Gaelic, in allusion to his *currach*, "the Bay of the Wicker-Boat." Tradition tells us that his boat was sixty feet long.

Columba has been noted, in history, for his peculiar benevolence to the inferior animals. After quoting some instances of such benevolence, the writer to whom we have, in a note, just referred, very properly transcribes the following lines of Coleridge, in his *Ancient Mariner*:— **Coleridge's Ancient Mariner.**

Farewell, farewell! but this I tell
To thee, thou wedding-guest!
He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man, and bird, and beast.

He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things, both great and small;
For the great God, who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.

Columba is said to have transcribed three hundred **Character-** volumes with his own hand. In his monastery, he was **istics of** a pattern of meekness, devoutness, and diligence. He **Columba.** was abstemious himself, but hospitable, and indulgent to others. In his day, feather-beds were rarities. They were possessed by the wealthy, and the noble; but Columba slept on the bare ground, under a thatched roof, and rested his head on a stone pillow. His practice, in this respect, does not appear to have been the result of an undue asceticism. It seems, rather, to have flowed from the very rational desire, that, with a view to his better discharging the duties of life, he might

retain possession of a healthy and vigorous body, combined with a clear and sound intellect. His biographers describe him as cheerful in his general demeanour, graceful in his person, and neat in his dress ; and the clearness, and compass, of his voice was such, that, when he chanted the Vesper psalmody, it might be heard afar off, in the stillness of the summer evenings—

Breaking the silence of the seas,
Among the farthest Hebrides.

Death of
Columba.

The time of Columba's departure came. He had considerably passed the allotted term of threescore and ten. Weaker and weaker grew his bodily powers ; while his mind remained as active as ever. After various struggles with the helplessness of nearly fourscore years, he was found, at the hour of midnight, by his brethren of the monastery, prostrate, and expiring, before the altar of his Cathedral. He was removed ; and expired on the morning of Sunday, June the 9th, 597, in the 76th year of his age.

June 9th,
597.

Burial of
Columba.

Three days after his death, Columba was interred. In the soil of Iona the bones of the great Christianiser of Scotland rest. It may be a fiction ; but it is a beautiful and expressive one, that, as his body was being laid in the grave, a storm, which had been raging since the Sunday, suddenly lulled, and the ocean sank into a calm. The storm of life was over: the calm and tranquillity of heaven had come.

It has been attempted to be made out that Columba was hostile to Episcopacy. Nothing can be more absurd than such a statement. Columba was the devoted son of a notoriously Episcopal Church—that of Ireland—of which St. Patrick had been the great Apostle. He was educated by Bishops ; he was ordained by a Bishop ; by Bishops he was visited ; and Bishops were his bosom-friends to the end of his life. (*Rorison's Sketches*).

Remarks on
Buchanan.

With regard to the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland, the following remarks may be made. Buchanan, in accordance with his own notions of ecclesiastical polity, maintains that, prior to the arrival

of Palladius, in 431, no grade of the Christian priesthood higher than that of presbyter was known on Scottish ground; and he hence infers, that Episcopacy ought to have no footing in Scotland; and that, in truth, Popery and Episcopacy came in together. Supposing Buchanan's assumed facts correct, his argument against Episcopacy is merely one similar to that which might be adduced with regard to modern India, in similar circumstances; seeing that, previously to the establishment of a Bishop at Calcutta, in the person of Dr. Middleton, the gospel had been preached, and Christian ordinances had been administered there, by presbyters, and presbyters only, for two hundred years.

Progress of
Christianity in North
Britain.

The death of Columba did not arrest the progress of Christianity in North Britain. Onward it went, like the lava of Etna, or Vesuvius, gathering strength as it rolled along, and spreading the blessings of civilisation, and refinement, wherever the name of the Saviour was proclaimed. The monks of Iona became known throughout all Christendom. Not in Pictland, and Scotland, and Northumbria only, but in France, in Germany, and in Italy, their labours, in scattering the seeds of Christianity, and their deeds of charity were held in high estimation; and their persons were revered to an almost unexampled degree.

Gross misapprehension exists, generally, throughout Great Britain, as to the time when Papal usurpation, and Romish corruptions, first found their way into the British Isles. For centuries after Christianity had been adopted by our ancestors, they knew nothing of the Bishop of Rome, excepting as a foreign prelate, who possessed no power, or at least no lawful jurisdiction, beyond the limits of his own diocese. So far down as to the year 620, we find Rome, and her adherents, spoken of in the following terms in a poem of the Welsh bard, Taliessin:—

Anti-Romish
tendencies of the
Scottish
Church.

Woe be to that priest y-born,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among;
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong;

F

Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his erring sheep,
 With staff and weapon strong.

635. Aidan, a monk of Iona, became Bishop of Lindisfarne; and, under him, churches arose, and monasteries were built; and Oswald, king of Northumbria, gave money and lands, to a large amount, for the support, and endowment, of religious services. Aidan died on the 31st of August, 651; and was succeeded by
651. Finan, another monk of the island of *I* or *Hy*. Finan built a cathedral in the island of Lindisfarne; and, also, sent a mission of three English priests, and a Scotch one, to the kingdom of the Mid-Angles, whose prince he had baptised.
661. Colman, as third monk of Iona, succeeded Finan; and, during his Lindisfarne Episcopate, a ridiculous and absurd controversy was raised, on the subject of the particular day on which Easter should be kept. Oswy, King of Northumbria, was engaged in this controversy; and, the decision with regard to it being opposed to the sentiments of Colman, he resigned his Bishopric, returned to Iona, and left Tuda, who had been instructed, and consecrated Bishop, among the southern Scots, to be elected in his stead. Tuda was a good and religious man, who enjoyed his Episcopal dignity for only a short time. With him expired the Scottish succession of Northumbrian Bishops.
- In the ninth century, were founded the Episcopal Sees of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. Dunkeld is supposed to have been founded, by Kenneth Macalpine, about the middle of this century. The Primacy was, originally, vested in Dunkeld. It was wrested from it about the year 890; and the prelates of St. Andrews became the heads of the Scottish Church.
- In dealing with Scottish history, we have many difficulties to contend with. Its chroniclers jumbled truth and falsehood together with a simplicity which is truly amazing. Our earliest Scottish historian is Fordun. He was a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, in the reigns of Robert the Second and Robert the Third, and chaplain of the church of Aberdeen. He compiled a history of the Scots, in

five books ; bringing it down to the death of David the First, in 1153. His work, which was continued by other hands, down to the death of James the First, in 1437, is commonly known by the title of *Scoti-chronicon*, or, The Scots Chronicle.

We do not intend to plunge into discussions respecting the Culdees. There are ample treatises on this subject ; and to these we refer the reader. He will find much elaborate reasoning with regard to it, in Dr Jamieson's work, and in a preliminary Dissertation prefixed to Bishop Russel's edition of Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*. He will, also, find some excellent remarks on the Culdees, in Rorison's Ecclesiastical Sketches, in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*. The Culdees.

The doctrines, ritual, and usages of the ancient Scottish Church were not different from those of any other part of the Christian world. On the contrary, they were in perfect accordance with the doctrines, ritual, and usages, which characterised the inhabitants of every country where the name of Jesus was honoured and adored.*

At the period of which we speak, there was not a Church in the world, which did not maintain the order, and discipline, of a regular society under Episcopal jurisdiction. Nor was there a church in the world, whose Bishops could not trace, distinctly, and with historical accuracy, their line of succession back to some one or other of the twelve Apostles of our blessed Lord. The doctrine of the Apostolical Succession is, usually, made a subject of ridicule, on the part of its opponents ; but there is as much historical evidence in favour of it as there is in favour of the fact, that Julius Cæsar lived, and overran Gaul—that Harold fought the battle of Hastings—that Charles the First was beheaded at Whitehall—that the great Duke of Marlborough conquered at Blenheim—and that the illustrious Duke of Wellington overthrew the despotism of Napoleon on the field of Waterloo. Episcopacy, at the time, universal.

As in other countries, so in Scotland, the encroachments of the Bishop of Rome upon the independence of national churches were slow, and sometimes almost Encroachments of the Papacy.

* Russel's *History*, Vol. I., pp. 45-88.

imperceptible. On other occasions, it was bold and unscrupulous. The story of Augustine, commonly known as Austin the Monk, when Gregory the Great, in the year 597, sent to the Welsh Bishops, and Abbots, to demand submission from them, is well known. To this demand the Superior of the Monastery of Bangor replied :—"As to the subjection you require, be thus persuaded of us, that, in the bond of love and charity, we are all subjects, and servants, to the Church of God ; yea, to the Roman Pontiff, and every good Christian, to help them forward, both by word and deed, to become the children of God. Other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope ; and this obedience we are at all times ready to give to him, and to every good Christian. Besides, we are governed, under God, by the Bishop of Caerleon, who is appointed to oversee us in all spiritual matters."—(Russell, Vol. I., pp. 64, 65.)

The original independence of all national branches of the Church Catholic is a historical fact, as clear, and as capable of proof, as is the fact, that Alexander the Great extended his conquests to the Indus ;—or the fact, that the battles of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt, took place ;—or the fact, that Queen Victoria ascended the throne of Great Britain, while she was yet in her virgin prime, and that she now reigns over the millions of human beings committed to her care. The claim, therefore, of the Bishop of Rome to spiritual dominion, over his brother Bishops, in England and Scotland, and throughout the rest of the Christian world, is one monstrous and absurd. It was never heard of for the first six centuries of the Christian era. Boniface III. assumed, in 607, the title of *Bishop of Bishops* ; but the Bishop of Rome who immediately preceded him declared, in reference to some act of the kind, on the part of the Patriarch of Constantinople, that any person claiming such a title would be the precursor of Anti-Christ ; and there is no manifest reason why the Roman Bishop should have ever done so, excepting what is connected with the circumstance, that he possessed great temporal power, as exercising supreme spiritual authority in the mighty

city where stood the throne of the Cæsars, and from, which the legions of the Cæsars went forth to subjugate and enslave, the nations of Europe. The fiction of the Bishops of Rome deriving their title to be Primates of Christendom from St. Peter will not bear the light of historical investigation. There is not, in history, sacred or profane, the shadow of a proof that St. Peter ever was at Rome.

There are two points, on which the Churches of Scotland and England are deliberately, and decisively, at variance with the Church of Rome. These are, the excess of jurisdiction—that is, jurisdiction beyond the boundaries of his own diocese—which the Bishop of that Church, throughout the course of the Middle Ages, contrived to get hold of, and which Henry the Eighth, as far as England was concerned, discarded; and the corruptions of doctrine with which the Romish Church, during the same period, gradually overspread, not only herself, but every other national Church, and which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, under Edward the Sixth, successfully remedied.

As regards the Bishop of Rome's excess of jurisdiction, need we go farther, for evidence of the fact, that it was neither universally admitted nor known, than to the two cases of the people of Abyssinia and the Syrian Christians? The former were converted to Christianity by Frumentius, a disciple of Athanasius; and a period of 1200 years had elapsed when they were visited by the Portuguese. During the whole of this period, they had known nothing of the Pope, or Bishop of Rome; and, as a matter of course, declined to recognise his authority. In like manner, the Syrian Christians had seen thirteen centuries pass away, when, in the year 1503, they were visited by the same nation, who, under the leadership of Vasco de Gama, descended on the coast of Malabar. In reply to a question put to them, concerning the regulation of their ecclesiastical affairs, in connection with the authority of the Pope, the language of the natives was:—"Who is the Pope? We are of the true faith, whatever you of the West may be. For, we come from the place where the disciples were first called Christians." This place was Antioch.

Bishops,
Priests, and
Deacons,
everywhere
recognised.

Throughout the whole Christian world, there was not, at the commencement of the sixteenth century—a single Church which did not recognise the three orders of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon.

We now proceed to take a general view of the condition of the Scottish Church from the sixth to the fourteenth century;—that is, to the time when the House of Stuart ascended the Scottish throne. While doing so, we hope to be able to throw some light on the manners, and habits, of that period. In order to do this properly, we must leap, at one bound, to the reign of Malcolm Canmore—otherwise Malcolm the Third—in the eleventh century.

CHAPTER II.

Territorial jurisdiction of Bishops originated in the reign of Malcolm Canmore—Fixed charges in the ninth century—The Pope's authority established—The clergy, nevertheless, not the slaves of the Papacy—Celibacy of the clergy ; and the tonsure, and the paschal calendar—Bishop Turgot—Eadmer—The Prior of Scone consecrated, as successor to Turgot, by the Archbishop of York—The Investiture—The Archbishop of York claims supremacy over the Scottish Church—St Margaret—Arrives in Scotland—Her excellent qualities—Margaret civilises the Court—Queen Margaret's death—See of Aberdeen—David—His saintly character—His invasion of England—Erection of Bishoprics—David's death—William the Lion—The Saturday afternoon—Holinshed—N. P. Willis—Dr. Grindrod—The Scottish clergy refuse to acknowledge subjection to the Church of England—Hugo, Cardinal of St. Angelo—Gilbert Murray—No farther attempt made to subjugate the Scottish Church to English spiritual dominion.—Honorius III.—Scottish provincial Convocation—Scottish Bishops summoned to Rome—Perplexity, and confusion, of the Scottish Church—St. Margaret—Founding of the Abbey of Aberbrothwick—Controversy between William the Lion and the Pope—The Pope sends a Legate into Scotland—Scotland threatened with an interdict—Scott, Bishop of Dunkeld—First Bishop of Argyle—The Crusades, and their result—Death of King William—Alexander II.—Council of Latern—Transubstantiation—The absurdity of the doctrine—Spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome—Scotland first laid under an interdict—Invention of interdicts—Nature of interdicts—Removal of the interdict—The germ of the Reformation.

It was in the reign of Malcolm Canmore—otherwise styled Malcolm the Third—who flourished in the year 1070, that the first attempt was made to define the territorial limits of Episcopal jurisdiction in Scotland ; and, even on this occasion, the attempt was made on a small scale. About this time, the two nations of the Scots and Picts were united ; and the son of Alpine removed the Episcopal seat from Abernethy to St. Andrews.

Territorial jurisdiction of Bishops originated in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. 1070.

It appears that, towards the close of the ninth century, there were, in Scotland, fixed charges allotted to individual clergymen. By this time, the authority of the Pope seems to have been fully established in

Fixed charges in the ninth century.

The Pope's authority established North as well as in South Britain ; for we find a Bishop-elect proceeding to Rome, to have his election confirmed by his Holiness.

The clergy, nevertheless, not the slaves of the Papacy. But, notwithstanding this establishment, the records of the period shew us, that the clergy were not the subject slaves of the Papacy. As a proof of this, when St. Dunstan, and his assessors, at Calne, formally debated the question relating to the celibacy of persons in holy orders, the representatives of the Scottish priesthood opposed the arguments, and refused to repose implicit confidence, either in the wisdom, or in the infallibility, of the Bishop of Rome. St. Dunstan was successful in the contest ; and he was successful

Celibacy of the clergy ; and the tonsure, and the paschal calendar. in the matter of the tonsure and the paschal calendar. But the discussion ended in proving, that the Scottish clergy did not consider the behests of the Pope as, of themselves, tautological, apart from the exercise of their own judgment, binding upon them.

Bishop Turgot. From an investigation of historical facts, it would appear, that, even in the twelfth century, the absolute supremacy of the Pope, over the Scottish and other Churches, was not established without much opposition. In the reign of Alexander the First, of Scotland, Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, died. On his death, Alexander applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury for advice respecting his successor. The Archbishop, Ralph, or Rodolph, Primate of all England, recommended Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, for the vacant See. This recommendation, however, did not take effect ; Eadmer having refused to be consecrated by any other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the King being determined not to compromise the independence of the Scottish church, by the permission of such a measure. The Prior of Scone was chosen as successor to Turgot ; but the consecration of the Prior did not take place till two years afterwards, after Alexander's death, and in the reign of David the First. The Prior was consecrated by Thurstin, Archbishop of York.*

Eadmer. On this occasion, although the new Bishop of

* Spotswood, p. 36. Russell, pp. 98-101.

St. Andrews was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, yet the latter did not insist on his taking the oath of canonical obedience. According to the Scottish historians, "the privileges of both Churches were reserved." Had Alexander lived, it is probable that the consecration, by the Archbishop of York, would not have taken place at all. He was jealous of his royalty; "and," says Spotswood, "would not endure, at any hand, the least encroachment upon either his kingdom or the Church."

A question connected with what is called the Investiture arose, about this time, throughout Christian Europe. The endowments of the Church were, chiefly, from princes and great nobles, who alienated their lands for the purpose, and who, in the spirit of the feudal system, naturally expected some acknowledgment in return. The symbols of a ring and a staff were invented, to denote the obligations of the incumbent, and the authority from which he received his office. Pope Gregory VII. resented the invention, as an invasion of the civil power over the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church. His successors followed in the same path; and, about the beginning of the twelfth century, Paschal II. formally excommunicated any Bishop who should receive investiture at the hands of a layman. The Investiture.

The Archbishop of York claimed to be supreme over the Church in Scotland, in consequence of his succession to the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, which, at an early period of Scottish history, extended from the Humber to the Clyde. On this principle it was, that the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway were, certainly, within the province of York. But, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of all England, grasped at dominion beyond the Frith of Forth, he grasped at a power which did not belong to him, and which neither Pope nor Council had it in their power to bestow. The Archbishop of York claims supremacy over the Scottish Church.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, one female name shone forth with a radiancy, and lustre, which is of rare occurrence in the barbarous times of which we write. That name belonged to Margaret, St. Margaret.

the wife of Malcolm Canmore ; a woman whose principles, and manners, and habits, did more to contribute towards the advancement of Christianity, and civilisation, in Scotland, than those of any other female upon record. The Norman Conquest, in England, had taken place ; and it drove into the lower part of Scotland a Saxon population, who were the ancestors of the Scottish Lowlanders of the present day ; and who were the means of introducing, into Scotland, the feudal system, and of remoulding, in a most important manner, the Celtic Church.

1070.
Arrives in
Scotland.

About the year 1070, Edgar Atheling, and his two sisters—Margaret and a younger one—members of an illustrious Saxon family, driven by stress of weather, landed at that part of the Frith of Forth which was afterwards named “St. Margaret’s Hope.” Malcolm—the son of the “gracious Duncan,” whom Macbeth slew—had been an exile in England ; and, while there, he had known her intimately.* As a natural consequence, the distinguished refugees were received with the utmost cordiality at the Scottish Court. In a short time, Margaret became Malcolm’s wife, and Scotland’s Queen. Malcolm and Margaret were married, by the Bishop of St. Andrews, at Dunfermline. Lovingly they trod life’s vale together. In a short time, Margaret shewed herself to be one of the best of women, as well as one of the best of queens. She was a paragon of conjugal and maternal devotion. She was a woman of Christian piety. Her husband was a man rude of manner, but brave and sagacious ; and his love, his regard, and his respect, for her were unbounded. Unlettered himself,† he, nevertheless, took pleasure in turning over the leaves of her favourite books ; “and would even press his lips to the mysterious characters hallowed to his imagination by her perusal.”‡ His counsels were guided by her ; and on no occasion had he ever cause to regret that he had made her the leading-star of his life.

Her excel-
lent quali-
ties.

* Margaret was a grand-niece of Edward the Confessor ; at whose court Malcolm, when in exile, lived.

† Ignarus licet litterarum.

‡ Rorison’s *Sketches*.

A leading object with Margaret was, to civilise the court of which she had become the female head ; and this she did with a tact, and judgment, which would have done honour to a far more polished age. She contrived to abrogate customs which were a disgrace to the most ordinarily-civilised nations; and she introduced practices which were more consonant with the views of modern times. She brought *tartan*, from the Continent, into use ; and she introduced something like regularity, and decorum, into the habits of the chieftains who dined at the Royal table. Margaret civilises the Court.

Malcolm Canmore, and his son Edward, were slain, in Northumberland, on the 13th of November, 1093 ; and Margaret, heart-broken by this event, expired, in Edinburgh Castle, on the 16th of the same month. She was interred at Dunfermline. Queen Margaret's death. 1093.

Malcolm Canmore founded the See of Mortlach ; which was, afterwards, transferred to Aberdeen. See of Aberdeen.

The saintly David, the youngest son of Malcolm and Margaret, became king of Scotland in 1124. To him Scotland was indebted for many of her most distinguished religious foundations. "Learned men," says Buchanan, "of the highest genius, have not been able to depict such an ideal of a king as he approved himself in reality." This is high praise from such a quarter. But it is praise well deserved. David was, emphatically, the poor man's king. He would listen, personally, to the grievances of the meanest of his subjects. His favourite relaxation was garden-work. He loved to settle plants, and to ingraft trees. Pious, and gentle, in his temper, nothing pained him more than to see strife among others. David. 1124. His saintly character.

One blot upon David's character must be recorded. He invaded England, and the Battle of the Standard was the result. He did so in a righteous cause—in behalf of the claims of the lawful Princess against the usurper Stephen—but, to his dying day, he regretted having let loose, upon Northumberland and Durham, the licentious hordes who spared neither sex, nor age, nor the sanctities of religion. His invasion of England. 1138.

It was David who removed the See of Mortlach to Aberdeen. He erected the Bishoprics of Ross and

1127. Caithness, of Moray, Brechin, and Dunblane. He
 1150. bestowed advantages on Melrose. He founded Kelso,
 Erection of Lesmahago, HOLYROOD, Newbattle, Jedburgh, Cam-
 Bishoprics. buskerneth, and Kinloss.*

The Scottish Solomon of a future day said, that David "was ane sair sanct for the crown." True it is that he was so. But his Royal benevolence was exercised in a princely and Christian cause. It was exercised in the only cause which, in the twelfth century, favoured peace, and opened an avenue to the progress of intelligence and civilisation.

1153. David died, at Carlisle, on the 24th of May 1153.
 David's death.

At the time when King David died, there were ten Scottish Bishoprics. Subsequently, their number was increased to fourteen. Argyle was formed about the year 1200, by a subdivision of the great diocese of Dunkeld. Edinburgh was, by Charles the First, taken out of St. Andrews. The insular bishoprics of Orkney and the Isles—both of high antiquity—fell into the Scottish Church, by acquisitions of the Crown, at a future period.†

William the Lion. 1165.
 In pursuing the present narrative, we come down to the reign of William the Lion. William, the brother of Malcolm the Fourth, ascended the Scottish throne in 1165. Before proceeding to notice any of his other ecclesiastical proceedings, it may be interesting to our readers to say a few words, in connection with the institution of a holiday, or, rather, half-holiday, which occurred in his reign. We allude to the half-holiday of the Saturday afternoon.

The Saturday afternoon.
 There are few who look back to their school-boy days with regret, who do not, at the same time, remember their Saturday half-holiday as one of the most pleasurable periodical eras of life. Its origin may be traced, in English history, to at least the reign of William the Conqueror. Then, in England, it was customary for the serfs, or *villeins*, to cease labouring on Saturday at noon, and to refrain from work till Monday at day-dawn. A bell tolled on each Saturday at the time mentioned; and henceforward, till twelve

* Rorison's *Sketches*.

† Rorison.

at night, religious duties, together with the pastimes allowed by the Church, were the only things that engaged public attention. In Scotland, we have not been able to mark its existence earlier than the time of William the Lion, whose renown is so intimately blended with ecclesiastical lore, by his erection of the Abbey of Aberbrothock. In 1199, the Pope sent a legate to William for the express purpose of presenting him with a sword, whose sheath and hilt were of gold, and set with precious stones of inestimable value. This gift was accompanied by a hat or bonnet, "made," says Holinshed, "in a manner of a diadem of purple hue, in token, (as it should meane,) that he was a Defender of the Church. Many indulgences, and privileges," continues the same old Chronicler, "were granted, at the same time, by the Pope, for the libertie of the Church of Scotland. It was ordained also, the same time, that Saturdaie should be kept as holidaiie from noon forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing any bodilie work from Saturdaie, at noone, untill Mondaie in the morning."

The following verses, from the pen of N. P. Willis, the celebrated American poet, on the subject of the Saturday afternoon, will not be out of place for insertion here :—

I love to look on a scene like this,
 Of wild and careless play,
 And persuade myself that I am not old—
 That my locks are not yet gray;
 For it stirs the blood in an old man's heart,
 And it makes his pulses fly,
 To catch the thrill of a happy voice,
 And the light of a pleasant eye.

I have walked the world for fourscore years,
 And they say that I am old—
 That my heart is ripe for the reaper, Death—
 That my years are well-nigh told.
 It is very true—it is very true—
 I'm old, and "I bide my time;"
 But my heart will leap at a scene like this,
 And I half renew my prime.

G

Play on, play on—I am with you there,
 In the midst of your merry ring;
 I can feel the thrill of the daring jump,
 And the rush of the breathless swing.
 I hide with you in the fragrant hay,
 And I whoop the smothered call,
 And my feet slip up on the seedy floor,
 And I care not for the fall.

I am willing to die when my time shall come,
 And I shall be glad to go;
 For the world, at best, is a weary place,
 And my pulse is getting low.
 But the grave is dark, and the heart will fail,
 In treading its gloomy way;
 And it wiles my heart from its dreariness,
 To see the young so gay.

Dr. Grind-
 rod.

Perhaps the following remarks, on the subject of the Christian Sabbath, from a modern writer, may not prove uninteresting:—"The Christians of past ages," says he, "were so anxious to *commence* the Sabbath in a proper spirit, that laws were specially enacted for this purpose. Among the Franks, King Childebert I., A.D. 555, inflicted severe penalties on those who spent either the *vigils*, or the evenings themselves, of days devoted to religion, such as Christmas and Easter, in an irregular manner. He particularly specifies indulgence in excesses on Saturday evenings, which he characterises as no less than sacrilege, and an indignity offered to God. The English Saxons, our remote ancestors, were rigidly attentive to this point. The constitution of Withred, King of Kent, and of the council of Berghamsted, A.D. 697, defined the limits of the Sabbath to be from sunset, on Saturday evening, to bedtime on Sunday night. King Edgar, in his Ecclesiastical laws, A.D. 967, extended yet farther the limits of the Lord's Day; that is, *from three o'clock on Saturday afternoon to the break of day on Monday*. The law of Canute, on this subject, was expressed almost in the same words. Edward the Confessor directed that the Sabbath should extend to the same period. This was one of those enactments which were afterwards confirmed by William the Norman. Withred, King of Kent, ordained, that if a servant did any servile work, by order of his master,

any time from sunset on Saturday till after sunset on the Lord's Day, the latter was to be fined the sum of eighty shillings."*

In consequence of the capture of William the Lion, by Henry the Second of England, William was compelled, as the price of his liberation, to consent to deliver, into Henry's hands, his principal fortresses; and, also, to hold his kingdom of him as Lord Superior. The Archbishop of York thought this a good opportunity of again claiming supremacy over the Church in Scotland. At a meeting, at Northampton, where King William, and a deputation of the Scottish clergy, were present, King Henry demanded of the latter to make due acknowledgment of their subjection to the Church of England. This they refused to do. They declared, that "they had never professed any subjection to the Church of England, neither were they obliged to make any such acknowledgment."†

The Scottish clergy refuse to acknowledge subjection to the Church of England.

At the council held at Northampton, Hugo, Cardinal of Saint Angelo, presided as legate from the Pope. On his taking his seat, he called upon the Scottish clergy to submit to the Archbishop of York as their Primate, and Metropolitan. This they declined to do; a young man, a Canon of the diocese of Moray addressing the Cardinal as follows:—"The Church of Scotland, ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdom, hath ever been a free and independent Church, subject to the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our Metropolitan, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will; for, notwithstanding the present peace, which we wish may long continue, wars may break out betwixt the two kingdoms; and, if it shall so fall out, neither will he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely, and without suspicion, resort to him. For the controversies which you, my Lord Cardinal, say may arise among ourselves, we have learned and wise prelates, who can determine the same; and, if they

Hugo, Cardinal of Saint Angelo.

* *The Wrongs of Our Youth.* By Dr. Grindrod.

† Russell, Vol. II. p. 110.

should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious king, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us. And I cannot think that either his Holiness hath forgotten, or that you, my Lord, who are his legate, can be ignorant of the exemption granted unto Malcolm, our late king; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore, in the name of the whole Scottish Church, we do humbly entreat the preservation of our ancient liberties, and that we be not brought under subjection to our enemies." *

Gilbert
Murray.

This young man's name was Gilbert Murray; who, in reward of his zeal, was, afterwards, made Bishop of Caithness, and Chancellor of the kingdom. Bishop Leslie describes Dr. Murray as a man of singular piety; and, in the credulous spirit of his age, says that, in addition to his courage, in defence of his native Church, he was famous for working miracles, both while alive, and after his death. †

The display of spirit, on the part of the young Canon of Moray, elicited, from the Archbishop of York, who, with others, admired the courage and animation exhibited by him, the following remark:—"That arrow came not out of thine own quiver." ‡ On the delivery of the Canon's speech, the Legate dissolved the Council. §

No farther
attempt
made to
subjugate
the Scottish
Church to
English
spiritual
dominion.

From this time forward, there is little said, in Scottish history, of further attempts, on the part of English Archbishops, to invade the liberties of the Scottish Church. There was not the shadow of a title, on their part, to justify them in doing so; and, accordingly, we learn, that Pope Clement III. issued a bull of exemption in favour of the Scottish Church, expressly annulling the Archbishop of York's pretensions, and taking it under the immediate protection of the Holy See. || The truth of the matter is, that the attempt, on the part of the English Church, to usurp

* Boeth. lib. xiii. Spotswood, p. 38.

† Skinner, Vol. I. p. 268.

‡ "Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta."

§ Boeth. lib. xiii.

|| Skinner, Vol. I. pp. 268, 269.

authority over the Scottish one, arose from the circumstance, that Scotland had no Metropolitan. Thus, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury had been occasionally authorised, by the Pope, to extend their services beyond the boundary which separates the two kingdoms of Great Britain. The Tweed was, therefore, crossed by these dignitaries with impunity. To remedy this state of affairs, in the reign of Alexander II., Honorius III. issued a mandate, the object of which was, to confer upon the Scottish Bishops the power of holding provincial or national synods, and of enacting laws for the administration of all ecclesiastical affairs, except such as specially belonged to the supreme jurisdiction.* It was arranged, that, annually, a provincial council should be held; and that this council should consist of all the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors. At each Convocation of this kind, one of the Bishops, under the title of *Conservator*, was to be chosen, and was to preside in the place of a Metropolitan. This *Conservator* was to administer the statutes of the Church against all offenders; and it was settled, that the Bishops were to preach at the opening of the Convocation, in rotation. The Bishop of St. Andrews was the one appointed first to do so.†

Honorius
III.

Scottish
provincial
Convoca-
tion.

The assumption, by the Pope, of this supreme jurisdiction over the Scottish Church was attended with disadvantages, such as the Scottish Bishops and clergy had not contemplated when they rejected the supremacy of the Archbishop of York. The Scottish Bishops soon found, that, on the most frivolous pretences—such as those of their having their elections confirmed, or of their being consecrated by the Pope himself, or of their answering any trifling charge brought against them—they were summoned to Rome, and put to expense and trouble, in all their different varieties and forms; to such an extent that they were often detained at Rome for many years—some dying there, and others expiring on the road to and from it—while the business

Scottish
Bishops
summoned
to Rome.

* Russell, Vol. I. p. 113.

† Innes's *Critical Essay*, p. 590.

of their respective dioceses was necessarily thrown into a state of the utmost confusion.*

Perplexity,
and con-
fusion, of
the Scottish
Church.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the state of perplexity, and confusion, in which the Scottish Church was at this time placed. The Archbishop of York's claim of supremacy over it had, undoubtedly, and most justly, been rejected; but the dignity of having the Pope as its Metropolitan proved, as we have already stated, the reverse of adding to its comfort. "We have," said the young Canon of Moray, at Northampton, "wise and learned Prelates among ourselves, capable to determine any controversy; and, though they should be deficient, we have a good and religious King, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so that we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us." Had this sentiment been adopted, and adhered to, and an Archbishop, in Scotland, been then appointed, the Scottish Church might have avoided many evils, which, under the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, she afterwards encountered.

1178.

Founding
of the
Abbey of
Aberbro-
thock.

In the year 1178, William the Lion founded the Abbey of Aberbrothock, in Angus; and dedicated it to the memory of Thomas A'Becket. A'Becket was murdered, by unholy and irreligious men, at Canterbury—of which he was Archbishop—before the altar, on the 29th of December 1170. The Abbey of Aberbrothock is now a stately ruin; but, though shorn of its ancient splendour, it is still an object of great interest to all who venerate the Christian worth, and the Christian devotion, of former times.†

Controver-
sy between
William the
Lion and
the Pope.

About this period, the See of St. Andrews became vacant, and King William recommended, to the Convent, Hugh, one of his chaplains, as successor in the bishopric. This recommendation the Convent passed over, and elected Archdeacon Scott. The King, being determined to have his own way, swore that Scott should not have the bishopric; and another election was entered upon. Hugh was chosen; and Scott, with

* Skinner, Vol. I. 269, 270.

† See Holinshed's *Chronicle*. See, also, Sir Walter Scott's novel, *The Antiquary*; where the Abbey of Aberbrothock is shadowed forth under the name of St. Ruth.

a view to advancing his claims, went to Rome. The Pope sent a Legate into Scotland. This Legate ordered Matthew, Bishop of Aberdeen, to consecrate Scott on Trinity Sunday, in the year 1178. Notwithstanding this arbitrary invasion of the Pope, the King stood upon his rights, confiscated the revenues of the See, and banished Scott, and his adherents, from the kingdom. The Pope, determined to carry on the war in his own fashion, threatened Scotland with an interdict. Scott, however, who had gone to Rome a second time, fell at the Pope's feet; imploring him not to carry his threat into execution, and stating, "that he had much rather renounce his dignity, than that so many Christian souls should, for aught that concerned him, be deprived of spiritual benefits."

The Pope sends a Legate into Scotland.

Scotland threatened with an interdict.

Scott's conduct, on this occasion, was highly creditable to him. He stood as a medium of peace between the Pope and the king. So convinced was the latter of the purity of his motives, and the excellence of his qualities, that he offered him "the bishopric of fair Dunkeld." * Scott accepted it; and out of this bishopric—which he found by far too extensive—he formed the bishopric of Argyle. In the diocese of Argyle, Erse only was spoken; and, therefore, Scott chose Ewaldus, one of his chaplains, who spoke Erse, as the first Bishop of the new See. This event took place in the year of our Lord 1200.

Scott, Bishop of Dunkeld.

First Bishop of Argyle.

1200.

At the period of which we treat, the Crusades † took their origin in Europe; and Europe, under the direction of Peter the Hermit, threw herself upon Asia, with a

The Crusades, and their result.

* Amid that dim and smoky light,
Chequering the silvery moon-shine bright,
A bishop by the altar stood,
A noble lord of Douglas blood,
With mitre sheen, and roquet white.
Yet shewed his meek and thoughtful eye
But little pride of prelacy;
More pleased that, in a barbarous age,
He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
Than that beneath his rule he held
The bishopric of fair Dunkeld.

—*Marmion*, 5th Canto.

† Literally, *Croisades*.

determination, if possible, although in an unrighteous cause, to wrest Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulchre, from the Paynim and the Saracen. Saladin met the onslaught of Cœur-de-lion, of England, in the spirit of him who was the author of the faith which acknowledges the Crescent as its sign ; and the result was, that, in the end, Europe, in defiance of the fanaticism which had led her to engage in the contest with the hordes of the Mahomedan Prophet, felt herself compelled to fall back upon the principles, and the precepts, of that holy religion, which teaches us, that, even as regards infidels, human rights are not to be violated with impunity.

1214.
Death of
King
William.
Alexander
II.
Council of
Lateran.
1215.

During the reign of William the Lion, four national councils were held in Scotland. William died in 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., a youth of sixteen years. In his reign, the Council of Lateran—a Council summoned by Pope Innocent III.—was held. At this Council there were four hundred and twelve bishops, and the Bishops of Glasgow, Moray, and Caithness attended it. Here, the doctrine of transubstantiation—or, the change of the elements of bread and wine, on the occasion of the sacrament of the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, into the actual body and blood of our Saviour—was admitted, and acknowledged, in such a manner as neither primitive truth, nor modern and enlightened times, would acknowledge to be consistent with the principles of Christianity.

Transub-
stantiation.

The absur-
dity of the
doctrine.

Into the history of the doctrine of transubstantiation we do not feel disposed to enter. Its absurdity is so transparent, that we leave it to the common sense of all who are in the habit of estimating the rationality of Christian principles, and who are, in the course of their pilgrimage through life, inclined to adopt, in the full meaning of their simplicity, the words, and the general language, of their Redeemer.

Spiritual
tyranny of
the Church
of Rome.

In the commencement of the thirteenth century, the spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome had risen to such a height, that it was found to be intolerable, both in Scotland and in England. In the latter country, while John was king, Pope Innocent had laid the

kingdom under an interdict which lasted six years. He now proceeded to play the same game with regard to Scotland ; his Legate Gualo laying the whole of the northern part of Great Britain under an interdict, and thus subjecting it, for the first time, to all the horrors of this invention of Papal oppression.

Scotland first laid under an interdict.

It was reserved for the period at which we have arrived, to invent this atrocious engine of Papal cruelty. When wealth, and temporal power, had enabled the Bishops of Rome to trample upon the rights of their fellow-Bishops throughout the Christian world, they were not contented with doing so. They stretched their power over the laity of the nations whom their fellow-Bishops spiritually ruled. They invaded the temporal rights of sovereigns ; and so far did they succeed in their schemes of ambition, that, ultimately, through a system of spiritual terror, they compelled kings, not figuratively, but literally, to hold their stirrups when they mounted on horseback, and to place their necks under their feet.

Invention of interdicts.

The fearful nature of an interdict will be fully comprehended when we state, that, the instant it was laid on, all public worship was prohibited, the churches were shut up, and the administration of the sacraments was suspended. Thus, in addition to its cruelty, impiety was combined with it ; the Bishop of Rome arrogating to himself a right to repeal the laws of the Son of God, and to place whole Christian nations, by thousands and by millions, in a heathen state.

Nature of interdicts.

Nor was it for any error of faith, or breach of morality, that these interdicts were issued. It was for anything which might appear to injure the pecuniary interests, or give offence to the personal pride, of the Pope, and those who were his submissive myrmidons. In the case of Scotland, Alexander had presumed to go to war with John, king of England, after the latter had been reconciled to His Holiness ; and, for this offence, Scottish parents, and Scottish children, were, universally, deprived of the ordinances of religion.

It would appear, that an additional cause of offence, on the part of the Scottish king and nation, was, that the Scottish Church had held occasional communion

with the English Church while King John, and his friends, were under the Pope's excommunication.*

Neither in Scotland, nor in England, was the Bishop of Rome's usurped supremacy ever implicitly submitted to ; but he, certainly, as we learn from history, seems to have acquired greater power, and influence, over the latter than he ever did over the former. That his excommunications of individuals were not always considered as of much weight, the reader will perceive by turning to the *Scotichron* of Fordun,† and to *Collier*.‡

Removal
of the
interdict.

The interdict was removed in consequence of the reconcilment of King Alexander with the young Henry, the son and successor, as king of England, of his father John. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Legate, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Durham, in the name and by the authority of the Pope, absolved the King ; but the Legate, whose ruling passion was lucre, pretended that the Scottish clergy were not included in the absolution, and demanded that they should pay for its benefits. The clergy appealed to Rome, and the Legate was censured ; but they had to pay the money, and, as Skinner remarks, "the Pope and he divided the money, and the poor appellants came home again with empty purses."§ On this transaction, the Abbot Bower judiciously observes : — "Thus our clergy, fearing for their coats more than their consciences, submitted to a judge who was not their judge, and were taught, by this man's tyranny, to stand up better in defence of their privileges, and of the liberties of the kingdom, in time to come. For, by this relation it appears, that our then prelates had been either too indolent, or quite ignorant of their rights, in yielding to such an extortion, which, instead of a thousand merks which their standing out might have cost them, carried off from them, and with their public shame too, no less than ten thousand pounds."

The germ
of the
Reforma-
tion.

Here, upwards of three hundred years before the Reformation itself actually took place, we may see the germ of that Reformation ; when both Scotland and

* Skinner, Vol. I., p. 299.

† B. V. p. 465.

‡ Lib. X. c. 3.

§ Vol. I., p. 300.

England, indignant at the insolent tyranny perpetrated upon them by Rome, and resolved to emancipate themselves from the fetters of a foreign prelate who possessed no just dominion over them, shook themselves free from the tyranny, and proclaimed themselves, each, independent branches of the Church Catholic, or Universal, of Christ.

CHAPTER III.

Further aggressions of the Pope—Pernicious effects of the missions of Legates—Pope Gregory IX.—Pope Innocent IV., at the Council of Lyons, deposes the Emperor of Germany—Death of Alexander II.—Dominicans, and Franciscans—Universities yet unknown, on the north side of the Tweed—Erigena, and Duns Scotus—Episcopal Sees—Galloway—St. Andrews—Aberdeen—Moray—Elgin cathedral—Dunblane—Archbishop Leighton—Brechin—Ross—Bishop Lealey—Caithness—Bishop Keith—Orkney—Bishop Reid—Bishop Reid the founder of Edinburgh University—Argyle—the See of the Isles—Hy, I, Icolmkill, or Iona, the Bishop's seat—Iona the cradle of Christianity to the Picts, and to the North of England Saxons—Scottish Saints—St. Finan, or St. Fillan—Icolmkill, Man, and Bute—Separation of the Isle of Man from the Bishopric of the Isles—The Bishop of the Isles the real Bishop of Sodor.

Farther aggressions of the Pope.

THE success of the Legate Gualo seems to have encouraged the Pope to further aggressions on the liberties of the king, the nation, and the Church of Scotland. One encroachment came after another; and another Legate, named Otho, was commissioned to visit Scotland, with a view to his raising funds for the purpose of carrying on what was called the Holy War. Against the entrance of this Legate into his kingdom, the king of Scotland took decided steps. He had an interview with him at York, whither he had gone to meet his brother-in-law Henry III. of England; and he told him that, if he entered Scotland, he did so at his own peril. He informed him, that the Church in Scotland was perfectly well managed without the Pope's care; and that, if his Eminence continued his journey northwards, he might calculate upon "meeting with rugged and sanguinary people," whose "sallies" it might not be even in the king's own power to check. The Legate took the hint. He went to London, with the king of England; and was contented to remain in the southern parts of the island, till, two years

afterwards, the Scottish sovereign gave him permission to visit his dominion.*

The practice of the Pope's sending Legates into Scotland was one which carried with it the most pernicious effects. These Legates were sometimes only in Priest's orders—nay, some of them were merely in Deacon's orders—and they not only infringed the jurisdiction of the native Bishops, but their speeches, and their actions, were calculated to bring the Bishops into contempt. Their powers—or, rather, their assumed powers—invaded the privileges of every Bishop, according as these privileges are derived by hereditary Apostolical succession, from age to age, and upwards from one link to another, through the Apostles themselves, from the great Founder of the Christian Church.

In 1240, Pope Gregory IX. summoned a Council of all the prelates of Christendom at Rome. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were on their way to attend this Council ; but, as they were passing through Germany, the Emperor Frederick, for some reason of his own, arrested them, and they were obliged to return home. The Pope having died, the Council did not take place. His successor, Innocent IV., called another Council to meet at Lyons, in France, in the year 1246 ; and here, again, was exhibited a display of arrogant presumption, on the part of the Bishop of Rome, such as the Christian world, with all its inclination to submit, in spiritual things, to the Primacy of the holder of the world's metropolitan See, was hardly prepared to expect. The Pope formally deposed the Emperor from his throne ;—absolved his subjects from their allegiance ;—and uttered a solemn excommunication against all who should not submit to this decree. Never was there a more infamous decree set forth. By it, the kingdom of Cæsar—the temporal power of this world—was attempted to be laid prostrate, at the foot of that mild and spiritual power which the meek and lowly Jesus came forth into this world to establish,

Pernicious effects of missions of Legates.

1240.
Pope Gregory IX.

1246.
Pope Innocent IV., at the Council of Lyons, deposes the Emperor of Germany.

* Matthew Paris ; who was a contemporary writer. Collier, B. V., p. 438.

and which he expressly declared to belong to a higher and a holier sphere.

1249.
Death of
Alexander
II.

In 1249, Alexander II. of Scotland died, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His character is that of having been a good sovereign, and a pious and religious man.

We have already adverted to the want of a Metropolitan for Scotland, as a plea for the Archbishop of York's claiming jurisdiction over the Scottish Church ; and, also, as a plea for the Bishop of Rome's assuming especial superiority over it. It may, however, be doubted, whether Scotland was, at this time, destitute of a Metropolitan ; seeing that, at least for a hundred years previous to the time of which we are writing, we find our old historians speaking of the Bishop of St. Andrews as being the " Primus, or Maximus, Scotorum Episcopus." Had not the Pope, either through the Archbishop or personally, wished to arrogate undue power, this official was perfectly competent to summon provincial or national synods, and to act, in every respect, as any Archbishop had it in his power to do. In the year 1420, William, Bishop of Dunblane, acted as Primus ; and, in 1459, Thomas, Bishop of Aberdeen, occupied the same position. This proves, that the office was elective and ambulatory ; and that it was sometimes held by the Bishop of one See, and sometimes by the Bishop of another.*

Domini-
cans, and
Francis-
cans.

As we are carried down the stream of history, we find Dominicans, and Franciscans, establishing themselves in Scotland. These monks, as well as a host of others, under the names of Benedictines, Cistercians, Carmelites, Carthusians, Jacobins, Black Friars, Predicants,† Fathers of the Inquisition, Grey Friars, and Minorites, became the curse of Scotland ; to such an extent, that they constitute the only feasible apology

* Skinner, Vol. I. pp. 304-306.

† Preaching Friars. If any one wishes to get an account of the numerous " Religious Houses," as they were termed, and their appendages, which were in existence at the period of the Reformation—we use the term merely in its popular sense—let him turn to *Keith's Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, as edited by Bishop Russell, pp. 380-480. If he wishes a " Kal-

for the violent, and, otherwise, unjustifiable proceedings of John Knox, when, at an after-period, that man of great mental power, but, at the same time, of great spiritual ambition, destroyed our splendid Cathedrals, and other edifices devoted to the worship of God, telling his deluded followers, that, if they only "harried the nests, the rooks would flee away."

Universities were yet unknown, on the north side of the Tweed. This accounts for the circumstance, that so many of the Bishops of those early days were either foreigners, or had obtained their education in England or France. Even from Ireland, great men came to do honour to Caledonia; and it is doubtful whether Erigena, Duns Scotus, and others, whose names, during the Middle Ages, shine pre-eminent in Scottish annals, were natives of that country or of Scotland. There is no doubt that till the 12th century the term *Scotus* was more commonly applied to Irishmen than to Scotchmen. But, as regards Scotland, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, her literature was such as that she had no cause to be ashamed of it. Turgot, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, had written the Lives of Malcolm Canmore and his Queen, Margaret; and these Lives remain to the present day, testifying to the talents, and the acquirements, of the man from whose pen they emanated.

Universities yet unknown on the north side of the Tweed.

Erigena, and Duns Scotus.

The erection of Episcopal Sees, in Scotland, is a feature, in the history of the Scottish Church, on which we have already touched slightly, but on which we may be permitted slightly to enlarge.

Episcopal Sees.

Glasgow as a bishopric, may, as formerly stated, be traced back to the days of Kentigern; and Galloway

Galloway.

endar of Scots Saints," from 560 to 582, he will find it in the same work, pp. 375-379.

One very useful part of Bishop Keith's work is, the "Alphabetical Table of all the parishes in Scotland," pp. 311-371.

A "List of the Popes, and the date of their advancement," from 1000 to 1623, and a list of the "Kings of Scotland, from 904 to 1542," is to be found in this volume.

On the whole, Bishop Keith's *Catalogue*, as edited by Bishop Russell, is well worthy the perusal, and attention, of all who wish to become intimately acquainted with the early, and even the more recent history of the Scottish Church.

is said to have had a Bishopric in the fifth century. About the year 450, St. Ninian converted many of the inhabitants of this district to Christianity. He is said to have built a church of white stone, in honour of St. Martin; an incident which gave birth to the name of the See, *Candida Casa*, or White House.*

In the district referred to, is the Mull of Galloway. It is the south-west point of Scotland; and was known to the Romans as the promontory of Novantum. The word Mull signifies a *beak*, or *jaw*. The whole district of which it forms a part, and which comprises within it the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the county of Wigton, is termed Galloway, from the word Gallovid, which, in the old Scottish language, means a Gaul. Galloway is a region not mountainous, but, on the contrary, somewhat level in its aspect, with here and there hills of a moderate size. Its history, according to Chambers, is involved in much greater obscurity than that, perhaps, of any other part of Scotland; and it seems, at one time, to have formed an independent kingdom of itself. At one period, it was attached to England; and the name of Fergus, a Lord of Galloway, is appended to the deed of Magna Charta, wrenched from King John by the Barons of Runnymede. The expression, "the fremit" (that is, the stranger) "Scot of Galloway," is still popularly used to indicate the ancient independence of its inhabitants on the Scottish crown. Its breed of horses, styled *Galloways*—originally of Spanish, or rather of Moorish extraction—is well known; while the principal rivers which intersect it are found noted in the following stanza of an old song:—

At length he to a winnock cam,
 It was a winnock braw,
 Through it was seen ilk fertile neuk
 O' bonnie Gallowa;
 The Ken, the Cree, the darling Dee,
 Were seen a' rowin' sweet,
 And just below did wimplin' flow
 The Minnoch and the Fleet.

Lithgow, the quaint traveller of the seventeenth

* Russell, Vol. I., p. 117.

century, says, that "this country aboundeth in cattle, especially in little horses, which, for mettle and riding, may rather be termed bastard barbs, than Galloway nags."

St. Andrews was the most ancient of all the Scottish St Andrews. or Pictish bishoprics; and owed its origin to Kenneth, the son of Alpine, who, about the middle of the ninth century, united the rival tribes which, at that period, occupied the country on the north side of the Forth.

Aberdeen, as a bishopric, was, as we have seen, Aberdeen. founded by Malcolm Canmore, the son of him, who, if ancient chronicles are read aright, fell under the miscreant hands of the usurper Macbeth. It was originally founded at Mortlach, to commemorate a victory over the Danes; but David, the son of Malcolm Canmore, so celebrated for his munificence to the Church, translated it to the elder branch of what is, in the present day, termed "the Granite City."

The See of Moray—like the See of Aberdeen—was Moray. erected in the reign of Malcolm III. The Cathedral church was, at first, at Birney, or Birnham, about three miles from Elgin. In the thirteenth century, the splendid Cathedral, at Elgin, was built. This was the Elgin Cathedral. work of Andrew de Moravia, a son of the family of Duffus, and whose name deserves commemoration as a benefactor of the Church. He died in 1242; and was buried in the south side of the quire of the noble edifice of which he was the founder, under a stone of blue marble, which, in Keith's days—as, perhaps, is the case in the present day—was still to be seen.* Andrew de Moravia obtained, from Alexander II., a beautiful piece of ground, at the eastern extremity of Elgin, close upon the margin of the river, and laid the foundation of that magnificent structure, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and, to use Keith's words, "ordained to be the cathedral of Moray for ever." The solemnity was performed, by the Bishop of Caithness and the Dean of Ross, on the 15th of July 1224. 1224.

* Keith, p. 138.

The cathedral of Elgin constituted the most splendid specimen of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. In 1390, the Wolf of Badenoch, as is well known, burned the cathedral and town of Elgin; after which, the former was rebuilt, under successive bishops by slow degrees. It was finished in the beginning of the fifteenth century; but, in 1506, the great steeple of it fell down. This part of it was restored by Bishop Foreman, and attained the lofty elevation of 198 feet. The style of architecture of the whole edifice was Gothic, or rather Saracenic. At the time of the Reformation, the cathedral of Elgin was, by an order of the Privy Council, dated at Edinburgh, the 14th of February 1567-8, dismantled of all its lead; which, along with the case of the cathedral of Aberdeen—the latter having been similarly robbed—sunk on its way to Holland, the vessel containing it, and the crew who had charge of it, being equally lost. Nor did the work of sacrilege, as regarded it, stop here: At a still later period of Scottish history, the most wanton demolition of what then remained of its ancient glories is found upon record. “Monday, the 28th of Desember,” says Spalding, “Mr Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, accompanied with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie, and some others, without authority, brake down the timber partition-wall dividing the kirk of Elgin frae the quoir, whilk had stood ever since the Reformation, near seven-score years, or above. On the west side was painted, in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done that the colours never faded, but kept hail and sound as at the beginning, notwithstanding this college, or channery * kirk, wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no hail windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, or wet, whilk myself saw. And marvellous to consider, on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the day of judgment; but all is thrown to the ground. It was said the minister caused to bring home to his house the

* The meaning of the word *channery* is unknown to us.

timber thereof, and burn the same for serving his kitchen and other uses ; but each night the fire went out wherein it burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire, as use is, whereat the servants marvelled ; and thereupon the minister left off, and forbore to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house. This was remembered and spoke through Elgin, and credibly reported to myself. A great boldness, without warrant of the king, to destroy churches at that rate ; yet it was done by order of the Assembly."

It is worthy of remark, that, till the accession of Malcolm Canmore, the Scottish Bishops not only sent out their clergy as general missionaries, but, themselves, acted in a similar manner, and administered their Episcopal functions, indifferently, wherever they came.* At the beginning of the eleventh century, and while this itinerant system of administering Episcopal offices was in operation, the Bishops of Scotland wore blue gowns, with their hair tucked under a cap. There is every probability that this is the origin of the expression, "true blue," among the Presbyterians. The Covenanters were peculiarly attached to the colour of blue ; so much so, that, in a Scottish song, entitled "Blue Bonnets over the Border," this circumstance is very prominent. In the writer's young days, there was a class of Scottish beggars, who possessed peculiar privileges, and who were called "Blue Gowns," or "King's Bedesmen." They were an appendage of the Chapel Royal ; and went yearly to Edinburgh, where they received a dinner, and one shilling. Sir Walter Scott gives a full account of them in the *Antiquary* ; and exemplifies them in the character of Edie Ochiltree. The writer, when a boy, knew, personally, one of them, called "Geordie Rae."

The following curious information is to be found in *Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland*. A "Fynes Moryson, gentleman," an Englishman, who travelled in Scotland, tells us that the Scotch of that time ate

* Spottiswood, folio, p. 29.

much colewort, and cabbage, and little fresh meat. "Myself," says he, "was at a knight's house wha had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with *blue caps*, the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece of sodden meat. And when the table was served, the servants did sit down with us. * * * The husbandmen, the servants, and almost all in the country, did wear coarse claith made at hame, of gray, or sky colour [hodden gray], and flat *blue caps* very broad."—(Vol. I. pp. 298, 299.) *Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, folio, 1617. Thus, the Scotch would seem to have been partial to the colour of blue.

When the young and enthusiastic Earl of Montrose, in the days of his Covenanting zeal, and before he had discovered the real designs, against their sovereign, of those with whom he was leagued (March 30th, 1639), entered Aberdeen for the purpose of forcing the *National Covenant* of 1637—not the *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643—upon the inhabitants of that city, "few of his army," says Spalding, "wanted ane blue ribbon hung about his craig [neck] down under his left arm, whilk they called the *Covenanter's Ribbon*." (Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 124.)

According to Spalding, the people of Aberdeen were but indifferently true to the Covenant thus forced upon them; and the consequence was, a second visit to them, in the following May, of a Covenanting army. The sacred pledge—the *blue ribbon*—of the Covenanters, had been treated irreverently; and the punishment which, in consequence thereof, was inflicted on the innocent, not the guilty, we give in Spalding's own words:—"The haill house-dogs, messans, and whelps within Aberdeen were fellit and slain upon the gate, so that neither hound, nor messan, nor other dog, was left that he could see. The reason was, when the first army came here, ilk captain, commander, servant, and soldier had ane blue ribbon about his craig [neck]; in despite and derision whereof, when they removed frae Aberdeen, some women, as was alledged, knit blue

ribbons about their messans' craigs, whereat their took offence, and killit all the dogs for this cause." (Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. II. pp. 125, 126.) Thus, the wrath of the Covenanters fell, not on the guilty and sarcastic females, but on the guiltless canine race, who had not taken the Covenant, and who were, therefore, utterly unconscious of having committed any crime, such as should subject them to so severe a punishment as that of death.

In connection with the colour of blue, it is curious to remark, that the banner which accompanied James the Fourth to Flodden, and which is still in the possession of the city of Edinburgh, and is frequently, on public occasions, paraded through the streets, is known under the name of the *Blue Blanket*. This banner, according to Aytoun, in his "Lays of the Cavaliers," covered with blood, was brought to Edinburgh, by Randolph Murray, who had rode, night and day, from Flodden, to announce, to the grief-stricken citizens of Dun-edin, the dire event which had left them only a helpless infant as a sovereign, and which had well-nigh extinguished the chivalry of Scotland. The mingled spirit and pathos of Aytoun's description of Murray's meeting his fellow-citizens, and placing the banner in the hands of the Provost, has been seldom surpassed :—

"Aye ! ye well may look upon it ;
 There is more than honour there,
 Else be sure I had not brought it
 From the field of dark despair.
 Never yet was Royall banner
 Steeped in such a costly dye ;
 It hath lain upon a bosom
 Where no other shroud shall lie.
 Sirs, I charge you, keep it holy,
 Keep it as a sacred thing ;
 For the stain you see upon it
 Was the life-blood of your king."

As to the *cap* worn in early times by the Scottish Bishops, it seems, centuries ago, to have belonged, indiscriminately, to Bishops, Presbyters, and what is usually termed, "ministers of all denominations." A "Geneva skull-cap" is frequently spoken of ; but we

have seen prints of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrow, John Calvin, and others, arrayed in caps, and we have seen the present Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, when Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, officiating, and preaching, in a similar costume. Whether his Lordship used the cap in consequence of ancient usage, or simply to prevent his catching cold, we know not.

Dunkeld.

So early as the year 729, Dunkeld was a convent of the Culdees. The prior of this convent is said to have been the first Bishop of Dunkeld, exalted into his office by King David, who, in 1127, converted their monastery into a cathedral church. It is right, however, to state, that there are several charters in existence, of the time of Alexander, the predecessor of David, in which there appears the signature of, or attestation of Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld. In the chartulary of Glasgow, a Bishop of Dunkeld, who flourished in the year 1324, is designated as "Epis-copi Dun-Keldensis, ac Conservatoris totius Cleri Scotici."

1127.

1324.

We have, already, adverted to the circumstance, that Gavin Douglas, the third son of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, surnamed "Bell-the-Cat," and whose genius, and intellectual refinement, by means of his writings, threw light upon what may justly be considered a dark age, was one of the Bishops of Dunkeld. He was a member of a family—that of Douglas—who, of all Scottish families, ever contested the throne of Scotland with the line of Stuart.

Dunblane.

Dunblane is said to have been, also, an erection of David I. Dunblane is still associated with the name of Archbishop Leighton; a man whose piety, and excellence of conduct and character, are undoubted, but whose principles, as a churchman, must, at the same time, be acknowledged to have been of a very vague and indeterminate kind. The benevolence of Archbishop Leighton—the son of Alexander Leighton, the firebrand of Charles the First's time*—so long as there is a particle of purity in human nature, will

Archbishop
Leighton.

* So satisfied was this Alexander Leighton of the unjustifiable nature of his own conduct, that he lived to give utterance to the expression, "that when the king cut off his ears, he would have done him greater justice had he cut off his head."

never be forgotten. For personal religion, let the young go to his works; for Church principles, they must go elsewhere. Archbishop Leighton died as he had lived, perhaps the most saintly man of his age. It was Leighton, who, when he was a private clergyman, and when he was remonstrated with, by some of his then Presbyterian brethren, for not preaching "to the times," said:—"When you all preach to the times, it is hard that one humble brother should not be allowed to preach to eternity."

Archbishop Leighton, after having resigned his diocesan Episcopal office, went to England, and died, as he had wished to die, in an inn—indicative of the fact, that man has no abiding-place on earth;—that he is a stranger and a sojourner here;—and that he is seeking his home, in a purer world. Archbishop Leighton's death occurred in 1684.*

"O Lord," says the Royal Psalmist of Israel, "cast me not away when my strength faileth." When Leighton's strength failed, he was not cast away. He that is mighty to save sustained him; and the result was, that, as far as Leighton was concerned, a heavenly life in this world led to a *Euthansia* of the most blessed kind.

The date of the foundation of the diocese of Brechin Brechin. is unknown, but, about the year 1150, David I. bestowed upon the Bishop and chapter many valuable lands.

The title of the Bishopric of Ross was, anciently, Ross. Rosmarkiensis. The Bishop of Ross, Bishop Lesley, diocesan of this See, was the friend of Queen Mary, and the historian of Scotland. Bishop Lesley was a man of great learning; and he was the last of the Roman Catholic series of prelates. Bishop Lesley Bishop Lesley. deserves commendation, if for no other reason than that he recommended to his sovereign to grant to her subjects full liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Of such note was Bishop Lesley, that he was sent, by the Scottish Roman Catholic nobility, into France,

* By a strange coincidence, Archbishop Leighton happened to die in the Belle and Savage Inn, Warwick Lane, London.

for the purpose of advising Queen Mary, after the death of her first husband, Francis II., king of France; and he returned with her in the same ship to Scotland. He was the author of an excellent History of the Scottish Nation; for a copy of which the king of Spain wrote a letter, and thanked him. He died at Brussels, on the 31st of May 1596, in the 69th year of his age. He is grossly vituperated by Knox; who, in his *History of the Reformation*, with his usual want of Christian charity and forbearance, does not hesitate to stigmatize him, although the son of an eminent family in Aberdeenshire—the Leslies of Balquain—as a priest's *gielt*—that is, a priest's bastard.

Bishop Lesley spent his life in endeavouring to be useful to his sovereign; and, on this account, was arrested, by order of Queen Elizabeth of England, in 1571.

Caithness.

The See of Caithness is supposed to have been, also, erected by Malcolm Canmore; but no authentic information, on the subject, exists. The first Bishop of this diocese, of whom anything is accurately known, is Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, who, in 1150, witnessed a donation to the monastery of Dunfermline. One of the Bishops of the See, Gilbert, was raised to the bishopric, in consequence of his having made a protest at Northampton, in the presence of the Papal legate, against the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, as metropolitan of Scotland;* and it is to him that the Scottish Church was indebted for the cathedral which, in 1245, was erected at Dornock. This same Gilbert was witness to King William's erection of the monastery of Arbroath, and to a charter of the same prince to the Abbey of Holyrood.†

Bishop
Keith.

One of the Bishops of Caithness, since the Scottish Church ceased to be connected with the State, was Bishop Keith, the author of the *Catalogue*, and of a *History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*. The last Bishop of Caithness, after the Revolution, was Andrew Wood. His mother was a

* Hoveden, and Ruddiman.

† Dair. Coll. p. 271. He died in 1184, or 1185.

sister of John Guthrie "of that Ilk"—that is, of Guthrie of Guthrie, one of the most ancient families in Scotland. Guthrie Castle is situated between Arbroath and Forfar, about seven miles from the latter county town. The old tower at Guthrie was built by Sir Alexander Guthrie, who fell at Flodden Field. The writer can testify to the high consideration, and respectability, of the Guthrie family. In early life, he was a guest, kindly received, within their honoured walls. It is a remarkable fact, that, while Bishop Guthrie, of Moray, was deprived at the Revolution, another member of the family, the Rev. James Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, was executed for high treason in the reign of Charles II. The reason for the king's not pardoning him was, that Guthrie had offered a personal insult to him. His Majesty did Mr Guthrie the honour of calling upon him, at Stirling. On his Majesty's entrance, Mrs Guthrie rose to offer him a chair. "Sit down, my dear," was Mr Guthrie's remark; "the king is a young man, and he can find a chair for himself." The king, who was then in the power of the Covenanters, never forgot this insult; and he never forgave it.

The family of Guthrie have continued, to the present day, to be warm-hearted friends of the Scottish Church. The late fine old Laird of Guthrie now sleeps with his fathers; but, before he went down to the tomb, his heart, his hand, and his purse, were ever open to the Church's demands. Had his epitaph been thoroughly written, it would have run thus:—"Si sic omnes!"

Bishop Wood was appointed to the See of Caithness in 1680, and died in 1695.

If the origin of other sees is obscure, the mist which Orkney. rests upon that of Orkney is still more impenetrable. The Archbishops of York seem, at a very early period, to have consecrated prelates for the distant isles of the northern sea; but there is no evidence that they ever personally visited them. Keith is of opinion, that these consecrations were merely titular ones; and that they were made, solely to give a greater show of authority to the see of York. He even asserts, that none of the bishops, so created, ever resided in the Orkney isles.

Bishop
Reid.

Bishop Reid was the greatest of the Bishops of Orkney. He was a man of extensive learning, and a most accomplished politician. He died at Dieppe, in France, in 1558. On his death, he bequeathed money* towards the founding of a college in Edinburgh, for the education of youth.† In point of fact, we must consider him as the founder of the Edinburgh University. In 1554, he was President of the Court of Session; a position, as a Judge, of honour and dignity, which appears to have been often filled by ecclesiastics in those times. This bishop wrote a Geographical Description of the isles of Orkney, and a Genealogical and Historical Account of the family of the Sinclairs. Both these works were written at the desire of the King of Denmark; and they are said to lie still extant, in manuscript. (Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 226).

Bishop
Reid the
founder of
Edinburgh
University.

Argyle.

Argyle, along with some of the western Isles—as the reader is aware—originally belonged to Dunkeld. About the year 1200 John Scott, Bishop of Dunkeld, (commonly called the Englishman, from the place of his birth), finding himself, on account of the extent of his diocese, and his ignorance of the Irish or Gaelic tongue, incompetent for the duties of it, got it disjoined, and erected into a separate see. (*Ibid*, p. 284). The seat of the Bishops of Argyle was in the island of Lismore; and this explains why they were called “Episcopi Lismorenses.” In after-times, the title was changed to “Ergadienses,” or Ergaliensis, from Ergadia, or Ergalia, the Latin term for Argyle.

The See of
the Isles.

The See of the Isles is of very great antiquity. It comprehended not only the Æbude, or Western isles, but, also the Isle of Man; which was, formerly, a part of the kingdom of Scotland. (*Ibid*, p. 293). The date of the origin of this bishopric is represented as having been so early as the year 360.

Hy, I, Ico-
lum-kill, or
Iona, the
Bishop's
seat.

The island of Hy, I, Icolum-kill, or Iona, seems to have been the seat of the chief ecclesiastical authority of this diocese. Bede mentions Bishops as being, in some respects, subordinate to the Abbot of Iona; and,

* 8000 merks, Scots money.

† Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 355, &c.

therefore, it is probable that these bishops resided, at least occasionally, in the island. To Iona* the Picts, and English Saxons of the North, are indebted for their conversion to Christianity; for, from it were sent forth, from time to time, men of piety and learning—Bishops and presbyters—saintly in their conduct and character, to make known the everlasting gospel, and to aid in carrying the sounds of it into all lands. Among these pious and learned men were St. Aidan, St. Finan, St. Colman, St. Columba, and St. Adamnan.

Iona the cradle of Christianity to the Picts, and to the north of England Saxons.

Few Scottish saints possess greater celebrity than does St. Finan, or St. Fillan; chapels, fountains, &c., without number, being dedicated to him. It is said that he was Abbot of Pittenweem, in Fife; and that, having retired to the wilds of Glenorchy, where he took up his abode as a hermit, he died there in the year 649. His usual occupation, when at Pittenweem, was that of transcribing the Holy Scriptures; during which he was miraculously supplied with abundance of light from his left hand! This, as a matter of course, is mere legendary fiction; and is not to be entered as a record of history. The ninth of January is the day commemorative of this saint; and from him St. Fillans, or Forgan, in Fife, Strathfillan, in Breadalbane, and other places, derive their names. According to Bishop Lesley, in his History of Scottish affairs, Robert the Bruce was in possession of St. Fillan's luminous arm, and had it carried before him, enshrined in silver, at the head of his army. Before the battle of Bannockburn, it was abstracted by the king's chaplain, who deposited it in a place of security, lest it should fall into the enemy's

St. Finan, or St. Fillan.

* We here quote the following lines from Jesse :—

Ye, who have sailed among the thousand isles,
Where proud Iona rears its giant piles,
Perchance have lingered at that sacred spot,
To muse on men, and ages, half forgot :
There, where the waves these time-worn caverns beat,
The early Christian fixed his rude retreat ;
Here first the symbol of his creed unfurled,
And spread religion o'er a darkened world.

hands. While Bruce was addressing his prayers to the empty casket, the latter was observed to open and shut again ; and, when examined, the casket was found to have its treasure restored to it. This was looked on as a visible interference on the part of St. Fillan himself ; who, thereby, assured the Scottish troops of certain victory. St. Fillan is supposed, by the vulgar throughout Scotland, to afford great assistance in the cure of madness.

Icolmkill,
Man, and
Bute.

The Bishops of this See had no fewer than three places of residence, Icolmkill, Man, and Bute ; and to their charge the Scots were in the habit of sending, for education, such of their young princes as were heirs to the crown. They were promiscuously designated "Episcopi Mannice et Insularum," "Episcopi Æbudarum," and "Episcopi Sodorenses ;" "Bishops of Man and the Isles," "Bishops of the Hebrides," and "Bishops of the *So-dor-ey*s." This last word is sometimes called *Sudoreys*. Bishop Keith supposes that the epithet *Sodorenses* was given to these bishops from a church, the cathedral in Icolmkill, dedicated to our Saviour, for whom the Greek is *Soter*. "Hence," says he, "*Sotorensis* and *Sodorensis*."—(Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 294). Bishop Russell scouts this opinion, and says :— "It has been ignorantly supposed that the last of these titles was derived from the Greek word *Soter*, or Saviour ; the cathedral church in Icolmkill being imagined to have been dedicated to the Redeemer. Let it be observed, however, that, in Celtic, the word *ey*, or *i*, or *ee*, denotes island, and that *Suder*, *Suther*, or *Sodor*, means *souther*, or more to the south ; and hence the import of *Sudereys* becomes perfectly plain. Dr. Jamieson mentions that the natives called all the islands, to the north of Ardnamurchan, in Argyleshire, *Nodereys* ; and those to the south of this point, *Sudereys* :—the latter division including Arran, Bute, Cumbrae, and, among others, Iona and Man. (Russell, Vol. I., p. 128, *note*.— See Dr. Jamieson's *Historical Account of the Culdees*, p. 44). The title *Sodorensis* was retained for a considerable time afterwards, even when the See had been divided, in David II.'s reign, both by the Bishop of

the Isles and by the Bishop of Man. The latter bishop is now known as Bishop of Sodor and Man ; and, as we have formerly shewn, sits in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, but has no vote in it. The reason of this is, that the Island of Man, having its own legislature—composed of the Governor, the Council, and the House of Keys—is a sort of independent kingdom of itself. No acts of the British parliament apply to the Isle of Man, unless the Isle of Man be therein specially mentioned. The Bishop of Sodor and Man sits, when he pleases, as Supreme Judge, in the Chapter-house, at Castle Rushen :—the Deemsters, or supreme judges of the island, acting, on such occasions, simply as his assessors. The Dukes of Atholl, as representing the Earls of Derby there, were, formerly, sovereigns *in* Man ; but, in George the Third's reign, this sovereignty passed to the British crown, in consideration of a pecuniary recompense.

When the Danes and Norwegians—the sea-kings of ancient times, all-powerful upon that ocean which is now “the home” of Great Britain,*—about the year 1065, seized the Isle of Man, and when, afterwards, about 1097, or 1098, the Norwegians were, by the usurper, Donald Bane, put in possession of the Western Isles, these Norwegians appointed petty kings in Man, and transferred the cathedral of the bishopric of the Isles to Man. Thus it is that the Sees of Sodor and Man are said, by Matthew Paris, to have been united. In point of fact, they were not so ; Man having been, previously, merely part and parcel of the diocese of the Isles.

In the year 1266, the Isle, or kingdom, of Man was reconquered by Alexander the Third of Scotland ; and it was retained, under Scottish rule, till the reign of David Bruce of Scotland, and Edward the Third of England, when the latter contrived to take possession of it. Then it was that the diocese of the Isles was rent in two ; and that the lords of Man set up Bishops

* Her march is on the mountain-wave,
Her home is on the deep.

—Campbell.

Separation
of the Isle
of Man
from the
Bishopric
of the Isles.

of their own. While the English conquerors of Man appointed bishops for that island, the Scottish Church continued the Episcopal succession in their own See of the Isles; that is, of the smaller islands which went under the name of the *Sodor-eyes*, or the more southern of the Hebrides. Thus, ever since the separation of the smaller islands from Man, by Edward the Third of England, the *Sodor-eyes*, or *Sudureys*, have belonged to the Scottish diocese, and not to that which acknowledges the superintendence of the Archbishop of York; and, therefore, the Bishop of Man is not, really, Bishop of Sodor, although usually called so.

1380.
The Bishop
of the Isles
the real
Bishop of
Sodor.

"About the year 1380," says Bishop Russell, "the English elected Robert Waldby to be Bishop of Man; while the Scots made choice of John for the See of the Isles. And it is deserving of notice, that he who held the Scottish portion of the diocese was described as 'Episcopus Sodorensis,' or Bishop of the isles called Southern. This geographical distinction might have a reference to the Orkn-eyes, and Shetland, which occupy the northern extremity of the kingdom, or even to such of the Hebrid-eyes as are situated beyond a certain parallel of latitude. But, at all events, nothing is more manifest than that the modern diocese of Man does not include the section anciently called *Sodor-eyes*."*

* Russell, Vol. I., p. 127. After Scotland became Protestant, one of the most eminent of the Bishops of the Isles was Doctor John Lesley, who was consecrated in 1628. This Doctor Lesley was, afterwards, successively, Bishop of Raphoe, and Bishop of Clogher, and died in 1671. He was the father of the celebrated Charles Lesley, whose writings are so powerful a bulwark in defence of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander the Third—Continued encroachments of the Pope—A Pope's nuncio—Cardinal Legate Ottobon—Cause of Alexander's vacillation—Council at London—Journey of Scottish Bishops-elect to Rome—Postulation—Pluralities—Death of Alexander the Third ; and of his grand-daughter Margaret, "the Maid of Norway"—Rival claims of the Baliol and the Bruce—Varieties of opinion among the Scottish Bishops and clergy—The conduct of the Pope—National Council at Dundee—Insolence of the Pope—Scotland again put under an interdict—Scottish indifference to the interdict—Letter of the Scottish nobility to the Pope—England's claim of superiority over Scotland formally abandoned—Death of Robert the Bruce—Duns Scotus—The Schoolmen—Michael Scott—Suppression of the Knights-Templars—Knights of St. John ; or, Knights of Malta—Accession of David the Second—Battle of Neville's Cross : David the Second taken prisoner—Death of David the Second—Power of the Pope at its height—Distracted state of the Christian world—Accession of Robert the Second—Enlargement of the Scottish cathedrals—Dawn of the Reformation in England—Wickliffe—his New Testament—Robert the Third—his Death—State of the Scottish Church at this period—Avarice and immorality of the clergy.

WHEN Alexander the Third ascended the throne, he was only in the eighth year of his age ; and his reign lasted thirty-seven years. During the minority of this sovereign, Scotland, owing to the contention of the nobles, for the management of public affairs, was in a troubled state ; for, after his attainment of his majority, and when the full strength of his mental and physical energies was developed, he became one of the most illustrious sovereigns who had ever occupied the Scottish throne. It was while the Scottish diadem encircled his head, that the Western Isles, which, since before Malcolm Canmore's accession, had been conquered by the kings of Norway, were wrested out of their hands ; and he even conquered the Isle of Man, which, till then, had been, for a long period, under kings of its own. It was thus that the Scottish

1249.
Alexander
III.

Bishop of the Isles and of Man became Bishop of Sodor and Man; and, therefore, when, afterwards, Man was rent from Scotland, and became connected with England, its Bishop—although, to this day, bearing the ancient Scottish title—was Bishop of Man, and nothing more.

Continued encroachments of the Pope.

The reign of Alexander the Third was signalized by additional encroachments, on the part of the Pope, upon the liberties of the Scottish Church. The Pope was, undoubtedly, Bishop of Rome; but his great temporal power, and influence, as Bishop of the Eternal City, did not give him any right to endeavour to extend his spiritual authority over the Bishops, and the national churches, of other lands. This, nevertheless, he had contrived, step by step, to do; and having got his authority, to a certain extent, acknowledged in Scotland, he was now determined to maintain it.

A Pope's nuncio.

When Alexander was ten years of age, the Pope sent a nuncio, named Pontius, who arrived at York, and issued a summons to the prelates of Scotland to attend him in that city. This invasion of what he considered to be the liberties of his kingdom, Alexander indignantly repudiated. He put a stop to it, and appealed to the Pope. (Skinner, Vol. I., p. 313). In 1266, the Cardinal Legate Ottobon, who was then resident in London, wrote to the Scottish Bishops, demanding payment of four merks from every parish church, and six from every cathedral within the kingdom, in name of procuration-money. This the king, at first, by the advice of his clergy, peremptorily forbade to be paid; but, afterwards, under the influence of some sinister persuasion, he complied with the Legate's demand in so far, as to allow sixpence of every merk to be paid to him, and fivepence to another Cardinal named Hubert. It would appear, that, so long as Alexander and the clergy were united, the Pope's encroachments and usurpations were, to a certain extent, held in check; but, the instant they ceased to act together, the Pope and his underlings possessed an advantage, and did not fail to make use of it. (Skinner, Vol. I., pp. 313, 314).

1266.
Cardinal Legate Ottobon.

A reason for the vacillation of Alexander, in relation to these matters, is stated to have been, that he had heard of the controversy of Thomas A'Beckett with his sovereign, in England; and that he did not know how far he might rely on the support of the clergy, should he venture to come to an open rupture with the Bishop of Rome. The threat of an interdict, on the part of the Pope, was, at that time, sufficient to shake the resolution, and to paralyse the energies, of the wisest, the most sagacious, and the most determined monarch in Christendom.

Cause of Alexander's vacillation.

In the year 1268, the arrogance of Ottobon reached its climax, when he summoned all the Bishops of Scotland to appear before him, within fourteen days after Easter, to hold a council with him at any place which he might be pleased to appoint. In the present day, when the real extent of the Bishop of Rome's spiritual power—namely, that which extends to the limits of his own diocese—is fully understood, the insolence of his Legate would, probably, be simply a matter of derision. But, in those days, to have resisted it would, for any sovereign, have been to incur the thunders of the Vatican, and to have exposed his subjects to all the miseries connected with mental terror and desolation.

1268.

In this state of matters, the Scottish Bishops deputed Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Robert, Bishop of Dunblane, while the inferior clergy deputed the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the Prior of Lindores, to attend the Legate's council, and to take care that nothing should be done prejudicial to the rights of the Scottish Church. According to Collier, this synod was held in London, and was attended by the Bishops of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. (Skinner, Vol. I., pp. 314, 315).

Council at London.

When the Bishops who had gone as deputies returned to Scotland, the Scottish Church rejected the decrees which had been passed at the Legate's synod in London; and unanimously resolved, "that they would acknowledge no statutes but such as proceeded either from the Pope or from a General Council." Thus, the Scottish Bishops, and clergy, secured themselves from the attempted usurpation of the Legate, and the

Journey of Bishops-elect to Rome.

Church of England; but the imprudence of giving such power to the Pope, personally, became very soon apparent. The Popes had contrived to establish the practice, that every Bishop, after election, should travel to Rome for consecration; and, at this time, there being no fewer than five Scottish Sees vacant, viz.: Ross, Brechin, Aberdeen, Caithness, and St. Andrews, the Bishops-elect to these Sees were summoned to Rome, where they were kept for two years. During the whole of this period, the King kept the revenues of the Sees in his own hands. The elect of Brechin died at Rome before consecration; and he of Caithness was rejected by the "Servus Servorum" of the Christian world. (Skinner, Vol. I., pp. 316, 317).

1272.
Postulation.

In 1272, William Wiseheart, or Wishart, of the family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns,* who was Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and who had been elected, but not consecrated for the bishopric of Glasgow, was *postulated* to St. Andrews. A bishop is said to be postulated when he has been already in possession, or is only elect, of another See. For the Canon-law supposes, that a Bishop is married to his diocese, and so cannot be elected into another. However, it allows a Bishop already in possession, or only elected into a See, to be postulated to another, and that such Bishops may be removed, or translated, to the other See; only the word *advanced*, or *promoted*, must not be used. (See *Archbishop Chichely's Life*, p. 57). Another sense of the word *postulation* is, when two-thirds of the votes do agree in the Election. (Keith's *Catalogue*, p. 19, *note*).

Pluralities.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, the system of pluralities, in the Scottish Church, had risen to a height so scandalous as to attract observation, and animadversion, even from the annalists of the time. In reference to the prelate of whom we have just spoken, Abbot Bower remarks:—"It was, by many, thought a wonderful thing that a man of Wishart's great reputation, who was Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Elect of Glasgow, Chancellor of the kingdom, and

* It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that Wishart, who was burned by Cardinal Beaton, also belonged to this family.

either Rector or Prebendary of no fewer than twenty-two churches, should have the ambition to covet the See of St. Andrews too.”—(Skinner, pp. 317, 318).

The death of Alexander the Third, by the fall of his horse over the Black Rock of Kinghorn, while hunting, in the very prime of his life, and the subsequent death of his grand-daughter Margaret, the “Maid of Norway,” four years afterwards, opened up a still more vivid scene of confusion, in Scotland, both in Church and State. The Maid of Norway died, in infancy, during her passage between Norway and Scotland.* It is not our intention to enter upon the rival claims of the Baliol and the Bruce, or upon the usurpation of power, in Scotland, by Edward the First of England; but the part which the Scottish Bishops, and clergy, acted in the matter, cannot be passed over. The controversy was a new one. It had no precedent in Scottish history. After the death of the Maid of Norway, the nearest claimants for the throne were the descendants of the grand-uncle of Alexander the Third, David, Earl of Huntingdon, who was younger brother of King William, and who died in 1219. It was this remoteness of kin which occasioned all the strife. John Baliol was the grandson of David’s eldest daughter: Robert Bruce was the son of the second. The grandson of this man was the great Robert Bruce, or Robert the Bruce, who, at a subsequent period, became the Saviour of his country from English thralldom—who trampled the power of the English tyrant, at Bannockburn, under his feet—who stamped a character upon the free-born and martial spirit of Scotland which never can be erased—who, after a reign of honour, and of greatness, was laid to rest before the high-altar of the

Death of Alexander III.; and of his grand-daughter Margaret, “Maid of Norway.” 1286, and Sept. 9th, 1290.

Rival claims of Baliol and Bruce.

* There is a curious relic, connected with the “Maid of Norway,” at Wemyss Castle, the seat of James Erskine Wemyss, Esq., in Fifeshire. It is a silver baptismal basin of rude workmanship, and black with age, having the date 1292 upon it. It was presented, by the King of Norway, to Sir Michael Wemyss, the Lord Admiral of Scotland, who was commissioned, by the Estates of Scotland, to bring home their infant sovereign. From this basin, some twenty-five years ago, the present writer baptised a child for the late Admiral—then Captain—Wemyss, and Lady Emma his wife.

Abbey of Dunfermline—whose heart, on its way to the Holy Land, was, by Sir James the Douglas, flung among the infidels, in Spain, first and foremost, as it ever had been accustomed to be, in the ranks of war—and whose bones, when five hundred years had elapsed, were, after they had been accidentally found, and lifted, were, amid the tears of thousands of his countrymen, reverentially redeposited in the spot from which they had been taken.

This event took place more than thirty years ago. The writer remembers the interest, and excitement, which the discovery of the bones of the Bruce occasioned. The Barons of the Exchequer, in Scotland, issued an order that they should be carefully watched over ; and they were, publicly, and with the greatest solemnity, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, replaced in the tomb which was intended to retain them till the great Judgment-day. As the solemn procession passed along, many an aged cheek was wet with tears, and many a youthful heart beat high, and many a maiden's cheek glowed with emotion, at the prospect of the relics of him, who, so many centuries before, had roused his mighty energies, and had put forth all the strength of his genius, to rescue, from foreign invasion, the liberties, and the independence, of his native land. Thus it is, that the young are taught to imitate the virtues, and the loftiness of character, of the great men of former times. Thus it is, that they are taught to scorn everything that is servile and base ;—to spurn all that is mean and grovelling ;—and to make it the chief object of their lives, to endeavour to enrol their own names in the list of the good, the honoured, and the brave.

As might be expected, the Bishops and clergy of Scotland were perplexed as to what to do in this unprecedented state of affairs. They had neither precept of Scripture, nor example in history, nor any Canon of the Church, to direct them. It would be absurd, therefore, to expect them to have been unanimous. They were not so. As conscientious men, they saw things from different points of view. Some of the

Varieties of
opinion
among the
Scottish
Bishops
and clergy.

Bishops acknowledged Baliol ;—some acknowledged Bruce ;—some even acknowledged Edward of England, who, taking advantage of his having been appointed arbiter between the two contending parties, had revived an old, obsolete, and a long extinguished claim to be, as King of England, Superior and Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland.

The conduct of the Pope, on this occasion, is the reverse of interesting. He had his own cards to play ; and he played them with what he considered trumps in his hands. The Scots, in order to protect themselves from the aggression of the King of England, sent deputies to Rome, soliciting His Holiness to interfere in the matter. Taking advantage of this application, he wrote to Edward, telling him that the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to the Church ; and enjoining him to refrain from any further proceedings against the Scottish nation. This attempt, on the part of the Pope, was ultimately defeated, by the coronation of Robert the Bruce, in 1306, and by the acknowledgment, in 1310, at a National Council, held at Dundee, by all the Bishops and clergy of Scotland, of the Bruce's right to the throne.

1300.
Conduct of
the Pope.

1306.
1310.
National
Council at
Dundee.

The act of this Council, however, did not insure the ecclesiastical peace of the Scottish people. The battle of Bannockburn had taken place ;—thirty thousand Scotchmen had defeated one hundred thousand Englishmen ;—the Bruce was firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors ;—the independence of Scotland was secured ;—but the insolence of the Pope remained unabated. He sent a Legate into Scotland, whose mission was, to command the patriot warrior-king to make no further aggression upon England. To this message, the answer of the Bruce was worthy of his name. "Tell his Holiness," said he, "that the English having, hitherto, refused all reasonable offers of peace, and it having pleased heaven to bless the Scottish nation in vindicating their just liberties, he must be excused for prosecuting his advantage." For this dignified reply, the Legate put the kingdom under an interdict, and took his departure.

June 25th,
1314.

Insolence of
the Pope.

Scotland
again under
an inter-
dict.

That the Scottish nation had, by this time, begun

Scottish indifference to the interdict.

to care very little for the Pope's interdicts, is pretty evident from the fact, that, headed by their mighty deliverer, they pursued the advantage which they had gained at Bannockburn; and continued to drive the English invaders back to their own country, craven in heart, and thoroughly disinclined ever, again, to try their prowess against either Lowland spear and battle-axe, or against the Highland claymore.

Letter of the Scottish nobility to the Pope. April 6th 1320.

While the Scottish nation were thus successful against the English, the Scottish nobility addressed a letter to the Pope, in which, after asserting their own independence of England, and stating their determination to stand by their lawful sovereign, they promise to give all reasonable obedience to the Holy see. The Pope, flattered by these conciliatory assurances, interposed his good offices; and, on the deposition of Edward the Second, of England, and the succession of his son, then very young, peace was declared between Scotland and England, and the unjust claim of the latter, to superiority over the former, was formally abandoned.

England's claim of superiority over Scotland formally abandoned.

While Robert the Bruce lived, there was peace, in Scotland, both politically and ecclesiastically. In 1329, he was gathered to his fathers. In his fifty-fifth year, the eye, that had watched the movements of the English columns at Bannockburn, had become dim, and the arm, which had cloven Bohun to the teeth, had waxed feeble; and, finally, all that was left of one of the greatest men to whom Scotland ever gave birth, was

1329. Death of Robert the Bruce.

——— "dust and ashes, and bones and clay."

Of Robert the Bruce, Archbishop Spottiswood says: — "He was a king of incomparable wisdom and valour; whose worth, and virtue, no pen can express."

When the memory of such a monarch is forgotten, then farewell to the prosperity of the nation over which he ruled! Farewell to all its greatness! But the memory of the Bruce will never be forgotten, so long as the ode of Burns, commencing,

Scots, wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has often led,

is remembered. When such strains, and Bruce are forgotten together, then—but not till then,—will commence the decay of the land of “Wallace, Bruce, and Burns.”

In reference to Burns's birthplace, and to the Ode to which we have here adverted, a modern poet has thus sung :—

That nameless cot, of sods and straw,
 More thrilling interest brings,
 Than marble walls, and golden roofs,
 Of kaisers, and of kings !
 For marble crumbles into dust,
 And brass and bronze decay,
 But “Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled,”
 Can never pass away !

Vedder.

In Robert the Bruce's time flourished Duns Scotus ; Duns in other words, John Scott of Dunse, so named from ^{Scotus} his birthplace. He was one of those schoolmen, who succeeded the Fathers, and who took a pleasure in ^{The School-} splitting hairs ; who vied with one another as to who should split the thinnest hair, and, after that, as to who should be able to split the split hairs, *ad infinitum*.

Among the schoolmen of the Middle Ages—what are called the Middle Ages extending from the fifth to the fifteenth century—it was long a controverted point, as to how many thousand angels could dance upon the point of a fine needle without jostling one another. When such absurdities could occupy the minds of the most learned men of Western Europe, it was high time that, in the fifteenth century, Grecian literature should leave its sanctuary at Constantinople, and throw its radiance upon the gloom which had generally diffused itself over the nations westward of Italy.

This, Grecian literature did, when Mahomet II., in the year 1453, took Constantinople, and destroyed the Greek empire.

So renowned was Duns Scotus for his acuteness in disputation, that the Romish writers gave him the title of *Doctor Subtilis*, the *Subtle Doctor* ; and, on account of his fame, the English attempted to claim him as their countryman.

Michael
Scott.

About the same period, but in the days of Alexander the Third, lived Michael Scott; a man famous in his generation, as a curious philosopher, well versed in mathematical science, and whose name, on this account, has been handed down, by tradition, among the lower classes of Scotland, as a great magician, and wizard. Sir Walter Scott introduces him into his poem of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel." Sir William of Deloraine, and the aged monk, "sate them down on a marble stone," in the Abbey of Melrose; and thus it was that the churchman discoursed to him:—

I was not always a man of woe;
For Paynim countries I have trod,
And fought beneath the Cross of God:
Now, strange to my eyes thine arms appear,
And their iron clang sounds strange to my ear.

In these far climes it was my lot
To meet the wondrous Michael Scott;
A wizard, of such dreaded fame,
That when, in Salamanca's cave,
Him listed his magic wand to wave,
The bells would ring in Notre Dame!
Some of his skill he taught to me;
And, Warrior, I could say to thee
The words that cleft Eildon hills in three,
And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone:
But to speak them were a deadly sin;
And, for having but thought them my heart within,
A treble penance must be done.

—Canto II.

Suppression of the
Knights-
Templars.

It was in the reign of Robert the Bruce that the Pope, after holding a council at Vienne, in France, persecuted, and suppressed, the Knights-Templars; an order of military monks, which had been instituted about two hundred years before, for the purpose of defending the pilgrims who came to visit the holy places about Jerusalem, and who, from successive Popes and Princes, had got lands assigned them for this service. The Knights-Templars had, certainly, degenerated into a state of luxury and debauchery; but, that avarice, on the part of the Pope, was the cause of their most cruel persecution, and unjust

suppression, there cannot be a doubt. The temporal princes, who aided the Pope in this enterprise, had their eyes upon the large possessions of the Knights-Templars; but His Holiness disappointed them, by giving these possessions away to the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, who were afterwards Knights of Malta. The Temple, in London, which is now the residence of a race of lawyers, was the principal seat of the Knights-Templars, in England.

The accession of David the Second, son of Robert the Bruce, was a signal for the revival of those troubles, political and ecclesiastical, which the strong will, and the strong arm, of Scotland's great deliverer, had, for a time, effectually put down. The new sovereign was a child, of eight years of age; and yet he was already married to a sister of Edward the Third of England, who, apparently forgetful of the Scottish prowess displayed at Bannockburn, imagined that he might take advantage of the infancy of his brother-in-law, and make another attempt upon the liberties of Scotland. Accordingly, unmindful of his connection, by marriage, with the Scottish king, he set up Edward, son of John Baliol, as a claimant for the Scottish throne. David and his Queen retired to France. The Scottish nation, seeing that the object of Edward of England's ambition was, through the Baliols, to procure Scotland for himself, roused themselves to a man; and the result was, that their sovereign was called home, and, after an exile of nine years, landed, with his Queen, at Innerbervy, in the year 1342.

At this time, Edward of England, in addition to his disturbing the peace of Scotland, was, in right of his mother, but in defiance of the Salique law (which excluded females from succession to the crown), laying claim to the throne of France. In the prosecution of this claim, he and his son, the Black Prince, were wasting France with fire and sword. During the absence of the English king there, David of Scotland, mindful of the old alliance between Scotland and France, and of the recent friendship, and hospitality, which he had received from the sovereign of the latter

- country, and mindful, also, of the ambitious spirit of Edward of England, which had threatened his own kingdom with a renewal of the miseries that it had suffered from the attempted usurpation of Edward the First, marched into England; where, in a battle at Neville's Cross, near Durham, he was taken prisoner, and detained at London, as such, eleven years. After many negotiations, he agreed to pay a hundred thousand merks for his ransom; and the king of England extorted from him a promise, that he would do every thing in his power to persuade the Scottish nation to acknowledge him as their Lord Paramount. This the Scottish nation, however, never did. David died in February, 1370-1, in the forty-ninth year of his age. "A man," says Buchanan, "famous for every virtue."
- Battle of Neville's Cross. David II. taken prisoner. 1346.** At the time of his death, the power of the Pope was at its height; but the state of the Christian world was one of the utmost confusion. The Turks had, for the first time, broke into Greece; and the Eastern Empire was sinking apace. Germany was distracted about the election of Emperors; the Popes were humbling the Italian Provinces; and the English were ravaging France, and rendering it a scene of desolation from one end to the other.
- Death of David II. 1370-1.** David the Second having left no issue, was succeeded by his nephew, Robert Stuart, son of Walter the great Steward of Scotland, by Marjory, the eldest daughter of Robert the Bruce, by his first wife. It is interesting to dwell upon the fact, that Robert the Second was the first of the family of Stuart who held the throne of Scotland, as derived to him, by right of blood, from his grandfather, Robert the Bruce, and, from him, conveyed through eight successive generations to James the Sixth, in whose person the crowns of Scotland and of England were united. As far as Church matters are concerned, nothing of importance occurred during this sovereign's reign.
- Power of the Pope at its height. Distracted state of the Christian world.** Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the Scottish Bishops, having peace and quietness, devoted themselves to the enlargement and adornment of their
- Accession of Robert II.**
- Enlargement of Scottish Cathedrals.**

cathedrals and palaces ;* to making charitable donations ; and, when called upon, by their sovereign, to do so, to the management of public affairs. For this last office they were, by their education, peculiarly qualified ; and it stands upon record, that, in their discharge of it, they behaved with universal approbation, and gained the love and esteem of both king and subject.

The light of Reformation was now beginning to dawn upon the Church of England. Wickliffe had denied that the Pope was the Head of the Church. He had asserted, that the Eucharist, after consecration, was not the true body of Christ, but only an emblem, or sign, of it. He maintained, that the gospel is a sufficient rule of life to every Christian ; and, therefore, that monastic institutions were entirely unnecessary. He affirmed, that the Pope, and other prelates, had no right to inflict corporal punishment on persons for spiritual offences ; and he wound up by declaring, that clergymen might be deprived of their benefices, in the event of gross misconduct on their part.

Dawn of
Reforma-
tion in
England.

Wickliffe.

These were bold assertions to make at the period when Wickliffe lived ; and, accordingly, they brought him into trouble. But he was too powerfully backed by Richard the Second's uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and others, to admit of the Papacy's making him a victim to its wrath. Notwithstanding his sentiments, Wickliffe died without leaving the communion of the Church of Rome. He made a translation of the New Testament into English. He was a man of vast capacity and penetration ; untainted in his character, strictly regular in his life, and unexceptionable in his morals.

His New.
Testament.

Robert the Second was succeeded by his eldest son John, who—dreading the bad fortune which had attended John of England, and John Baliol, in Scotland—assumed the name of Robert the Third. During

Robert III.
1390.

* In primitive times, the residences of Bishops were always termed, from the Latin word *palatium*, palaces ; and they have continued to be so to the present day.

His death.
1406.

this king's reign, the Pope did all that he could to increase the power which circumstances had given him. Robert reigned sixteen years. He died of grief, at his palace of Rothsay, in Bute, in consequence of his son, and successor, James, having been made prisoner, on his way to France, by Henry the Fourth of England. It is well known, to the reader of Scottish history, that David, Duke of Rothsay, the eldest brother of James, had, previously, been, on account of his wild and ungovernable life, committed to the charge of his uncle the Duke of Albany, shut up in the castle of Falkland, and there starved to death. It was on this account, that Robert, who was a virtuous, but weak and easy prince, sent his younger son James to France. When, on his way, notwithstanding a family letter which he carried, from his father to the English king, he was, as had been said, most ungenerously seized, and kept in captivity.

State of the
Scottish
Church, at
this period.

The state of the Scottish Church, at this time, becomes a subject of interesting inquiry. We cannot dwell upon it ; but we may advert to it generally. The influence of the Pope was, evidently, going down. The authority which the Papal institutions had, for so many ages, exercised over the minds of men, was losing its hold on them ; and was prepared, from its very rottenness, to sink. The schism in the Romish Church, and the controversies between the rival Popes, together with the avarice, and the gross immorality of the lives, of the clergy, all put together, contributed to bring about this state of matters ; and to compel men to inquire what were the actual rights of the Bishop of Rome—what was the height to which the power of the priesthood was entitled to ascend—and where was the line, with regard to that power, at which it ought to have its legitimate bounds.

Avarice and
immorality
of the
clergy.

The avarice of the clergy—secular and regular—had reached such a length, that they had contrived, by one means or another, in the way of procuring endowments for their several foundations, to get transferred into their hands, more than a half of the territorial property of Scotland. Such being the case, we need not wonder if a mine was prepared for explosion ; and if all that

was required, for the purpose of blowing the existing system of ecclesiastical dominion in the air, was a match, and a hand prepared to apply it.*

* The profligacy of the Scottish Clergy, on the eve of the Reformation, was such, that it stamped itself even in the names given, at baptism, to children. The common Scottish names, *Macnab*, *Mactaggart*, and *Macpherson*, are son of an *Abbot*—of a *Priest*—of a *Parson*. (Rorison's *Sketches, Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. IV. (1854,) p. 182, *Note*).

CHAPTER V.

Influence of the revival of literature upon the Church at large—Dante and Boccaccio—James the First—James Resby—Paul Crow—the Lollards of Kyle—Battle of Flodden—Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld—Patrick Hamilton—Death of Hamilton—The practice of burning heretics brought, from England, into Scotland—Henry the Fourth, of England—Glasgow erected into an Archbishopric—Bishop Elphinstone founds the University of Old Aberdeen—Hector Boece—John Bellenden—Ignorance of the Scottish nobility, in the reign of James the Fifth—Death of Bellenden—State of the Scottish Church, at the accession of James the Fifth—Bishops Traill and Kennedy, of St. Andrews, and Bishop Elphinstone, of Aberdeen—The Regency.

Influence of the revival of literature upon the Church at large.

If the mine was prepared, the match was ready. It may be remarked, that, no sooner had literature shewn symptoms of its revival in Western Europe, than it directed its irresistible powers against the Church. Its shafts of ridicule and sarcasm were without number. It overwhelmed the indecency and the hypocrisy of the monks, and the domineering spirit of the prelates, with a battery of satire which they could not withstand. The names of Dante and Boccaccio stood foremost in this onslaught; and, even at the present day, the memories and the writings of these great men are associated with an exposure of the prelatical, and monkish, vices of the age in which they lived.

Dante and Boccaccio.

In reference to the domineering spirit of the prelates in general, and of the Popes in particular, during the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, we cannot do better than advert to the case of Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., who ascended the Papal throne in 1073. He was a man of great energy, and unbounded ambition. He it was, who deposed the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany for disobedience to his mandates; and who compelled that monarch, at last, to sue to him for absolution under circumstances of the greatest abasement.

James the First succeeded his father, Robert the Third; but he was a prisoner within the walls of Windsor Castle. As a prisoner he was kept, till the death of Henry the Fifth, of England; and then only restored, after a captivity of eighteen years, in 1424, from motives of English policy, to his country and his throne. 1406.
James I.

We have spoken of Wicliffe, as the originator of the first Reforming opinions in England. From England, to Scotland, these opinions were brought by James Resby, a priest, who was seized by the dominant Popish power, tried for heresy, and burnt at St. Andrews, in 1422. The Primate of Scotland—the *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*—at this time, was Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews; whose memory is covered with infamy on account of this transaction. Wardlaw, however, was not without his merits; for, in 1412, he founded the University of St. Andrews, on the model of that of Paris, and brought to it Professors of Theology, Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric, from all parts of the kingdom. James Resby.
1422.

The next victim of Popish aggression was Paul Craw, a Bohemian physician; who, having come into Scotland to promulgate his opinions, was laid hold of, and burned at St. Andrews, in 1431. It may be remarked, that the practice of burning persons, for what was called heresy, was brought from England; where Archbishop Arundel had burnt William Lawty, a priest, and a disciple of Wickliffe, for being what was nicknamed a Lollard. This is the first instance on record, in England, of any man's having been burnt for his religious opinions. The sanguinary usurper Bolingbroke, Henry the Fourth, had passed a burning act against those who were, from derision, called "the Lollards." No wonder that this man is represented, by Shakspeare, as saying, when overwhelmed with misery: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Paul Craw.
1431.

The Lollards of Kyle,* a district in Ayrshire, were

* The origin of the word *Lollard* is hid in mystery. Dr.

The Lollards of Kyle.
1494.

the next who came under the ban of the Papacy. Their principles, generally, seem to have been perfectly consonant with those of the Christian Religion; and, as James the Fourth himself, who was present at their trial, recommended them to be mercifully dealt with, the Archbishop of Glasgow, before whom they were arraigned, did not venture to do anything more than to dismiss them with an admonition.

Sept. 9th,
1513.
Battle of
Flodden.

Time went on. James the Fourth, in 1513, fell at Flodden; and the flower of the chivalry of Scotland fell around him. The magnificent stanzas of Scott, in his poem of *Marmion*, descriptive of the battle of Flodden, are familiar to all. We cannot allude to Flodden's fatal field*—a field on which Scotland gained, in the hour of her defeat, as much renown as ever she did in that of her proudest military triumph—without calling attention to Aytoun's noble and heart-stirring Lay, entitled "Edinburgh after Flodden;" in which he depicts the grief, alarm, and terror, of the inhabitants of "high Dunedin," on the arrival, at the city-gates, of Randolph Murray, in battered harness, hard-stricken, on his weary and wounded steed, with his cheek pale and wan, and a bloody banner in his weak and drooping hand.

It may be here noted, that, but for the chivalrous rashness of James, in passively allowing the English, under Surrey, to pass the Till, at Twisel Bridge, and but for his, afterwards, descending from his vantage-ground on the hill, to engage the English in the open plain, the probability is, that Flodden would have been as celebrated in the annals of Scottish victory as was the triumph of Bannockburn.

Among those who fell at Flodden, were two sons of

Maitland thinks it was the name of an individual. Wynton knew the term; and, about the year 1420, speaking of Robert Duke of Albany, says:—

He was a constant Catholyke;
All Lollard he hated, and heretyke.

Knor, Laing's Edition, Append. II.

* Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
And broken was her shield.

Marmion.

the famous Archibald, Earl of Angus, surnamed "Bell the Cat." This was the Great Earl of Angus, who hanged James the Third's favourites over the bridge of Lauder. He it was, who,

When his blood and heart were high,
 Did the third James in camp defy, .
 And all his minions led to die
 On Lauder's dreary flat :
 Princes, and favourites, long grew tame,
 And trembled at the homely name
 Of Archibald Bell-the-Cat.

—*Marmion.*

Angus himself was too old to engage in the strife. 1516. After ineffectually endeavouring to dissuade his sovereign from his farther invasion of England, he returned to his native country, to spend the last few years of his life in religious meditation, and to die. Another son of this renowned warrior was Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, whom we have already had occasion to mention. Amid the darkness of the sixteenth century, the name of Gawin Douglas shines forth with distinguished lustre. He was elevated to the Episcopate in 1516. He made his celebrated translation of Virgil's *Eneis*, and died at London in the year 1522. A Life of him, at large, together with the second edition of his translation of Virgil's *Eneis*, was printed, and published, at Edinburgh in 1710. This Life contains full particulars concerning him.*

We meet with nothing more connected with the progress of the Reformation in Scotland, till we come down to the history of Patrick Hamilton. In 1528, he was consigned to the stake by the Popish authorities ; who seemed determined to quench the light of the gospel wherever it was to be found, and to consign the nations of Christendom to a darkness from which they should never escape.

Patrick Hamilton, a young man of good family, in Scotland, had travelled in Germany ; and there he met with Melancthon, from whose lips he imbibed the Reformed doctrines. On his return to Scotland,

* Keith's *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, pp. 93, 94.

although not in holy orders, he exposed, in the plainest manner, the gross corruptions of the Romish Church, and the errors, both of doctrine and worship, with which it abounded. That he was a person of high intellect, and of great learning, there cannot be a doubt. He preached openly; and the elegance of his demeanour, united with the power of his eloquence, produced an effect, among those who listened to him, such as to recommend his doctrines to the community at large.

Death of
Hamilton.

1528-29.

The result of Hamilton's endeavours, for the reformation of the Church, was, that, under circumstances of great deceit, and wanton cruelty, he was arraigned before James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, on the charge of heresy, condemned to the flames, on the last day of February, 1528-29. He was burnt, on the same afternoon, before the gate of St. Salvador's College, praying for the enlightenment of his country, and faintly uttering, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"* By blood, Hamilton was related to the king himself.

The practice of burning heretics brought from England into Scotland.

The practice of burning heretics was, as we have already mentioned, originated, in England, by the usurper Bolingbroke, better known as Henry the Fourth. From England it came into Scotland; and there is reason to believe, that it was an imitation of the acts of the old heathen persecutors, who took a pleasure in prolonging the sufferings of their Christian victims to the utmost extent of their power. It

Henry IV.
of England.

deserves to be placed upon record, that a more arbitrary tyrant than Henry the Fourth, of England, never sat upon a throne. He it was, who ordered the head of Archbishop Scrope, of York, without a trial, to be struck off;—"the first English Bishop," says Collier, "who had ever suffered by a sentence of the King's Judges. For an account of the Archbishop's betrayal, and arrestment, by the earl of Westmoreland, we may refer our readers to Shakspeare's play of Henry the Fourth.

* Stephen's *History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the present Time*, Vol. I. pp. 4, 5.—Keith's *History of Church and State*, p. 8.—Lawson's *Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 47.—Knox's *History of the Reformation*, p. 66.

It was during the reign of James the Fourth 1491. that the See of Glasgow was erected into an Arch- Glasgow erected into an Arch- bishopric. The first Archbishop of Glasgow was bishopric. Archbishop Blackader, who died in the course of a visit—unnecessarily undertaken—to the holy places in Palestine. In this reign, the state of the Scottish Church was not so satisfactory as it might have been expected to be. In the year 1496, on the death of Schevez, the king gave this Archbishopric of St. Andrews to the Duke of Ross, a younger brother of his own, who was not more than twenty years of age. On the death of this prince, in 1503, the See was—after years of vacancy—conferred on Alexander Stuart, an illegitimate son of the king, who was killed, at Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age.

It was at this period that Bishop Elphinstone 1494. founded the University of Old Aberdeen. In 1494, Bishop Elphinstone founded the University of Old Aberdeen. he, under the sanction of Royal patronage, erected King's College. Soon after this erection, he died in Edinburgh; his death being universally regretted.

At this period, also, lived Hector Boece, whose career is worthy of note, on the part of any one pretending to chronicle the events of the time.

Hector Boethius, Boyis, or Boece—for by these and various other terminations is his name known, although it is chiefly by the first and last that it is recognised—was an eminent Scottish historian, and was born at Dundee in 1465, or, as others have it, in 1470. From his native place he took the surname of Deidonanus. His ancestors possessed the estate of Panbride, about twelve miles from Dundee; his grandfather, Hugh Boece, having received it in marriage with the heiress, on account of services rendered by him to David II. at the battle of Duplin. He studied, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Paris; at the latter of which he had for his fellow-student and friend the celebrated Erasmus. In 1497, he became professor of philosophy in the college of Montacute; but, in 1500, was recalled to Scotland by Bishop Elphinstone, who appointed him principal of the University which he had just founded. His salary, in this important office, was forty merks a year—a salary equivalent, according to

Dr. Johnson, to two pounds, three shillings, and fourpence sterling, of our present money!

He had, for his colleagues in the government of that new seat of learning, various persons of literary distinction. On the death of Bishop Elphinstone, he wrote a Life of that prelate, and followed it up by a series of Lives of Elphinstone's predecessors in his See. This work was written in Latin, and was printed at Paris, in 4to, in 1552. It begins with Beanus, the first Bishop of Aberdeen, and ends with Gawin Douglas, who was bishop when the book was published. The Life of his patron, Elphinstone, occupies one-third of it; and its title is, "Vitæ Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium." Boece's great work was his *Latin History and Chronicles of Scotland*; the first seventeen books of which appeared, at Paris, in folio, in 1516. In 1574, a new edition of it, carrying on the detail of Scottish affairs from the accession of James II., and containing the eighteenth book, and part of the nineteenth, was sent forth to the world. The work was, afterwards, brought down to the reign of James III., by Joannes Ferarius Pedemontanus; one of the authors to whom Holinshed stands indebted in the compilation of his Chronicle. The title of Boece's *magnum opus* is "Scotorum Historia, a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari." After the publication of his History, James V. conferred on him a yearly pension of fifty pounds Scots; and he, subsequently, held the Rectory of Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire.

Boece is said to have died at Aberdeen, about the year 1536, in the seventieth year of his age. Concerning his talents, which were undoubtedly of the highest order, and his scholarship, which was equally transcendent with his natural abilities, there can be but little ground for dispute. His veracity, however, has been called in question, and his credulity is so manifest that he who runs may read. Perhaps the best, as well as the most comprehensive, sketch of his attainments, and character, as a historian, is that which has fallen from Dr Johnson, and which is to be found in his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland," to which we refer our readers.

Another worthy of the age, the actions of which we are recording, was John Bellenden. Like that of Holinshed and Boethius, the name of Bellenden is variously spelled. Sometimes we meet with it as Ballenden, at others as Ballentyn, and again as Ballentyne. Not unfrequently the epithet *Sir* precedes it, as the prefix indicative of his being in holy orders, or, as it was then considered, one of the Pope's knights. He was an eminent poet; and lived in the reign of James V. His translation of Boece's History is that by which his memory still lives, although there are other products of his pen—such as his Scottish version of the first five books of Livy—which have stamped his name with celebrity.

John Bellenden.

Bellenden was a native of Lothian, and was born towards the close of the fifteenth century. He studied at St. Andrews; where his name may yet be found, entered thus:—"1508, *Jo. Balentyn nat. Lou (donice)*." He went subsequently to Paris; where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and became thoroughly versed in the structure and idiom of the French language. On returning to his native land, Bellenden became attached to the court of his youthful sovereign, as "Clerk of his Comptis." This we learn from the "Proheme of the Cosmographie" with which he ushers in his translation of Boece. In 1530, he is mentioned by Sir David Lindsay as a Court-poet.

In the reign of James the Fifth, as regarded the nobility at large, the state of literature, in Scotland, was low indeed. It was in this reign that Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador at the Scottish court, when vindicating the king for taking counsel, in state affairs, of the clergy only, bore witness to the utter ignorance, and incapacity, of those who ought, otherwise, to have been his chief advisers. Speaking of the hereditary great men of the nation, Sadler says:—"I see none among them that hath anie agility of wit or learning." For the information of this particular class, James commanded Bellenden to translate Boece from the original Latin into the Scottish tongue. His translation appeared in 1536.

Ignorance of Scottish nobility in reign of James V.

As the result of his literary merits, Bellenden was

Death of
Bellenden.

made Archdeacon of Moray, and a prebend, or canon, of Ross. During the reign of James the Fifth, his career was one of unvaried prosperity ; but, at the Reformation, he became obnoxious to Knox, and his "rascal multitude," and, having fled to Rome, he died there in 1550.

We must now fall back upon the death of James the Fourth, at Flodden Field. On that occasion, to use the words of a favourite Scottish song—

"The flowers of the forest were a' wede away."

The chivalry of Scotland perished around their king ; and the infant sovereign, whom he left behind him, was scarcely two years old.

State of
Scottish
Church at
accession of
James V.

The state of the Scottish Church, at the accession of James the Fifth, was one deplorable in the extreme. The avarice, and immorality, of the clergy had arrived at a height, which, undoubtedly, required to be abated. The churchmen of the period seemed to delight in nothing but riotous living, and vain show. Discipline was despised ; doctrine was either neglected or corrupted ; the idea of reformation, and instruction, was treated with ridicule and contempt. Still, even in those dark and degenerate times, there were good and pious men, rulers of the Church, who, pre-eminently, shone forth as lights of the age in which they lived. Even the darkness, and degeneracy, which surrounded them could not conceal the virtues, the usefulness, and the excellency of character, of such men as Bishops Traill, and Kennedy, of St. Andrews, and Bishop Elphinstone, of Aberdeen. Archbishop Spottiswood bewails the miserable state of the Scottish Church at this period (B. II. p. 60). Hector Boece, who lived at the time, and was highly favourable to the Papacy, speaks of the prelates of his days as "devouring the poor plundered people ; doing nothing that becomes good and worthy men ; yea, striving all they can to keep down all kind of literature, lest, if the people should come to a better taste, they themselves should be obliged to change their scandalous way of life, and thereby lose their prey out

Bishops
Traill, Ken-
nedy, and
Elphin-
stone.

of their hands. Let them," adds Boece, "*whose business it is*, see to a reformation of these things. It is the just grief, and deep feeling, I have of such abuses that has driven me to this admonition (B. XVI).

Boece did not live to see the "reformation" which took place in Scotland. It was not the reformation which *he*, in the simplicity of his heart, desired. It was a reformation carried through, not by those "whose business it is," but by fierce and fiery Barons, who were greedy of the Church lands—whose sole object was plunder—and who were supported, in their sacrilege, by men, who, although assuming the clerical character, were no more in holy orders than is an ordinary porter on the streets of Edinburgh, or an ordinary tavern-keeper in one of the lanes of London. This is plain language; but it is, in the opinion of the writer, the language of truth and soberness.

Before marching to Flodden Field, James the Fourth had settled, in the event of his death, the Regency of the kingdom on the Queen, while she should remain unmarried. As, however, she, within a year from his death, married the Earl of Angus, a young nobleman, grandson of Bell-the-Cat, and nephew of Bishop Gawin Douglas, of Dunkeld, the Estates of the realm conferred it on the Duke of Albany; a first-cousin of the deceased sovereign, who, owing to his French education, was closely connected, by friendship, with France.

Such was the state of matters, in Scotland, during the minority of James the Fifth. The mutterings of thunder, in the distance, were heard: the flash of the lightning, and the burst of the storm, appeared anon.

CHAPTER VI.

Luther—Seaton—Henry Forrest—Huss—King James the Fifth's youth—Origin of the word Protestant—The term, as regards the Church in Scotland, and in England, a misnomer—Church matters in England—Henry the Eighth throws off the Pope's supremacy—Institution of the College of Justice—Catherine Hamilton, and Gourlay, and Straiton—Martyrdom of Gourlay and Straiton—National Council in Edinburgh—Cardinal Beaton—George Buchanan—State of Literature, in Scotland, in James the Fifth's reign—Death of James the Fifth—Birth of Mary, Queen of Scots—John Calvin—Calvin's *Institutions*—Calvin's Doctrine of Predestination—Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and Pelagius—Remarks on Calvin's doctrine—Wesley's opinion with regard to it.

Luther. KING JAMES had scarcely attained his majority, when, in addition to the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton—who was of the blood-royal of Scotland—the flames of persecution, on account of religious opinions, began to arise slowly, but steadily, in the land. The voice of “the solitary monk who shook the world”* had, from Germany, crossed the English Channel—had reached the white cliffs of Albion—and had even penetrated so far as to the foot of that Grampian range, which, in ages long gone by, had acted as a barrier between Roman conquest and Caledonian independence.

Seaton. 1529. At this time, a friar named Seaton, who had taught, in the pulpit of St. Andrews, that forgiveness of sin is no otherwise to be obtained than by unfeigned repent-

* See the poem of *Luther*, by the writer's late friend, the Rev. Robert Montgomery. Now that Mr Montgomery is no more, the writer—who knew him intimately—does not hesitate to say, that, with failings that are rather amiable than otherwise, he was a man of great and varied intellectual power. The chief failing of Robert Montgomery was, that he did not know where his own strength lay. He imagined himself strong, where he was really weak; and he believed himself to be weak, where he possessed ability. While he lived, his intellectual faculties were acknowledged, and complimented, by the first men of the age.

ance, and true faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ, and who was confessor to the King, was compelled to flee into England. He became, there, chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk.

In 1533, Henry Forrest, a Benedictine friar, was burnt, simply because he had spoken favourably of those who had already suffered on account of their reforming views. On this occasion, a plain man, named John Lindsay, told the Bishop that he should burn him in some hollow cellar ; for that the smoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton “ had infected all those on whom it blew.” Henry Forrest.
1533.

It was about the year 1517, that Martin Luther, an Augustine Monk of Wittemberg, in Saxony, came forth in the plenitude of his intellectual greatness, to herald the way to what has since been called the Reformation ; —to change the Ecclesiastical system throughout Europe ;—to deny the purity of the doctrines, and to hold up to scorn the assumed authority, over his equals, of the Bishop of Rome. As far as England was concerned, Wickliffe had preceded him ; and the appeal had been made to “ quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,”—to antiquity, universality, and consent. Another predecessor of Luther had appeared. This was Huss ; who suffered, as others suffered, for his adherence to what he believed to be the truth. It is somewhat remarkable, that, even before Luther was heard of, the very tenets which he espoused were maintained in Scotland ; and that numbers of people, in Kyle and Cunningham, among whom were men of family and fortune, were convened before Blackader, the Archbishop of Glasgow, for rejecting the adoration of images and relics, the invocation of saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation and purgatory, the supremacy of the Pope, and the forced celibacy of the clergy (Skinner, Vol. I. p. 430). 1517.
Huss.

The youth of James the Fifth gave promise of a future eminence, and distinction, which were destined never to be realized. He was a person of good talents, and prone to profuseness, and magnificence, in his expenditure. In 1524, he took the reins of government into his own hands. King James V.'s youth.
1524.

Origin of
the word
Protestant.
1529.

At this time, the word *Protestant* began to be used. Luther's partisans had *protested* against an Imperial edict, passed at Spire, by the Emperor's deputy, Ferdinand, which they conceived to be injurious to their civil and religious liberties, and an encroachment upon their privileges, both as Christians, and as constituent members of the Germanic body (Skinner, p. 438). Thus, it is evident, that the word Protestant was, originally, applied to the followers of Luther alone; and that it had no connection whatever with either the Church of England or the Scottish Church, on the occasion of their throwing off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome. The use of the term, however, gradually spread, till it came to mean all religious bodies who did not abide by the corruptions of the Romish Church. At the time we write of, Luther's principles, but not this term, were known in Scotland. As regards the Church in England, and the Church in Scotland, we consider it to be, decidedly, a misnomer. The Scottish and English Churches are, simply, national branches of the Catholic, or Universal Church of Christ; and the word Protestant does not, properly, apply to them. Neither the one, nor the other, claims connection with Martin Luther's plan of reformation.

The term,
as regards
the Church
in Scot-
land, and in
England, a
misnomer.

Church
matters in
England.

While the course of events was tending to a crisis in Scotland, the state of ecclesiastical affairs, in England, was the reverse of tranquil and calm. The brutal and licentious Henry the Eighth, the maternal uncle of James the Fifth, was, during the lifetime of his elder brother Arthur, intended for the Church. He, therefore, possessed a knowledge of theology which very few princes possess; and he seemed noways disinclined to exhibit, to the world, his knowledge of the subject. At first, he wrote against Luther, in defence of the Pope—for which the latter rewarded him with the title of "Defender of the Faith;" and Luther, no whit daunted by his Royal dignity, replied to him in language, which Milton, at a future time, against Salmasius, did not disdain to use; but which seems to us to be more fitted for a modern pot-house than for a grave reformer of Church abuses. Henry answered in return; and, if we may judge from his style of disputation, we have no

doubt that, had the Royal and Monastic combatants met personally, their contest—for they were both burly in their persons—would have ended in a game at quarter-staff, or fisti-cuffs, which would have rendered their meeting as memorable as that of the Black Knight and the Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst, in “Ivanhoe.”

For four years—from 1521 to 1525—did Henry and Luther keep up this controversy. But Henry had married Catherine of Arragon, the betrothed of his brother Arthur; and he had fallen in love with Ann Boleyn, one of her maids of honour. He tried to get the Pope to declare his marriage with Catherine, who stuck, determinedly, as a virtuous woman, to her title of Queen, as unlawful; but the Pope refused to do so. Under the influence of a new light, Henry ceased to be, in its original sense, the “Defender of the Faith.” To use the words of the poet, as far as Henry was concerned,

“Gospel-light first dawned from Boleyn’s eyes.”

He threw off the supremacy of the Pope—declared himself the Head of the English Church—divorced Catherine—and married Ann Boleyn. We are sorry to be compelled to add, that, as far as the divorce, and the marriage, are concerned, the great name of Cranmer was mixed up, discreditably, with these most unjust proceedings.

Henry throws off the Pope’s supremacy.

In James the Fifth’s time, the College of Justice, in Scotland, was instituted. It is now entitled the Court of Session. This Court consists of the supreme Judges of the land; and they are styled the Lords of Council and Session. In order to support the College of Justice, the king proposed to tax the prelates. This the Prelates resisted. At last, a plan was arranged, by means of which the College should be composed of fourteen Ordinaries, with a President, seven of the spirituality and seven of the temporality, the President being always of the spiritual estate, and a prelate constituted in dignity. (Skinner, p. 453.)

Institution of the College of Justice.

The Lords of Council and Session are the most exalted official dignitaries in Scotland;—the Lord

President, or Lord-Justice General, being the presiding Judge, and the Lord-Justice Clerk being next to him in rank. All the Judges, in Scotland, on their elevation to the Bench, take titles;—some assuming the names of their properties, others their surnames. The Lord Advocate is another great legal functionary in Scotland. He is, in legal phrase, “Her Majesty’s Advocate for Her Majesty’s interest.” In criminal matters, his power is almost unbounded; and he is entitled to plead, before the Court, with his hat on. This privilege has been exercised within the last hundred years; and the origin of it is as follows: Sir Thomas Hope, of Craighall, who held this office in Charles the First’s time, had two sons upon the Bench. It was considered indecorous that a father should plead, uncovered, before his sons. The King, therefore, granted the privilege referred to; and, although we are not aware that it has been exercised for a number of years back, yet we believe it to be still in existence.

1534.

Catherine
Hamilton,
and Gour-
lay, and
Straiton.

In 1534, Catherine Hamilton, sister of Patrick Hamilton, the Abbot of Fern, and Gourlay, and Straiton, as well as others, of both sexes, were arraigned, for heresy, before the King, and Hay, the Bishop of Ross, at Holyrood-house, and, when questioned about “justification by works,” and told, by an ecclesiastical lawyer, of “works of congruity,” and “works of condignity,” Catherine exclaimed, “Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this?” The King laughed heartily at this reply; but, although she was saved, Gourlay and Straiton were consigned to the flames. The former of these two martyrs denied the existence of Purgatory; while the latter was accused of maintaining, that churchmen had no right to tithes. (Russell, Vol. I., pp. 140, 141).

Martyrdom
of Gourlay
and
Straiton.

1535.

The Pope found it prudent to conciliate James; and he did so, by sending him gifts, consecrated by his blessing, and by authorising him to add to the Royal revenue by drawing from the funds of the Church. The tenth of all the benefices of Scotland was granted to him. The King had married Magdalene, daughter of Francis the First of France. On her death, he

married Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville. Magdalene was—so to speak—a Protestant : Mary of Guise was an adherent of the Church of Rome.

In 1536, the King, sensible that the Church required reformation, authorized the assembling of a national council at Edinburgh; the professed object of which was to direct the attention of the clergy to the improvement of morals among their own body.

1536.
National
Council in
Edinburgh.

In 1538, the old Archbishop of St Andrews died; and his nephew, Cardinal Beaton, was elevated to the Primacy. Than Cardinal Beaton, a man of greater intellect had perhaps never existed in Scotland. He had been made Cardinal by Pope Paul the Third; and, as Primate of Scotland, he held a complete ascendancy over the mind of the King. He was the avowed enemy of those whom he considered the foes of the Church; and—like Cardinal Wolsey—he was a devotee of grandeur and magnificence. Scarcely had he been seated on his Archiepiscopal throne, when he visited St. Andrews, attended by a splendid retinue of Earls and Lords, with five or six Bishops, besides Abbots, and a number of Deans, Priors, and Doctors of Divinity.

Cardinal
Beaton.
1538.

We make a short digression here to explain a few terms. The word *throne*—from the Greek word *θρονος*—has, from the earliest Christian times, been applied to the seat of Bishops, in the same manner as it has been applied to the seat of an Emperor, or a King. In like manner, the word *palace*—from the Latin word *palatium*—has been applied to the residence of a Bishop, however humble that residence may be. When a Bishop, or Archbishop, is inducted, he is said to be enthroned—in other words, placed upon the Episcopal seat. When a Presbyter—one of the second order of the Christian Priesthood—is appointed to a pastoral charge, he is *instituted* to the spiritualities of it, and he is *inducted* to its temporalities. While on this subject, we may mention, that the word *cathedral* is derived from the Greek and Latin

word *cathedra*, also signifying a seat. A person is said to speak *ex cathedra*, when he is delivering his opinion officially, and with authority. We may also mention, that the word *city* is derived from the Latin word *civitas*—that is the *civitas*, or seat, of a Bishop. Anciently, no place was a city, unless it either was, or had been, the seat of a Bishop. In the present day, the term is often, but not universally, applied to very large towns. In fact, there seems, in the nineteenth century, hardly any fixed rule on the subject. We have the city—"the Fair City"—of Perth; and we have the town of Dundee; and we could give many similar instances of the popular and arbitrary use of the word. Dunfermline lately claimed to be a city, and not a town. The claim was successful; but on what principle we are ignorant. Dunkeld is a city: St. Andrews is a city: Edinburgh was not a city till the reign of Charles the First. Elgin ought to be a city—for it contained the cathedral of the Bishops of Moray; but—for what reason we know not—it is never spoken of as such.

George
Buchanan.
1539.

The name of George Buchanan, afterwards so famous, first appears during this stormy time. He had written sarcastic lines on the immoral lives of the Franciscans. He was committed to prison in the Sea Tower of St. Andrews; but, escaping by a window, he fled to France. Buchanan, by his poetical satire upon the lives of the clergy, had rendered himself so obnoxious to the whole body, that nothing but his escape saved him from the honours of martyrdom. (*Lawson's Life of Buchanan*.—*Knox's History of the Reformation*). We regret to say that sarcasm and bitterness of spirit, against political and ecclesiastical opponents, were but too much the leading characteristic of George Buchanan. Had he possessed more of the milk of human nature, his reputation, among his countrymen, would have been greater than it now is. His subsequent support, in his writings, of the bastard Regent Moray, and his gross and wilful libels on the character of Mary Queen of Scots, have stained his name. His Latinity is almost as pure as that in the days of Augustus; but his falsehoods, against his

accomplished female Sovereign, are so glaring that he who runs may read.

Of no other man may it be more appropriately said, than of George Buchanan :—

Who would not laugh, if such a man there be ?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he ?

Shame that George Buchanan should have devoted his great talents to the perversion of truth !—Shame that he should have sent down his name to posterity, as the abettor, and the defender, of a Baronial host of mailed traitors, who, but for the laws of the realm, and the power of the British nation, would have behaved, towards Queen Victoria, as they did towards Mary Stuart !

It is impossible, in this brief History, to enumerate all the persons, who, in James the Fifth's time, were tried, and condemned to the stake, on charges of "heresy." We may state, however, that, on the 28th of February 1539, Dean Thomas Forrest, a Canon-Regular of St. Colm's Inch, and Vicar of Dollar, in Clackmannanshire, was, with others, cited for heresy, condemned to die, and burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. Previously to this, his Diocesan, the Bishop of Dunkeld, had written to him, in reference to his expounding, to his parishioners, the Epistles and Gospels for the day, that, if he "could find a good Epistle, or good Gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the Holy Church, he might instruct his people in that ; but to let the rest alone. For," he added "I thank God that I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament. I am contented with my Missal and Breviary ; and, if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these phantasies, you will have cause to repent."—(*Spottiswood—Keith—Knox*). Dean Thomas did not leave off "these phantasies." Nor had he any "cause to repent." He went to the stake ; but he left, behind him, upon the consciences of his murderers, the guilt of innocent blood.

Such was the state of literature, in Scotland, in James the Fifth's reign, that that monarch found it

State of
literature
in Scotland
in James
V.'s reign.

impossible to employ his nobility as counsellors. He was, therefore, driven to apply to the clergy for advice. In relation to this fact, Sadler, who was ambassador to Scotland, from England, thus wrote to an English privy-councillor :—" To be plain with you, I see none among the Scots nobility that hath any such agility of gravity, wit, learning, or experience, to take in hand the direction of things ; so that the king is, of force, driven to use the Bishops, and clergy, as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit, and policy, that I see here."

1542.

Henry desired an interview with his nephew James, at York ; but this the Scottish king, owing to the influence of the clergy, refused. Irritated by this circumstance, Henry sent an army, under the Duke of Norfolk, against Scotland. James mustered a force of ten thousand men ; and sent them as far as the Solway Frith, where they were encountered by only five hundred Englishmen. The Scottish army—finding that they were to be commanded by a private Scottish gentleman, named Oliver Sinclair—basely refused to strike a blow, and surrendered themselves to the English.

Death of
James V.
Dec. 13th,
1542.

The defeat at Solway Moss placed James the Fifth on his death-bed. He retired to his palace at Falkland ; and feeling there that the termination of his sublunary existence was approaching, he turned his face to the wall, and prepared to die. It was on this occasion that, having been told that his Queen had given birth, at Linkithgow, to a female child, his reply, in relation to the crown which he wore, was :—" It cam' wi' a lass, and it will gang wi' a lass." He died on the thirteenth of December 1542, at the early age of 31, and when his daughter, Mary, was only a few days old.

Birth of
Mary,
Queen of
Scots.

John
Calvin.

About this time arose John Calvin, whose real name was Jean Chauvin. He was a native of Noyon, in Picardy, and was born in the year 1509. There is no proof that he ever was in holy orders. He was, in theory, Episcopal ; but, in practice, he set Episcopal principles at defiance ; and, as a palliation of his doing so, while declaring, with his pen, that they who had it

in their power, but refused to submit to the government of Bishops, "were worthy of every anathema," he advanced what has been usually termed the tyrant's plea—*necessity*. We may remark, in passing, that *Anathema* is a Greek word, signifying, merely, *separation*, whether for a good or a bad purpose. In 1 Cor. xvi. 22, St. Paul says:—"If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be *Anathema Maranatha*;" that is, let him be separated from your communion, as one under the displeasure of God.

Thus, Calvin, the founder of Presbyterianism, most expressly declared—and the proof of this is to be found in his writings—that they who declined to acknowledge the Divine right of Episcopacy were not Christians in the full and entire sense of the term. The plea of *ignorance* is the only plea, which, in our opinion, can justify a departure from the rules of Primitive Truth and Order; and the foundation of our opinion is clear. Christians are never represented, in any part of Scripture, as united solely by consent of opinion, similarity of manners, and reciprocation of kind offices, flowing from mutual love and affection. They are represented, collectively, as incorporated into a spiritual Society, and, individually, as members of this Society, which is called the Kingdom, the Family, the Fold, the Vineyard, and the Body of Christ. Into the Society here spoken of, men and women are admitted—either in infancy, or at a more advanced period of life—when they are baptized; that is, when they are *re-generated*, or as Christ said to Nicodemus, "born anew of *water* and of the Spirit." Baptism St. Paul styled "the laver of regeneration."

It is much to be deplored, that the controversy about Baptismal Regeneration should still continue to rend the peace of the Christian world. It does so, simply, because disputants do not, before they commence their controversies, define terms; and it has been much aggravated, and prolonged, in consequence of some of our older divines confounding, in their sermons, and other writings, the terms Regeneration and

Conversion of heart:—often using them as of one and the same import.

The same plea of necessity, as Calvin advanced, was put forth in the same century, and continues to be so, in behalf of John Knox; who, under the pretence of the reformation of Church abuses, set all ecclesiastical order at defiance, threw the Church of his native land into a state of confusion, from which it has never recovered—committed sacrilege of the grossest kind—destroyed the most beautiful specimens of architecture in the country—rendered the soil of Wallace, and of Bruce, almost a by-word among the nations—made the name of Scot nearly synonymous with that of barbarian—and, personally, as well as in the pulpit, insulted his helpless sovereign so outrageously, that even the brutal Barons, who, for the sake of the plunder of the sanctuary of God, backed him, in so far, in his proceedings, were compelled to remonstrate with him.*

Calvin's Institutions.

At twenty-three years of age, Calvin, in Switzerland, wrote his *Institutions*. This work was written in Latin; and was dedicated to Francis the First, of France. It shews Calvin to have been a man of great intellect; but, at the same time, it evinces him to have been destitute of judgment, of toleration, and of soberness of mind. That we are not here slandering the memory of this great man—a man of whom Bishop Horsley speaks in terms of the highest respect—we shall endeavour to shew, by referring to his famous doctrine of Predestination.

Calvin's doctrine of Predestination.

The Predestinarian controversy, as it is called, was not heard of, in the Christian Church, for four hundred

* It is now thirty-two years, since the writer's late distinguished friend, Dr. Jamieson, author of the "Scottish Dictionary," &c., &c.—a Seceding Presbyterian minister—informed him, that, were he called upon, calmly and deliberately, to give his opinion on the subject of John Knox's conduct, he could not, in satisfaction of his own conscience, vindicate him from having been, on numerous occasions, guilty of high treason.

years after the existence of the New Testament ;—after the Apostles had preached the gospel throughout the world ;—after Christianity, like a mighty tree, had pushed its branches to every quarter of the known civilized world. Previous to the fifth century, no preacher—no divine—no Christian—had ever dreamt of starting the doctrines which are now known under the name of predestinarian. The unhappy controversy was the result of what we might almost term mere accident. It was begun by Augustine, the famous Bishop of Hippo ; who, in the course of his disputation with Pelagius, got confused in his enunciation of the terms in which he meant to express himself. His want of clearness of ideas made him disturb the ideas of others. Pelagius was a man of great personal piety ; but he was a heretic. He denied the original corruption of human nature, incurred by the Fall—maintained that human beings only become evil through the influence of bad example—and denied that Divine grace was necessary, either to enlighten the understanding, or to purify the heart.* It was to meet these pernicious notions, and others intimately connected with them, that Augustine came forth. By his learned and eloquent writings, he dissipated the heretical views of his antagonist. But, while doing so, he became the author of a fearful contest ;—a contest which has shaken Christianity to its centre, and which, in all probability, will last while the world endures. Owing to the enunciation of Augustine's apparent opinions, certain monks of the city of Adrumentum, and others, were led into the notion, that God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but, also, to the guilt, and transgression, for which they are punished. Thus, according to them, both the good and bad actions of all men were, by a Divine decree, determined from eternity, and fixed by an invincible necessity. Those who embraced these ideas were called Predestinarians. (Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 9).

Augustine,
Bishop of
Hippo, and
Pelagius.

The mischief being done, it was vain for Augustine

* On this subject, see Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 87. London. 1819.

to attempt to undo it. He denied that he had ever meant to promulgate such sentiments. He endeavoured to explain what his true opinions were. The efforts of Augustine were seconded by the two Councils of Arles and Lyons, in France, in which the doctrine in question was publicly rejected and condemned. But, notwithstanding this, the poison of Augustine's indiscretion lingered in the Christian Church. Long after he slept in his grave—in the ninth century of the Christian era—and while another controversy, concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the Lord's Supper, was going on, the controversy respecting Predestination, and grace, was revived by Godeschalcus, a Saxon monk of illustrious birth, who had entered the Church with an insatiable desire of sounding the deepest mysteries, and of being wise above what is written. (Mosheim, Vol. II, p. 344). From his day, the doctrine spread;—so much so, that, in his letters to Dr. Kippis, Dean Tucker, a dignitary of the Church of England, lays it down as an undoubted truth, that at the time just preceding the Reformation, the Church of Rome, in respect to Predestination, grace, freewill, and perseverance, was, notwithstanding her pretensions to infallibility, and to unvarying uniformity of doctrine, truly Calvinistical. At the Reformation, the doctrine which had taken root so deeply, and had spread so widely, was zealously adopted—attentively traced to its consequences—and carefully digested into a system, by Calvin, the Genevan Reformer, from whom it has since that time been denominated *Calvinism*.

Remarks on
Calvin's
doctrine.

The full development of the doctrine here referred to—what is meant by Calvinism—what is meant by Predestinarianism, or predestinarian doctrines—it is impossible for us fully to explain in this place. We may state them, however, in so far; and we shall do so in Calvin's own words.

Speaking of those whom he calls the reprobate, he says:—"Those, therefore, whom God created for the reproach of life, and the destruction of death—that they might be organs of his anger, and examples of his severity—that they may come to their end—he

sometimes deprives of the power of hearing his word, sometimes makes them more blind and stupid by the preaching of it." "Behold, he directs his voice to them, but it is that they may be made more deaf; he lights up a light, but it is that they may be made more blind; he proposes a doctrine, but it is that they may become more stupid by it; he applies a remedy, but it is that they may not be healed. Nor can this, also, be controverted," continues the founder of Presbyterianism, "that God delivers his doctrines involved in obscurities, to those whom he wishes not to be illuminated, that they may gain nothing from it, except the being delivered up to greater stupidity."—(*Inst. Lib. III. cap. 24, secs. 12 and 13*)

A full and lucid statement of the doctrine of Predestination, will be found in a valuable little work, pp. 40, 41, which we are sorry to say is now out of print, called, "The Difference stated betwixt the Presbyterian Establishment and the Episcopal Church of Scotland," by the Rev. James Milne of Banff. The true doctrine acknowledged by the Church of England, in her XVIIth article, on this subject, is to be found in the same work. We refer our readers, also, to a "Dissertation" on this article by Dr. Winchester, who has shewn that it was not drawn up agreeably to the sentiments of Calvin. Indeed, the anti-Calvinistic sense of the Thirty-nine Articles has been clearly proved by many able divines of the Church of England; more particularly by Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, in his Charge in 1803, on the doctrine of Universal Redemption.

We have already stated, that we acknowledge Calvin to have been a man of great intellect; and that Bishop Horsley has given his distinguished testimony to the fact. But no greatness of intellect—no extent of acquirement—can vindicate, or extenuate, the promulgation of a doctrine which is flagrantly subversive of two of the attributes of the Deity;—we mean, the justice, and the goodness, of God. Well might Wesley, in the plenitude of his indignation at the utterance of such a doctrine, on the subject of the future destiny of a large portion of the human

Wesley's
opinion
with regard
to it.

race, and on a supposition of its possible truth, break forth into the following splendid burst of eloquence with regard to it:—"How would the enemy of God and man rejoice! How would he cry aloud, and spare not! How would he lift up his voice, and say, 'To your tents, O Israel! Flee from the face of this God, or ye shall utterly perish.' But whither will ye flee? Unto heaven?—he is there. Unto hell?—he is there also. Ye cannot flee from an omnipotent Almighty tyrant. And whether ye flee or stay, I call heaven his throne, and earth his footstool, to witness against you, that ye shall perish—that ye shall die eternally! Sing, O hell, and rejoice ye that are under the earth! for God, even the mighty God hath spoken, and hath devoted to death millions of souls, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof. Here, O Death, is thy sting: they shall not, cannot escape, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Here, O Grave, is thy victory: nations yet unborn, or ever they have done good or evil, are doomed never to see the light of life; but thou shalt gnaw upon them for ever and ever. Let all those morning-stars sing together, who fell with Lucifer son of the morning! Let all the sons of hell shout for joy! for the decree is past, and who shall annul it?"—(Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Vol. I. p. 387).

The best apology that can be made for Calvin is, that his *Institutions* were written when he was only twenty-three years old; and it is a remarkable fact, that, in his after-writings, he made very little—if any—allusion to the doctrines, concerning the Divine decrees, which he had enunciated in the days of his youth. The system of Calvinism is a system whole, entire, and absolute in itself. If a single peg is taken out of it, the whole system falls to pieces. There can be no such thing as a moderate Calvinist. It may be noticed that Mosheim—a writer friendly to Calvin—describes him as "a man whose extensive genius, flowing eloquence, immense learning, extraordinary penetration, indefatigable industry, and fervent piety, placed him at the head of the [foreign] Reformers;—all of whom he

surpassed, at least, in learning and parts, as he also did the most of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence.”
—(Vol. IV. p. 90, *Note*).

It is a matter of very great doubt, whether those English divines, who compiled the Thirty-nine Articles, ever read the works of Calvin.

CHAPTER VII.

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England—The Thirty-nine Articles neither Calvinistic nor Arminian—Episcopacy and Presbyterianism—The form of Church-government, universally, for fifteen hundred years, Episcopal—Origin of Presbyterianism not to be found in primitive antiquity—The Reformers, originally, not opposed to Episcopacy—Knox and his opinions—Andrew Melville—John Durie—The Jesuits—Ignatius Loyola—Accession of Mary Queen of Scots—Parliament favourable to the Reformation—Cardinal Beaton's persecutions—Marriage of his daughter—Death of Wishart, and murder of Beaton—Beaton's character—Hamilton Primate—John Rough—John Knox—Taken prisoner to France—The Queen-Mother Regent—Continued licentiousness of the clergy—Adam Wallace—Controversy as to the Lord's Prayer being addressed to the Saints—Hamilton's Catechism—A third provincial Council at Linlithgow—Death of Edward the Sixth, of England—Accession of Mary, of England—Mary of Guise proclaimed Regent—Return of Knox to Scotland—Knox cited for heresy—Knox goes to Geneva—Erskine of Dun—The Congregation—Knox invited to return home—Walter Mill—The early Scottish Reformers not Presbyterians—Knox joins the Congregation at Perth—Knox's "face of a Church"—Paul Methven—Petition of the Lords of the Congregation—Outrages at Perth—Reformers "put to the horn"—The riots at Perth—Death of Mary of Guise.

Thirty-nine Articles of Church of England.

ALTHOUGH we are somewhat anticipating the course of events, yet, having mentioned the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in connection with Calvin's views, it may be as well to make a few remarks with respect to them.

Thirty-nine Articles neither Calvinistic nor Arminian.

For more than two centuries, the interpretation to be placed on certain of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England has been a bone of contention in the theological world. At the commencement of the Reformation, which, properly speaking, cannot be dated farther back than the reign of Edward the Sixth, forty-two Articles of Religion, after being compiled, and agreed upon, by the clergy in Convocation, were, in 1552, published by Royal authority, and continued in

1552.

force till they were repealed at the accession of Queen Mary. In 1562, under Elizabeth, thirty-nine, founded 1562. on these forty-two articles, were drawn up, and received the sanction of both houses of Convocation. These, slightly altered in 1571, constitute the present 1571. Articles of the English Church.

James Arminius, Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, "a man," says Mosheim, "who attracted the esteem, and applause, of his very enemies, by his acknowledged candour, penetration, and piety," died in 1609, "when the agitation of *his* doctrines was just beginning to involve his country in contention and discord."—(See Mosheim, Vol. V. pp. 439-441). And Calvin's doctrine was first agitated in 1562;—ten years after the compilation of the forty-two Articles, under King Edward the Sixth, and in the very year in which the Thirty-nine Articles were drawn up.

The chief points of discussion, between what are termed the Calvinistic and Arminian parties, are so well known, that it would be altogether a work of supererogation to detail them. In relation, however, to the disputes in existence towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, on the subject of religion, it will be necessary to remind the reader, that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were drawn up by men to whom, in their right acceptation, neither of the terms just mentioned could be applied. The martyrs, confessors, and others, to whose exertions the people of England are indebted for their emancipation from the worse than Egyptian bondage of the Bishop of Rome, took as their guide in the compilation of the Articles, the Holy Scriptures alone. Examining the Scriptures by the light which Christian antiquity afforded them, they were enabled, without regard to the dogmas of either Calvin or of his opponents, to present their countrymen with a series of theological statements, at once simple, perspicuous, and comprehensive. It should be kept in mind, however, that the Thirty-nine Articles are not to be regarded as a complete system of Faith. They must be taken, and interpreted, in connection with the Book of Common Prayer, in connection with the Homilies, and the acknowledged writings of those who drew them up.

They are, in point of fact, chiefly, a protest against the leading errors of the Church of Rome.

Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. In addition to what we have said in the Introductory Chapter, perhaps this is the proper place to introduce a few remarks, on the subject of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism ;—that is, on the subject of the Church, and the system which Calvin erected at Geneva, and which was, afterwards, introduced in Scotland by Andrew Melville.

By baptism—which is an institution of our Saviour—we are admitted into the visible spiritual Society called the Church ; thereby acquiring a stipulated right to certain privileges, to the guidance of the Holy Spirit here, and to the reward of eternal life hereafter. This Society, as a matter of course, requires a proper form of government, for the purpose of preserving order and peace among its members, and of facilitating the objects which it has in prospect.

Form of Church-government, universally, for 1500 years, Episcopal.

The commission given, by the Saviour, to his apostles, and the manner in which they, while rearing the framework of the church, acted upon it, sufficiently testify to the fact, that Episcopacy, by means of a lineal spiritual succession from themselves, was the form of government prescribed for, and settled in, the Church. Universally, without one single exception, from the days of the apostles to those of Calvin—in other words, throughout a period of upwards of fifteen hundred years—the government of the Church was Episcopal.*

Origin of Presbyterianism not to be found in primitive antiquity.

The origin, then, of Presbyterianism is not to be found in primitive antiquity. The time when Christianity was planted in Scotland, as has been already shewn, is uncertain. The rise, and the progress, of the corruptions in doctrine, and worship, which constitute Popery, it would require a subtle pen to investigate and trace. But there can be no difficulty, and it requires no subtilty of penmanship, to tell from what quarter came Presbyterianism ;—the introduction of which, perhaps—speaking in a general sense, and without any disparagement of the many

* See Archdeacon Sinclair's work on the *Apostolical Succession* ; Milne's *Difference Stated* ; and Well's *Controversial Letters*.

excellent persons who are to be found within its pale—was the greatest religious misfortune which ever befell the Scottish nation.

When the necessity for a reform of the Church, from the corruptions of Popery, began to be seen in Scotland, Episcopacy, in itself, was not considered, by any of the Reformers—whether abroad or at home—as a part of those corruptions. Calvin never spoke, nor wrote of it, otherwise than as of divine right; and, had their Bishop been wise enough to see that a reform was necessary, neither Calvin, nor any of the inhabitants of Geneva, would have ever dreamt of setting up the Presbyterian model. When the Duke of Savoy sent and demanded of them to forsake the reformed religion, to restore the images, to turn out the ministers, and to receive back the Bishops, they replied, that, “for their Bishop, he should be welcome, so that he would remember his name and place, and do the work of a Bishop according to the word of God: But, for the rest, they were to obey God rather than man, and that, as long as Geneva should remember she was free, and consecrated to God alone, it must not be expected that they would again set up any thing tending to superstition.”—(Skinner, Vol. I. p. 469).

It would appear—although the contrary has been confidently asserted—that Calvin was not in priest's orders. It would have been well, perhaps, that the Bishop—who was a worldly-minded man, bent on nothing but temporal riches, and the possession of temporal rank, and temporal power—had admitted him to that privilege. As it was, he *assumed* the priest's office; and, when installed, at Geneva, as a minister, even while he was denouncing the tyranny of Bishops, he became as great a tyrant as ever ruled with despotic power. He burnt Servetus, because he differed from him in religious opinion.

One of the principal causes of the introduction of Presbyterian parity, into Scotland, was the circumstance, that the Reformation was carried on, chiefly, by laymen. Presbyters, however, and also Bishops, concurred in it. The Congregation, as the Reforming party called themselves, when they petitioned the Convocation, did not

Reformers,
originally,
not opposed
to Episco-
pacy.

insist on the abolition of Episcopacy, but merely required, that the Bishops should be elected by the gentry of the diocese, and the priests with the consent of the parishioners.

Knox, and
his opin-
ions.

There cannot be a doubt, that the stern temper, the violent and seditious zeal, and the stubborn fanatical prejudices, of John Knox, tended, in a most powerful manner, to prevent the reformation of the Church in Scotland being conducted on sound principles. But even Knox, with all his extravagances of opinion, and all his irregularities of conduct, evinced no symptoms of hatred against Episcopacy. When, in 1560, the Reformation first acquired a national establishment, he advised, and sanctioned, the appointment of Superintendents, who, notwithstanding the democratic principles on which they were constituted, enjoyed the superiority, and executed the functions, of Bishops.

1560.

The word *Superintendent* means, precisely, what the word *Bishop* means,—an Overseer ;—in Greek, *Επισκοπος* ;—in Latin, *Episcopus*. The great objection to Knox's Superintendents was, that they were laymen, and not men Episcopally consecrated, by those having a right to consecrate them. They were no more real Bishops than is any layman in the Christian Church.

About ten months before Knox's death, and without any expression of disapprobation, on his part, the entire appearance of the Episcopal polity was restored, and the official names appropriated to the Episcopal order, were renewed, by an Assembly convened at Leith, in January 1572.

Jan. 1572.

About two years and a half after this—some twenty months after Knox's death—and fourteen years after the Reformation was first nationally established in Scotland, Andrew Melville, the real introducer of Presbyterianism into Scotland, appeared upon the stage. He was a Scotsman ; and had gone to Geneva, to pursue his studies. There he met with Beza, the colleague, and successor, of Calvin ; and from him he derived the principles, which were, in the course of time, to set Scotland in a flame. He landed there, in July 1574 ; and immediately, with the gloomy

Andrew
Melville.
July 1574.

austerity of the Puritanical form of religion which he had adopted—with the confident arrogance of the meddling demagogue—and with the satirical ill-nature of the snarling cynic—he commenced his attack upon Episcopacy.

From motives of prudence, however, or from the suggestions of timidity, he did not, at first, appear publicly to denounce Episcopacy. He found a tool in one of the ministers of Edinburgh, named John Durie, a well-intentioned, but weak and credulous man, who afterwards saw his error, and repented of his rashness, and whom he persuaded to declare, in an Assembly held at Edinburgh, on the 6th of August 1575, that there were reasons which he, and other brethren of his mind, had to propose against the office, and name, of Bishop. As had been previously arranged, Melville arose, and favoured the Assembly with a harangue, in support of the same views. (Milne's *Difference Stated*, pp. 12-17. See, also, Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Sage's *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*.)

John Durie.

Aug. 6th 1575.

While Papal grandeur, and Papal power, were being attacked, first by Luther, and then by Calvin, there arose, in Europe, a body of men, whose great object was the support of that grandeur, and power, and whose name has, since, become famous in all lands. These were the Jesuits. Their order derived its origin from Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard of a good family, who, about the year 1528, founded the order, and took its name from the sacred name of Jesus. He had been a soldier; and having been confined to his bed, from wounds which he received at the battle of Pampeluna, in 1521, he betook himself, by way of amusement, to reading the legendary lives of the Romish saints, and thus became an enthusiast in the Romish cause. (Skinner, Vol. I. p. 471).

Jesuits. 1528.

Ignatius Loyola.

Loyola at Rome, and Calvin at Geneva, were the two most powerful antagonists, with whom, in the sixteenth century, Primitive Episcopacy had to grapple.

We now resume the thread of our narrative, in connection with Scottish ecclesiastical and civil affairs, from the accession of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots.

Accession of Mary, Queen of Scots.

That James the Fifth—an able, liberal, and generous-hearted prince—died disgusted with the conduct both of the Bishops, and the temporal nobles, of his kingdom, more particularly with the conduct of the latter at Solway Frith, there can be little doubt. His last words, on his death-bed, we have already recorded. It may be profitable to mention, that, shortly before his death, he summoned some of the prelates before him, and thus addressed them:—"Pack you!—get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord betwixt my nobility and me, or else I vow I shall reform you; not as the king of Denmark doth, by imprisonment—neither yet as the king of England doth, by heading and hanging: but I shall reform you by sharp punishments, if ever I hear such motions again." When, drawing his dagger, he added, "I will stick you with this whinger," they left his presence in terror and dismay. It is more than probable, that, had James lived twenty years longer, a regular and orderly reformation of the doctrine, and discipline, of the Scottish Church, similar to that of the Church of England, would have taken place; that the government of the Church would have remained fixed upon its Apostolic foundation; and that the scenes which disgraced Scotland, in the eyes of foreign nations, through the destruction of our cathedrals, and other venerable monuments of antiquity, and the uprooting of everything which had the slightest claim to the character of sacred or divine, would never have occurred.

The speech of the exasperated monarch, to the prelates, was caused, in consequence of the Bishops and clergy having given in to him a paper, in which were contained the names of about 360 noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who were suspected of heresy, and with whose estates they suggested—for the king was poor—he might enrich himself.

The more we investigate the conduct, and character, of James the Fifth—although he was too light-hearted to be without blemishes—the more do we find his memory entitled to respect.

Before this monarch expired, he signed a will, which

it is said that Cardinal Beaton placed before him, when he was no longer able to exercise the faculty of reason. Knox goes the length of saying, that the Cardinal poisoned his sovereign ; but there seems not the slightest probability of the truth of this accusation. (See Balfour's *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 275). By this will, Beaton was appointed tutor to the young Queen, and governor of the realm.

Although it was proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, it was, by the nobles, set aside ; and the Earl of Arran, who was nearest in blood to the crown, was declared Regent. Arran was a weak man ; and, after having professed Reforming principles, openly and publicly, at Stirling, renounced them. (Keith, Book I. ch. 2, 3). Sept. 1543.

As far as Parliament was concerned, it was favourable to the reform of Church abuses. But the Regent's apostasy led to a state of things very different from what would, otherwise, have been expected. Cardinal Beaton had, illegally and arbitrarily, been arrested, and confined in Blackness Castle. He was now released ; and his first steps were against the proceedings, and the persons, of the Reformers. Parliament favourable to Reformation.

Henry, of England, had frequently written to the Regent, urging him to reform—that is, to plunder—the Church, and to extirpate the religious orders. An act of parliament had passed, authorizing the use of the Old and New Testaments in the vulgar tongue. Nevertheless, the Regent's alliance with the Cardinal led to results of the most disastrous kind. 1544.

The Cardinal, accompanied by the Regent, and others, immediately went on a tour, to Perth, and throughout Angus ; where, on the most frivolous pretences, he put to death—or, rather, murdered—six persons, male and female, on the ground of what he chose to call heresy. 1545. Cardinal Beaton's persecution.

It was on this excursion, that, with great magnificence, he married his daughter—whether legitimate, or illegitimate, has not been determined—at Finhaven Castle, near Forfar, to the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford. The name of the young lady's mother was Marion Ogilvy, a daughter of the family of Airlie. It is asserted, by some, that she was the wife of the Cardinal before he

was in holy orders. At Melgund Castle, in the neighbourhood of Forfar, where Marion Ogilvy is said to have resided, there are still to be seen, above one of the landing-places of a staircase of the ruined edifice, in basso-relievo, the two letters M. O.

It will scarcely be believed, that, so great was the ignorance prevalent, in Scotland, at this time, that "even the priests did think the New Testament was composed by Martin Luther, and the Old to be the only scripture that men ought to read."—(Spottiswood).

1546.

Death of
Wishart,
and murder
of Beaton.

It was impossible that such proceedings, on the part of Cardinal Beaton, should do otherwise than produce their natural result. They did so. He sowed the wind: he reaped the whirlwind. Having arrested, and publicly burnt, at St. Andrews, George Wishart, a member of the family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, and a Reforming preacher, though not in orders,* he was, himself, in return for it, murdered in the Castle of St. Andrews, by parties who were determined that the blood of Wishart should not go unrevenged.

Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, has clearly proved that Knox was privy to this murder; and, in the earlier editions of Knox's *History of the Reformation*, in reference to Melville of Carnbee's addressing the Cardinal, and then running him through the body, the following words appeared as a marginal note:—"The godly words, and deed, of James Melville." At the time of his murder, Beaton was in his fifty-second year. The portraits, which we possess of him, display one of the most beautiful intellectual countenances we ever beheld. There is one taken from an original painting, in Stephen's *History*, Vol. I. opposite to page 32.

Knox's remarks, on the subject of the Cardinal's murder, are characterized by the grossest levity and buffoonery.

Beaton was undoubtedly a man of great intellect and of the profoundest sagacity; and, as a statesman, there

* Wishart acted on the belief that every Christian is raised to the priesthood; and, in proof of this, he, before his judges, quoted the words of the Apostle, "he hath made us kings, and priests, unto God." Some, however, are of opinion that Wishart actually was in holy orders. (Russell, Vol. I. pp. 158, 159. See *Notes*).

was no man, of the age in which he lived, and of the country to which he belonged, who had the slightest claim to be termed his equal. He was the last who held the rank of Cardinal in Scotland ; and with him fell the last prop of the Papacy there. Had he been free from the scandalous vices of the churchmen of his age, he would justly have been considered one of the most illustrious of her sons.

Beaton's
character.

It is somewhat remarkable, that he and Cardinal Wolsey, of England—each the most distinguished churchman, in the same age, of the country to which he belonged—should have been fond of living in a style of princely magnificence.

Beaton was succeeded in the Primacy, as Archbishop of St. Andrews, by John Hamilton, the illegitimate brother of the Regent.

Hamilton
Primate.

Another Reforming preacher, undeterred by Wishart's cruel fate, was John Rough. He joined the murderers, in the Castle of St. Andrews, and endeavoured to reform their personal manners ; but their conduct was so characterized by riot and debauchery, that he soon left them. Rough was afterwards martyred in England. It may be noticed, that like all the early reformers, he approved of set forms of prayer ; and was an admirer of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Calvin had not yet been much talked of in Scotland. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 29-30).

John
Rough.
1547.

Now appears, for the first time, on the public stage, John Knox ; a man whose name, in relation to the Scottish Reformation from Popery, is connected with much that is noble, while, at the same time, nothing but the blindest and most indiscriminating partisanship can protect his memory from charges which sully his world-wide fame, and which justly stamp his character as that of one whose fierce and fiery passions—whose headstrong will—and whose love of despotic spiritual power—burned as strongly within him as ever did the same feelings within the breast of a Hildebrand, or of any other occupant of the Papal throne. In order to supply Rough's place, Knox entered the Castle of St. Andrews, and became chaplain to the profligate garrison. Knox had been educated at the University

John Knox.

of St. Andrews, under John Major, the historian ; and, subsequently, became a private tutor, in some Reforming families. He was, at this time, in his forty-second year. In addition to being chaplain to the graceless band in the castle, he assumed the office of parish minister of St. Andrews, and preached his first sermon, in the parish church, from a text in Daniel (vii. 24, 25), in which, as a matter of course, he directed all the thunders of his eloquence against the Church of Rome. His style of preaching is familiar to all who have read of Scottish history ; and from it may be said to have been derived the style still used by some preachers among the Scottish Presbyterians. It was little the style of one who acts on the principles of the meek and holy Jesus ;—who wishes to win souls to Christ ;—who desires to keep in remembrance the words of St. Paul : “ Therefore, knowing the terrors of the Lord, we *persuade* men.” It was violent, and extravagant in the extreme ; and the expression, “ He dad the pu’pit a’ to blads”—that is, he knocked the pulpit all in pieces—was no metaphor, as far as Knox was concerned. He never attempted to “ persuade ” any one. His preaching was, generally speaking, full, not of the love and grace of God, and of that of his Son Jesus Christ, but of hell and damnation ; and his gesticulations—which are imitated by some of his successors in Scotland to the present day—are so notorious, that they form one of the most vivid pictures which the pencil of Wilkie ever drew.

For some account of this style of preaching, we refer the reader to that curious pamphlet, called the *Blacksmith’s Letter*, published upwards of one hundred years ago, and a reprint of which appeared, in Edinburgh, somewhere about the year 1825.

The following lines of Burns, in one of the most extraordinary performances which ever came from his lyre, are so graphic, that they present, to the mind’s eye, the style of which we speak to the life :—

Hear how he clears the points o’ faith,
 Wi’ rattlin’ an’ wi’ thumpin’ !
 Now meekly calm, now wild in wrath,
 He’s stampin’ an’ he’s jumpin’ !

Knox's connection with the licentious crew in the Castle of St. Andrews did not last long. The death of Henry VIII. of England dissipated their hopes of further aid from that quarter; and a French fleet soon compelled them to surrender as prisoners. Along with the garrison, Knox was carried to France; where he was sent to the galleys, and loaded with irons. There he remained for some years. (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 42).

Taken prisoner to France.

1548.

In this year, the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, induced the Earl of Arran to resign the Regency, in her favour; and she, also, accomplished her anxious desire to have the young Queen, Mary, sent to France, to be educated, and, eventually, with the consent of Parliament, to be married to the Dauphin. Queen Mary landed in France, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, and by Lady Fleming, and her four Maids of Honour, named Mary,—Livingstone, Fleming, Seton, and Beton. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 37).

The Queen-mother Regent.

The licentiousness of the clergy came, again, prominently into view. Archbishop Hamilton summoned a provincial Council to meet at Linlithgow; from which he adjourned it to Edinburgh. At this Council, the severest enactments were made, against such churchmen as persisted in leading vicious and immoral lives. They were declared to be liable to suspension; and, in the event of their persevering in evil courses, they were to be subject to deprivation of their benefices altogether. For this state of matters, the Scottish Church was indebted to that "doctrine of devils" of the Papal system, "forbidding to marry," and thus separating the clergy from all the blessed ties of domestic life; and the example of immorality, set by the clergy of that period, as well as of preceding ages, is, certainly, one reason why the vice of unchastity is still a vice so generally prevalent in Scotland—and, we may add, so generally considered one of a very venial kind.

1549.

Continued licentiousness of the clergy.

Again the blood-hounds of persecution went forth; and again the cry of innocent blood arose to heaven. By the command of Archbishop Hamilton, a poor old man, of pious life, and good repute, named Adam

Adam
Wallace.
1551.

Wallace, who was tutor in the family of Ormiston, where Wishart was taken, and where Knox had frequently visited, was arrested—tried for heresy, before the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice-General of the kingdom, and the Archbishop—convicted—and burnt on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. (Spottiswood, p. 90).

Contro-
versy as to
Lord's
Prayer
being ad-
dressed to
saints.

At this time, broke out an absurd controversy, as to whether the Lord's Prayer might be addressed to the saints. This controversy assumed a most ridiculous and sarcastic form. A Friar Tottis, in consequence of his preaching in the affirmative of the question, was hooted at, by the boys, on the streets of St. Andrews, as "Friar Paternoster," and had to leave the city; and Archbishop Spottiswood gives the following account of the general feeling among the laity, on the subject. The Sub-Prior of St. Andrews, being asked what the frequent meetings, and conferences, of the clergy were about, replied: "Tom, we cannot agree to whom the Paternoster should be said." "Sir," said Tom, "to whom should it be said, but unto God?" "But," said the Sub-Prior, "what shall we do with the saints, man?" "Give them *aves* and *credos* enow, in the devil's name!" says Tom, "for that may suffice them." Tom's opinion was, by the mass of the community, considered a correct one. (Spottiswood, pp. 91, 92). Keith calls this "the merry story concerning the Paternoster."—(P. 63).

Hamilton's
Catechism.
1552.

At a second provincial Council, the publication of a Catechism, in the mother-tongue, containing an explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, was authorized to be published. The composition of this Catechism is usually ascribed to Archbishop Hamilton; and a portion of it was ordered to be read in church, when there was no sermon. It is judiciously written; and would do honour to any writer of the present day. It consists of 410 pages, small 4to, and was printed in black-letter. It was published at St. Andrews, on the 29th of August 1552, by command of the Council, and at the Archbishop's expense. "The preface," says Bishop Keith, "bears the Archbishop's name."

The Catechism was sold for twopence Scots; and,

therefore, in derision, was called, by many, "the two-penny faith." The author of it most properly shews his wisdom, and moderation, by taking care not to enter upon controverted points ; and for this Dr. M'Crie, in a note to his *Life of Knox*, with his usual bigotry, and want of charity, blames him.*

A third provincial Council was held at Linlithgow ; Council at Linlithgow when the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent, which changed the whole appearance of the Church of Rome, were received, as binding, on the Church in Scotland, in so far as that Church was in communion with the Romish see. (Keith, B. I. ch. vi. 63). For an account of the Council of Trent, see Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 40-44.

The death of Edward the Sixth, of England, while yet a boy, was what has been termed "a heavy blow, and great discouragement,"† to the Reformation, both in England and in Scotland. The Reformation of the Church, as far as England was concerned, had begun in the reign of Edward, and not, as is usually supposed, in that of his father Henry. Henry, for his own purposes, had thrown off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome ; but Edward—although a mere stripling—acting from the purest motives, and guided by those whose opinions he considered entitled to deference and respect, had proceeded to a real reformation of the doctrines, which the Popes of Rome had thrust upon the branch of the Catholic Church in England.

1553.
Death of
Edward
VI. of Eng
land.
July.

In Edward the Sixth's reign, a committee of Bishops, and other divines, was appointed, by the English Convocation, to examine, and reform, the offices of the Church. This appointment took place in 1548 ; and the committee compiled, and set forth, a new office, which still goes by the name of the First Liturgy of Edward the Sixth. It was next ratified, as part of the law of the realm, by parliament. In a year or two after, this Liturgy was revised ; and, at the desire of some foreign divines—such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and

* It is melancholy to think, that, on good grounds, Archbishop Hamilton is believed to have been privy to the death of Darnley.

† Lord Melbourne, in reference to the Church in Ireland.

others, whom Archbishop Cranmer had invited over—alterations were made in some material articles, especially in what related to the administration of the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. With these alterations, the Second Liturgy was published ; and this is now, in substance, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England of the present day. Whether the alterations improved it, has been doubted. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 50).

Accession
of Mary of
England.

On the death of Edward, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Arragon, ascended the English throne. The accession of this princess had a baneful effect upon the Reformation in Scotland. The English Mary was wholly devoted to the Popish interest ; and, therefore, her influence tended, not only to check ecclesiastical reformation in England, but, also, to retard its progress in the Scottish Church.

1554.
April.
Mary of
Guise pro-
claimed
Regent.

By a commission from her young daughter, the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, or, as she is sometimes called, Mary of Lorraine, was solemnly proclaimed Regent ; while, to reconcile the Earl of Arran to his loss of the dignity, the latter was, by the king of France, created Duke of Chatelherault, a title which now belongs to the Duke of Hamilton.

The bigotry of the English Mary, and the persecuting tyranny of her Popish Bishops, drove many preachers of the Reformed doctrines into Scotland. Among these, were Willock, and Harlow, or Harley, who were Scotchmen, and who had fled into England from the wrath of the Scoto-Popish prelates. (Keith, p. 64). From Mary of England's dominions, however, many retired to Switzerland ; where they imbibed the doctrines of Calvin.

1555.
Return of
Knox to
Scotland.

Knox now returned to Scotland. Eight years in exile, conjoined with working, while in France, in chains at the oar, in the galleys, had not quenched his fiery zeal ; and, although he was indebted, for his release from French bondage, to Mary of Guise, no sooner had his feet touched his native soil, than he commenced open attacks upon her, and upon the mode of religion which she acknowledged, in the bitterest terms. The latter he declared to be idolatrous, and the practisers of it idolaters ; and, as he chose, instead of confining himself to the mild and merciful Christian dispensation, to

fall back upon the Levitical law, he boldly declared that such idolaters should be put to death.

A standing text with Knox, and, indeed, with all the immediate disciples of Calvin, was that injunction in the 13th chapter of Deuteronomy against participating in the idolatry of the Gentile nations. "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, &c., thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him, neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare him, neither shalt thou conceal him, but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death. Thou shalt stone him with stones that he die." "Such, therefore," concludes Knox, "as solicit only to idolatrie—that is, to Popery—ought to be punished with death, without favour or respect of persons. The punishment of such crimes as idolatrie, blasphemy, and others, that touch the majesty of God, doth not pertain to kings or chief rulers only, but to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the same, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that possibility and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done against his glory."—"To the same law, I say, and covenant, are the Gentiles no less bound than were the Jews; whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, or people, and putteth the sword in their own hand, to remove such enormities, from amongst them, as, before God, they know to be abominable."—(Russell's edition of Keith's *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, Appendix*, pp. 486, 487). If Knox does not, here, advocate the doctrine of assassination, we profess not to know what assassination is.

When such doctrines were, in the sixteenth century, publicly promulgated, by the leading Scottish Reformer of the age, who can wonder that, in the seventeenth century, Mitchell was put to death for an attempt upon Archbishop Sharp's life, or that, afterwards, Archbishop Sharp should have fallen a victim to assassins on Magus Muir?

Those who set up the plea of "necessity" for Knox's

language, and conduct, entirely forget—or choose to ignore—the circumstance, that this was the plea on which Cardinal Beaton burnt Wishart ; and on which tyrants, in all ages, have endeavoured to justify the prostration of the human intellect before physical force.

1556.
Knox cited
for heresy.

So influential in Scotland became Knox's denunciations against Popery, that, in the year 1556, a formal separation from the Church there took place. Knox was publicly cited by the clergy for heresy ; but the appearance in court of the nobles, and lesser Barons, who had adopted his doctrines, and his cause, so overawed his judges, that his trial was adjourned *sine die*. He went forth, again, on what he considered his mission ; and his style of preaching, so far from being ameliorated, or softened down, by his arraignment for heresy, only acquired more force and power.

We know no language, in addition to what we have already quoted from Burns, better calculated to illustrate the style of Knox's preaching, than the lines of the late Carolina, Baroness Nairn :—

He's a terrible man, John Tod, John Tod,
He's a terrible man, John Tod ;
He scolds in the house,
He scolds at the door,
He scolds on the vera hie rod, John Tod,
He scolds on the vera hie road.

Wherever Knox was—whether in the pulpit, in an assembly, in his sovereign's presence, or in his writings—his great characteristic was that of scolding. Even a youthful, an elegant, and a gifted Queen—his own sovereign—melted into tears at the brutal severity of his language, could not induce him to abandon this habit.

Knox goes
to Geneva.

Actuated, apparently, by a restless and roving disposition, Knox went, at this time, to Geneva ; where he became pastor of a congregation. In his absence, he was, by the Popish clergy, arraigned, and burnt in effigy, as a heretic ; in reply to which proceedings he published a spirited defence, entitled the "Appellation of John Knox from the most cruel, and unjust Sen-

tence, pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and clergy of Scotland.”—(Keith, Book I., ch. vi., p. 64).

Before leaving Scotland, he had been on a visit to his friend, John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, near Montrose; an excellent man, and, afterwards, one of Knox's Superintendents, or titular Bishops. He was a patron of literature; and, if he erred in his opinions, he erred from the purest motives.

Erskine of
Dun.

We may here be excused for a short digression for the purpose of noticing that the term *Laird* is one peculiar to Scotland. It is synonymous with that of the “lesser Barons.” The lairds, or lesser Barons, sat in Parliament, in virtue of their being feudatories of the crown; holding their lands under the crown, on certain conditions—these conditions being, often, services of the most trifling nature. In illustration of what we mention, we may state, that the Laird of Lower in Forfarshire, holds his lands on condition of his supplying *peats*, or turf, to the sovereign of Scotland's fire, whenever he, or she, may choose to visit Forfar.

When William Pitt was prime minister of Great Britain, and hard pressed for want of money, to carry on the war with France, he attempted to negotiate with the lairds of Scotland, in order to induce them to pay money in lieu of the fulfilment of the duties prescribed by their charters. It is hardly necessary to say, that his attempt was ineffectual.

The parliament of Scotland, unlike that of England, sat in one hall;—the hall whose oaken rafters are still visible—which heard the sentence of death passed on the great Montrose—from which the gallant Dundee marched to fight the battle of Killiecrankie—and in which the supreme depositories, in Scotland, of legal lore yet exhibit themselves in the costume of legal array.

The Scottish parliament consisted of the greater Barons, the Bishops and mitred Abbots, the lesser Barons, or lairds—and the burgesses, or representatives of the people at large.

The Scottish Reformers now banded themselves

The Con-
gregation.

into a body, styled the Congregation, the leading men of which called themselves the Lords of the Congregation. The Church, in Scotland, they were pleased—because of its Popish corruptions—to designate the Congregation of Satan. Shortly afterwards, we find them dropping this appellation, and calling themselves, as a better translation of the Greek word *Ecclesia*, the *Kirk*, or the *Church*.*

Knox in-
vited to re-
turn home.

Knox was, at this time, invited to return to Scotland; and, not long afterwards, he obeyed the call. In fact, he appears to have been a man who could not rest long in one place. Thus, we soon find him, again, in his native land, with—as Clarendon said of Hampden—“a head to contrive, and a hand to execute, any mischief.”

Walter
Mill.
1558.

The last victim of Popish zeal, in Scotland, was Walter Mill, an old man of eighty-two years of age, in priest's orders, who was tried for heresy, and sentenced, by Archbishop Hamilton, to be burnt, in front of the main gate of the Priory, at St. Andrews. He perished on the 28th of April 1558; the spectacle of his murder exciting the utmost indignation. The Archbishop could find no civil judge to pronounce sentence against this venerable martyr. He, therefore, caused one of his own domestics to do so. Nor would any one furnish a rope to bind him to the stake, and they had to use those of the Archbishop's pavilion. (Spotiswood, Book III.).

The execution of Walter Mill was the death-blow of Popery on the north side of the Tweed.

Early Scot-
tish Reform-
ers not
Presbyte-
rians.

In this reign, the “Lords of the Congregation” ordered the First Liturgy of Edward the Sixth to be used. That the early Scottish Reformers were not Presbyterians, or hostile to Episcopacy, we know from this fact; and from the circumstance, that they were most anxious to fraternise with the Reforming party in the Church of England.

Knox now joined the Congregation at Perth; and

* The word *Congregation* is used, in the 19th of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as synonymous with *Church*. This style of language was that of the times.

then began that destruction of cathedrals, monasteries, and churches, which, in other countries, has caused the Scottish people to be regarded as emulators of the Goths, and the Vandals, who, under Alaric, sacked ancient Rome, and avowed themselves, in every possible way, to be the enemies of science, literature, and art.

Knox joins the Congregation at Perth.

That Knox, himself, did not consider the ecclesiastical system of which he was the originator, to be a real *Church*, is clearly apparent from his own words, in his History:—"And this, our weak beginning, God did so bless, that, within a few months, the hearts of many were so strengthened, that we sought to have the *face*"—in other words, the appearance—"of a *Church* among us." In the very same paragraph, he says, "*we had NA PUBLIC MINISTERS of the word;*" and, again, he speaks of having sent a person to Dundee, "to erect *the face of a Church reformed*" there.

Knox's "face of a Church."

This portion of Knox's History is well worthy the reader's attention. (See p. 194). He distinctly declares, that neither himself, nor his brother-preachers, were "ministers of the word" of God.

The person whom Knox sent to Dundee to erect "the face of a Church" in that town, was Paul Methven; not only a mere layman, but an individual of the most immoral habits, as appears from Knox's own words: "Shortly after, God stirred up *his servant Paul Methven* (his latter fall, namely adultery, of which he was twice convicted, and deposed, ought not to deface the work of God in him), who, in boldness of spirit, began openly to preach Christ Jesus, in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife."—(*Hist.* p. 194). Such were the instruments of Knox's Reformation in Scotland. The immorality of the Bishops, and clergy, was to be reformed by Paul Methven; an illiterate baker, who, after he had undertaken what was called "the preaching of the word," had been convicted only "twice" of the sin of adultery! Notwithstanding his addiction to this sin, we have Knox's authority that "the work of God" was still "in him," and that he was a fit and proper person "to preach Christ Jesus." With ideas such as these, enunciated from

Paul Methven. !

such a quarter, we need hardly wonder that Scotland, even in the present day, enjoys an unenviable pre-eminence as regards her habitual breaches of the seventh Commandment.

Petition of
Lords of
the Congre-
gation.

During this year, the Lords of the Congregation petitioned the Queen-regent, among other things, to the following effect:—"that they might be permitted to 'meet,' publicly, or privately, *to our common prayers* in our vulgar tongue;"—"that the holy sacrament of Baptism may be used in the vulgar tongue; in order that the *Godfathers*, and witnesses, may not only understand the points of the league, and contract, made betwixt them and the infant, but, also, that the church, there assembled, more gravely may be informed, and instructed, of their duties, which, at all times, they owe to God, according to that promise made unto him, when *they were received into his household by the laver of Regeneration*;" "that the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or of *his blessed body and blood*, may, likewise, be ministered unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus; and that they desired a Reformation of the Church on the grounds of "the rules, and precepts, of the New Testament, and on *the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly and approved laws of Justinian the Emperor*." They prayed farther, "that the *grave and godly face of the primitive Church* may be restored;—that "ignorance may be expelled;" and that "true doctrine, and good manners, may once again appear in the Church of this realm."

As the Queen-regent gave an evasive reply to this petition, the Lords of the Congregation declared, that they did not mean to invade the ecclesiastical power, but, merely, to act according to their own knowledge, and means, for the reformation of personal religion, till such time as "the *sacred authority*"—meaning, the Bishops and clergy—"shall please to give us audience. And, lastly," they added, "we protest, that these our requests, proceeding from conscience, *do tend to no other end but only to the reformation of abuses in religion*; most humbly beseeching the *sacred authority* to think of us as *faithful and obedient subjects*, and

take us in their protection, keeping that indifference that becometh *God's lieutenants* to use towards those that, in his name, do call for defence against cruel oppressors, and blood-thirsty tyrants.”—(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 70). The language of this declaration certainly does not betray, on the part of the Lords of the Congregation, any want of sound Church principles; and we may here state a few inferences, which are plainly deducible from their Petition to the Queen-regent.

1. The language employed in it shews, that the early Scottish Reformers did not intend to discard the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration;—a doctrine which was the doctrine of our Saviour, as laid down in his conversation with Nicodemus;—which was the doctrine of St. Paul, and the other apostles;—and which is, to this day, the doctrine of the Church in England, as well as of the Church in the northern part of Britain.

The difference between Regeneration and Conversion of heart we have already pointed out. Pity it is, that such difference should not be, throughout the mass of the laity, thoroughly understood!—Were it so, Great Britain would—at least on religious subjects—bid fair to be relieved of the reproach with which Bossuet saddled it, when he said:—“That Island, as tempestuous as the ocean which surrounds it.”

2. Those who charge the Scottish Church, of the present day, with Popery, may as well charge Knox, and the Lords of the Congregation with it on account of the language employed in their petition. By the Church in England—by the Church in Scotland—and even by the Presbyterian Establishment in the latter country, the elements of bread and wine administered at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are invariably termed “the body and blood of Christ.”

3. If the language of the petition be considered, who will affirm, that Knox, and the Lords of the Congregation, were hostile to Episcopacy?

“The Word of God, the practice of the Apostles, and the sincerity of the Primitive Church”—as they expressed it in 1560—was the text by which Knox, and the Lords of the Congregation, desired to be proved.

And this very nearly corresponds with that golden rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*—that is, “universality, antiquity, and unanimous consent”—which, in a search after Christian truth, is, undoubtedly, the rule that ought to be adhered to.

Knox arrived, from France, at Leith, on the 2d of May. After remaining, in Edinburgh, two days, he went on to Dundee; and, thence, hurried—to use Bishop Keith’s expression “in the *nick of time*”—to Perth, where the multitude were perfectly prepared for an outbreak.

Previous to his leaving France, he had, on the 10th of April 1559, from Dieppe, addressed his famous letter to Elizabeth of England, endeavouring to soften, and palliate, the doctrines of his book against the “Monstrous regimen”—government—“of women.” This book was published when the Popish Queen Mary reigned; and, now, it became the convenient cue of the versatile Knox, on the principles of a man of the world, to conciliate the Reforming “glorious Queen Bess.” We may add, that, in his attempt, he was not altogether successful.

1559. His presence at Perth was the signal for riot and
 Outrages at outrage. The Queen-regent—Mary of Guise—had been
 Perth. acting a somewhat double part. She had no confidence
 in the Reformers; and they had as little in her. She
 Reformers “put them to the horn,”* according to the technicality
 “put to of Scottish law; that is, denounced them as rebels.
 the horn.” They were not slow to return the defiance; and,
 accordingly, we find Knox “inciting the people” to
 opposition to the united Papal and supreme civil
 authority; and urging them to the abolition of the
 Pope’s authority, and the pulling down of monasteries,
 and religious houses, which, by him, were called “the
 nests, and craigs, of unclean birds.” (Balfour’s *Annals*,
 p. 314).

* Formerly, when in Scotland, a man was declared a rebel, he was “put to the horn;”—that is, he was summoned, by three blasts of a trumpet, at the Cross of Edinburgh, to appear, and answer for his treason. If he was “furth” of Scotland, he was, in addition to his being so summoned, “put to the horn” at the pier of Leith.

Before the outbreak at Perth, Mr Erskine of Dun had told the people, who adhered to the Reforming opinions, that, as they had now been declared rebels, they had no alternative but to submit, unconditionally, to the Regent, or to draw the sword in defence of their lives, liberty, and religion.

On the 11th of May, Knox, surrounded by the May 11th.
Riots at
Perth. Lords of the Congregation, and by an excited populace, took possession of the noble church of St. John, in Perth; and delivered a sermon, or address, which, but for the deplorable results which followed it, might have been reckoned sublime. He denounced Papal superstition, and Papal doctrines, and Papal modes of worship, in every shape, and in every form. At the close of the declamatory oration, a foolish priest attempted to exhibit some images of saints to the audience. On the occurrence of this, a boy exclaimed, "Shall we stand by, and see idolatry practised in defiance of God's word?" The priest struck the boy and, immediately an uproar ensued. The splendid furniture of the church was destroyed: the enthusiasm of sacrilege spread from the rabble within to the rabble without: and, in a short time, the towers and minarets, of the monasteries of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Carmelites, which rose proudly within the precincts of the "Fair City,"* as well as those of the Charter House, founded by James the First, in 1429 and which was more like the palace of a sovereign prince than the residence of mendicant Friars, were

* The "Fair City" is a term which has been long applied to Perth. Formerly, it was called, in reference to its patron Saint, "St. Johnston." A Scottish minstrel, describing it, says:—

Bonnie St. Johnston stands upon Tay.

When the Romans, in the course of their career of conquest in Britain, reached the top of the hill which overhangs Perth, they were so enraptured by the scene of grandeur which lay below them, and by the beauty of the flowing waters of the Tay, that—as if giving vent to the feelings of their pent-up hearts—they exclaimed:—"Ecce Tiber:" Behold the Tiber!—Long will it be, ere the Tiber presents such a scene of united majesty and beauty, as meets the eye when it first rests on the domain which surrounds Perth, whether it is called the "Fair City" or "Bonnie St. Johnston."

objects of their fury. In a few hours, all that was beautiful, and costly, within the ecclesiastical architectural edifices of Perth, was a scene of desolation and ruin. (Spottiswood, Book III.).

Knox attempts to dislodge, from his own shoulders, the infamy of these sacrilegious riots ; but his attempt is an utter failure. He asserts that they were perpetrated, not by "gentlemen," or by those whom he chooses to term "earnest professors," but by the "rascal multitude." Knox forgets that this "rascal multitude" was composed of "earnest professors ;" and that he, himself, had counselled them to "harry the nests," and that, then, "the rooks would all fly away." For the information of our southern readers, it may be noticed that the word "harry" means to rob, or plunder. In Scotland, boys are said to "harry" birds' nests when they rob them either of their eggs or of their young.

The Queen-regent was, naturally, exasperated by these proceedings ; and some of the leading Reformers, indignant at them, joined her. Nevertheless, the Reformers, headed by the Earl of Glencairn, sent an address to the Regent, in which they not only justified the late outburst of "pious resentment" at Perth, but drew a line of distinction between authority and the persons of those who were invested with that authority.*

The work of destruction went on. From Perth, Knox moved upon Scoone, Cambuskenneth, Stirling, Cupar in Fife, St. Andrews, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh ; where the finest specimens of Ecclesiastical architecture, which Scotland could boast, were levelled with the dust. The priests were expelled from their habitations ; and the inhabitants of the religious houses were turned out, beggars, upon the world. For all this, the powerful voice of John Knox was

* The distinction was, afterwards, improved upon, when, during the Great Rebellion, the Puritans—we cannot call them the Parliament, for, separate and apart from the King, even the three Estates of the Realm, much less the House of Commons alone, are not so—affected to fight for the King against Charles Stuart. The doctrine, here laid down, is, generally, that which is known under the name of *Jesuitism*.

answerable ; and for all this the weight of the curse of posterity lies heavy on his grave. From the commencement to the conclusion of these proceedings, only seven weeks elapsed.

The year 1559 was signalised by the death of the Queen-regent, commonly known as Mary of Guise, or Mary of Lorraine. She died in Edinburgh Castle ; worn out with anxiety, and with the harassment of mind which Knox, and the Lords of the Congregation, had inflicted upon her. Camden says :—"She was a pious and wise princess." Knox's language, towards her, seems—as Bishop Keith remarks—to have been that of "neither a gentleman nor a divine." Her conduct, on her death-bed, was exemplary in the last degree.

Death of
Mary of
Guise.

CHAPTER VIII.

Knox's "devout imagination"—The Lords of the Articles—Reformation of doctrine—Popery abolished, and Confession of Faith enacted—Settlement of the government, and discipline, of the Scottish Church—The First Book of Discipline—Superintendents, Ministers, and Readers, appointed—Erskine of Dun appointed Superintendent of Angus—Erskine declares a Bishop, and Superintendent, to be one and the same—Opinion of Dr. Cook—Additional destruction of churches, and monasteries—Indignation of Queen Mary—Knox and Calvin's love of tyrannical supreme power—Confession of Faith—Vice and immorality in Scotland—Beza—Synod of Dort—Salmasius—Durell, and Blondel—Knox's opinions as to Episcopacy—Arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland—Violence of the Reformers—Knox's insolence towards the Queen—General violence of his demeanour—The nobles alarmed—Knox's exasperation, on the subject of Church property—Unusual depravity of the Scottish people—Habits of the Queen at the Council-board.

1560.
Knox's
"devout
imagina-
tion."

Lords of the
Articles.

As in the case of Cardinal Beaton, the death of Mary of Guise was a severe stroke to the Scoto-Romish faith. Protestantism—as it continued to be named—was now in the ascendant; and, as far as religious opinions were concerned, Knox found himself regarded in the light of a triumphant hero. When, however, in a petition, which was presented to the Lords of the Articles, he, along with others, including barons, gentlemen, and burgesses, demanded that the Church patrimony should be devoted to "the sustentation of the ministry, the provision of schools, and the entertainment of the poor, of a long time neglected," this demand was ridiculed as "a devout imagination."

It may here be noticed that one of the most important materials, in the constitution of a Scottish Parliament, consisted of the Lords of the Articles. It was necessary that each measure, of whatever nature, should meet with their approbation, before it could be introduced for regular discussion among the Three Estates of the Realm.

On this occasion, the Romish prelates were excluded from the number. In their stead, Protestant dignitaries were selected. These were, the Bishops of Galloway and Argyle; the Priors of St. Andrews, Coldingham, and St. Mary's Isle; the Superior, or Sub-prior, of St. Andrews; and the Abbots of Lindores, Culross, St. Colm's Inch, Newbattle, and Holyrood;—no fewer than eleven churchmen, of the highest rank, who, in the language of Knox, "had renounced *Papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ WITH US.*" Their selection was, as a matter of course, protested against by the Romish prelates. The latter accused them of direct apostasy; "they having," says Spottiswood, "*openly renounced Popery, and joined themselves to the professors of the truth.*" We may remark, that the simple circumstance of eleven Protestant prelates considering the Scottish Reformers as "*professors of the truth,*" is, of itself, sufficient proof that the Congregation—as they called themselves—had not, hitherto, abjured the Divine right of Episcopacy.

What the "barons, gentlemen, and burgesses," through the Lords of the Articles, demanded was, that *the doctrine of the Romish Church should be condemned*;—that *the true discipline of the ancient Church should be restored*;—that *the usurped authority of the Pope of Rome should be discharged*;—and that *the patrimony of the Church should not be alienated from its proper purposes.* (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 93-95).

But, although such of the lay-Reformers, as happened to be in possession of Church property, were immovable on the last point of the petition referred to, they betrayed no disinclination to meet the views of the petitioners otherwise. The clause of it which related to doctrine immediately engaged their attention. Parliament required of the Protestant *prelates, and clergy, to draw up a summary of doctrine, such as might be considered an abstract of the faith of the Scottish national Church.* Within four days, this summary was presented to the Estates; and, by them, instantly ratified, and approved, "as wholesome and sound doctrine, grounded on the

Reformation of doctrine.

Popery abolished, and Confession of Faith enacted.

infallible word of God." Till the introduction of the Westminster one, amid the confusion of Charles the First's reign, the Scottish Church—whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian—possessed no other Confession of Faith than this. By Stevenson, a standard Presbyterian author, it is considered "doubtful if a purer, or less exceptionable, system of divinity hath since been composed." When this Confession was read, in the face of Parliament, and ratified, three temporal Lords dissented, and sullenly avouched their determination "to believe as their fathers had believed." These were, probably, the Earls of Huntly, Erroll, and Angus. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 95).

Settlement of government, and discipline of Scottish Church.

First Book of Discipline.

Superintendents, Ministers, and Readers, appointed.

The Reformed opinions having now the sanction of law, the Reforming clergy, or ministers, set themselves to work, for the purpose of settling the government, and discipline, of what we are compelled still to call the Scottish Church. The "First Book of Discipline" was drawn up by Knox, and some others. Whoever has perused this work, must at once see that its authors were men holding Episcopal principles. It established *three* orders of churchmen; namely, the *Superintendent* (the Latin word for bishop), the *Minister*, and the *Reader*. This was an imitation of the real three orders of the Christian ministry; Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon. The duties of the Reader are thus laid down:—"To the church which cannot, presently, be furnished with ministers, men must be appointed that can distinctly read the *Common Prayers and Scriptures*, for the exercise both of themselves and the Church, until they grow to a greater perfection; because he, who is now a Reader, may, in process of time, attain to a farther degree, and be admitted to the holy ministry." The Minister was enjoined to preach, to read the *Common Prayers*, to catechise, and to administer the Sacraments. To the Superintendents were committed a very extensive Episcopal government, and jurisdiction. As an instance of this extent of Episcopal rule, we may quote, from the First Book of Discipline, that "the Superintendent of Brechin shall have, for his *Diocese*, the Sheriffdom of Mearns, Angus, and the Brae of Mar into Dundee, and keep his residence at Brechin."

Among the first governors of the Reformed Scottish Church was John Erskine of Dun. He was made Superintendent—that is, titular Bishop—of Angus. A titular Bishop is a man who takes the name of Bishop, without being a Bishop in reality. There can be no Bishop without the Apostolical Succession. Neither can there be any peer of the British realm, unless he derives his honours from the sovereign; from whom all honours flow. An ambassador is not an ambassador, if he cannot guarantee himself, as such, by the credentials which he is expected to shew. There can be no folly grosser than that of the man who affects the assumption of power which he does not possess; and who imagines, that the adoption of a name will make him lord and master of that which the name indicates.

Erskine of
Dun ap-
pointed
Superin-
tendent of
Angus.

Although the Laird of Dun was an excellent man, he was as much a Bishop as his own butler or valet. It is to be presumed that he was perfectly aware what were the real principles of his own Church; namely, whether they were Episcopal or Presbyterian. So far forward as the year 1571, we find him addressing a tolerably long letter to the Regent on the subject. (Stephen's *History*, pp. 68-70). We shall not quote the whole of the letter; but the following extracts bear indisputable evidence, not only that he was an Episcopalian, but that he considered the Episcopalian office as of Divine authority in the Church of Christ. "Wherefore," says he, "to the Bishop, and Superintendents, pertains the examination and admission of men unto benefices, and offices of spiritual cure, as well Bishoprics, Abbeys, and Priories, as other benefices. That this pertains, by the Scriptures of God, to the Bishops, or Superintendents, is manifest; for the Apostle Paul writes, in Second Timothy, ii. 2, 'These things that thou hast heard of me, many bearing witness, the same deliver to the faithful men, who shall be able to teach others.'" Again, "The Apostle, also, writing to Titus, Bishop of Crete, puts him in remembrance of his office, which was to admit and appoint ministers in every city and congregation." "Thus, we have expressed plainly, by Scripture, that to the office of a Bishop pertains examination, and

Erskine declares a Bishop and Superintendent, to be one and the same.

admission into spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted that they walk uprightly, and exercise their office faithfully and purely. To take this power from the Bishop, or Superintendent, is to take away the office of a Bishop, that no Bishop be in the Kirk." We add but one more extract:—"As to the question, if it be expedient a Superintendent be where a qualified Bishop is, I understand a Bishop, or Superintendent, to be *but one office*, and *where the one is the other is.*"*

Opinion of Dr. Cook.

Is it possible for language to be plainer, or stronger, than this? Can there be one man, of common candour, in the three kingdoms, who, after the evidence adduced to the contrary, will still maintain the Scottish Reformers to have been Presbyterians?—that is, advocates for parity among Christian ministers, and for the expediency of extemporary prayer in public worship? We believe not. So overpowering, indeed, must this evidence be considered, that Dr. Cook, one of the ablest and most learned ministers of the Scottish Establishment, regards the fact on which it bears as indisputable. In the conclusion of his History of the Reformation, he, in relation to the First Book of Discipline, thus writes:—"They who have embraced Episcopacy, although they are not averse to maintain, that this Book, in fact, sanctioned a form of Prelacy, would have preferred, to that form, an exact resemblance of the Church of England: while the successors of the first Reformers, who, afterwards, embraced, with so much zeal, the exclusive and Divine authority of the Presbyterian model, *consider it as a stumbling-block*, which they are eager to remove. The latter have, accordingly, represented the institution of Superintendents as not designed, by Knox, to continue in the Church; and thus endeavour to gain to their principles his countenance and approbation. But the ground on which they rest their assertion *is not sufficient to bear*

* The very *name* of Bishop had become offensive to the Scottish people; and that is the reason why Knox found it expedient to call Bishops Superintendents. As far as etymology is concerned, we may state, that the words Bishop, Superintendent, and overseer, all mean, precisely, the same thing.

ii. It is apparent from the manner in which Knox has spoken of the state of religion, while Superintendents were recognized—from the uniformity with which he inculcated deference, and obedience, to the higher ecclesiastical powers—and from the language used in the acts of the successive Assemblies, in some of which Superintendents are classed among the needful members of the Church—that he was firmly persuaded that his place ought to be permanent. (Cook's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 417).

What Dr. Cook means at the beginning of this passage is, that an Episcopalian would have preferred *real* Bishops, in Scotland, at the time of the Reformation, to merely *titular* ones;—that is, persons, as supreme Church governors, who had an Apostolical commission actually delegated to them, instead of individuals, who, however excellent in their personal demeanour—such as the Laird of Dun—had no more claim to the character of Bishops, or to spiritual authority, than a boatman or a chimney-sweep. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* Out of nothing comes nothing. Never was this adage more properly applied than in the present case. No man can give what he, himself, does not possess; and, therefore, no man can grant, to another, authority, whether spiritual or civil, which does not belong to him. Well would it have been for Scotland, this day—for the purity of her religion, and the correctness of her morals—had earlier Presbyterian writers possessed the same regard for historical truth, the same candour of mind, and the same liberality of spirit, as that possessed by Dr. Cook.

Among the early Scottish Reformers was Sir John Borthwick; who, with George Buchanan, had been obliged to flee to England, in order to escape the storm which raged at home. Buchanan's offence was—as we have mentioned before—that he had written sarcastic verses on the immoral lives of the Franciscans. That of Borthwick was, principally, that he had maintained, that “the Church of Scotland ought to be governed *after the manner of the Church of England* ;” and, that “*the English Liturgy was commendable, and ought to be embraced by all Christians.*” Universally, the leading

Scottish Reformers declared their attachment to the *doctrines, discipline, and worship*, of the Church of England.

Even Buchanan bears direct although unwilling testimony to the Episcopal principles of the Scottish Reformers. Speaking of the struggle which followed in the next Convention of Estates, after the fatal battle of Pinkie, fought in 1547, regarding the proper disposal of the Queen's person, he says, that, "in opposition to the wishes of the Romish party, who would have sent her to France, those who were on the side of the Reformation, and *who were of the SAME religion with England*, were zealous for the English alliance."

When the Congregation—which, certainly, comprised a vast majority of the Scottish population—commenced their career, their proceedings were, in so far, of a very orderly nature. They had not yet stepped beyond the bounds of loyalty, or drawn the sword of rebellion against the authority of Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-regent. At the first meeting of their leaders, held for the purpose of considering the state of religion, they resolved, "that in all parishes, the curates should be instructed to read *the Common Prayers*, and Lessons of the Old and New Testaments, *on Sundays and OTHER FESTIVAL days, according to the form set forth in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER*. But for preaching, or interpretation of Scripture, the same should be used only in private houses, after a quiet manner, till God should move the Queen to grant further liberty." The Book of Common Prayer, here spoken of, was the First Book of Edward the Sixth.

Additional
destruction
of churches
and monas-
teries.

Not satisfied with the destruction of sacred edifices which had already been perpetrated by the "rascal multitude" at Perth and other places, parliament—or a Convention of Estates which, gathered together without the authority of the sovereign, assumed to be a parliament—formally authorized the additional destruction of such churches and monasteries as yet remained. Previously to the issuing of this act, the primate, Archbishop Hamilton, had sent a messenger—Mr. John Brand—to Knox; telling him, "that, however he had introduced another form of religion, and reformed the doctrine of the Church, whereof, it might be, there was

some reason, yet he should do well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a better to be settled in place thereof." Knox, however, abominating everything which came from the "Bloody Bastard"—as he always calls him—paid no attention to this judicious advice. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 120, 121, *Note*).

On the warrant referred to, churches, libraries, vessels, registers, sepulchres—all, of sacred and holy which the fury of a lawless rabble had spared—were consigned to ruin. For this work of sacrilege, and infamy, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, were appointed in the west of Scotland; the Lord James—as he was called—bastard brother of the Queen, in the North; and, for the inward parts of the kingdom, other fierce Reforming barons. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 121. See Spottiswood, p. 174). That Knox sanctioned these outrages, and was even delighted with them, we know from his own words; when, after magnifying the hand of God in them, he impiously exclaims:—"O that we would rightly consider the wondrous works of the Lord our God!" (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 121, 122. Spottiswood, p. 174).

The actions of Knox, as regards the destruction of the sacred edifices of Scotland, call vividly to mind the language of Sir Walter Scott, in *Marmion*, when he is denouncing the memory of those, who, in 1756, destroyed the Cross of Edinburgh:—

Dun-Edin's Cross, a pillar'd stone,
 Rose on a turret octagon;
 But now is razed that monument,
 Whence Royal edict rang,
 And voice of Scotland's law was sent
 In glorious trumpet-clang.
 O! be his tomb as lead to lead,
 Upon its dull destroyer's head!
 A minstrel's malison is said.

Canto V., Stanza XXV.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the word *malison* means curse.

It can hardly be supposed that the youthful sovereign of Scotland, wife of Francis the Second of

Indignation of Queen Mary.

France, now somewhere about eighteen years of age, would relish these proceedings. She did not ; but the death of her husband, and her consequent widowhood, compelled her to pursue a conciliatory course towards the men who were devastating and spoliating her realm. Her indignation—inflamed by her husband's relatives, the Princes of Lorraine—was great, and excited considerable alarm in the land of which she was the ruler ; but that indignation, at last, gave way to motives of prudence on her part. (*Camden's Annals*, p. 60).

Knox and Calvin's love of tyrannical supreme power.

Both Knox, and Calvin—as we have already said—plead necessity, for their conduct ; but the calm reader of history cannot allow the validity of this plea. Knox and Calvin—notwithstanding their declarations to the contrary—might have had real Bishops, the one at Geneva, and the other in Scotland, had they so chosen ; but they equally loved supreme tyrannical power, and it would not have suited either of them to possess merely the share of jurisdiction which a regular Episcopate would have conferred upon them. Skinner reckons no fewer than ten foreign Archbishops, and Bishops, who had renounced Popery ; and not one of whom would have refused the Episcopal succession to Calvin, and to other Reforming divines. (Vol. II. pp. 130-137).

That the Reforming Bishops, themselves, had something to do with the grievous errors of the sixteenth century, there cannot be a doubt. So long had they been accustomed to the possession of temporal dignity, and temporal wealth, that when these things were taken away, they imagined that their spiritual power departed also ;—in other words, they believed that they had nothing more to do as Bishops. (Skinner, Vol. II., pp. 137-139). This notion prevails, to a great extent, in the nineteenth century. Many cannot understand how there can be a Bishop, unless he is appointed by the crown, and has a seat in the House of Lords ; entirely forgetting, that St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem, and Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, and that there are some of the English Bishops who do not sit in the House of Lords, while only four of the Irish Bishops sit there at a time.

On no other principle than their love of tyrannical power can we account for the course which Knox and Calvin pursued. Knox set up Superintendents—nominal, but not real Bishops—and *he* himself was, like the Pope, a Superintendent of Superintendents, or Bishop of Bishops: Calvin erected his usurped throne in Geneva, and thence, *ex cathedra*, issued his fulminations against those who opposed, or even differed from him, with as much assumption of lordly arrogance as ever did Thomas A'Beckett, or the despotic Hildebrand. When the fire ascended from the pile which consumed Servetus, and when the ashes of Servetus were scattered to the four winds, the deed was that of Calvin; who had so often, and so eloquently, denounced the arbitrary edicts of the Bishops of Rome.

Considering the intimacy between Knox and Calvin—considering the deference which Knox always evinced towards Calvin's opinions—and considering the circumstance, that Knox was the chief compiler of the Confession of Faith, lately drawn up, and which was afterwards, in Scotland, when Presbyterianism prevailed, superseded by the Westminster Confession of Faith—it is a fact to be commemorated, that the word *Predestination* does not once occur in it. The eighth article, "of Election," is expressed with great Scriptural moderation; as indicating the election of a Christian church, and not the election of individuals. The terms *elect*, and *reprobate*, occur in some other places of it; but in such language as Scripture warrants, and so as that no sober-minded Christian can be offended with it. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 99).

Confession
of Faith.

This clearly shews, that, with all his respect for Calvin, Knox did not acknowledge the truth of his horrible dogmas, creating the Almighty—our Heavenly Father—to use the words of Wesley, "an Omnipotent tyrant," who took a pleasure in creating pain, and misery, for the children of his hand.

The new state of matters, instead of improving the morals of Scotland, seems to have increased the vice and immorality of its inhabitants. A perusal of its annals, by Presbyterian ministers, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will fully establish this

Vice and
immoral-
ity in Scot-
land.

fact. Many of the ministers betook themselves to civil employments ; and it is amusing to find such a question, and answer, as the following in the records of an Assembly of the period :—*Q.* Whether a minister, or reader, may tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern ?—*A.* A minister, or reader, who taps ale, beer, or wine, and keeps an open tavern, should be exhorted, by the Commissioners [or Superintendents], to keep decorum.” (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 104.)

Beza.
1561.

Beza, who succeeded Calvin in the chair of Geneva, and who almost exceeded him in the violence of his predestinarian doctrines, nevertheless expressed himself strongly in favour of the Divine institution of Episcopacy. In a letter to Archbishop Whitgift, dated March 8th, 1591, he says :—“ In my writings, I ever impugned the Romish hierarchy, but never intended to touch, or impugn, the polity of the Church of England, or to exact of you to conform yourselves to our pattern.” To Grindal, Bishop of London, he writes :—“ Jesus keep thee, and govern thee, by his Holy Spirit, and confirm thee more and more in *that so great office committed to thee.*” When disputing with Saravia, he speaks thus :—“ If there are any (as I hardly believe there are) who reject all the order of Bishops, *God forbid that any man, of a sound mind, should assent to their madness.*” —(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 126).

Synod of
Dort.

At the Synod of Dort, when the Bishop of Llandaff, who had been sent there, by James the Sixth, to represent England, spoke, in the highest terms, of Episcopacy, the Presbyterian president, speaking for himself, and for the other members of the Synod, replied :—“ My Lord, you have said well ; *but we are not so happy.*”

Salmasius.

Salmasius, after having written in favour of Presbyterianism, in his answer to Milton, declared, “ that having observed how confusions, and strange errors, sprang up, in England, immediately after the Bishops were removed, *he had changed his mind.*” (*Ibid.*)

Durell and
Blondel.

Durell shews, that David Blondel concluded his apology for Jerome in these words :—“ By all that we have said, to assert the rights of Presbytery, it is *not our purpose to invalidate the ancient and APOSTOLICAL institutions of Episcopal pre-eminency.* But we judge,

that, where it is established conformable to the ancient canons, *it must be carefully preserved*; and when, by some heat of contention, or otherwise, it hath been put down, or violated, *it ought to be reverently restored.*" (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 127).

When John Douglas was admitted Archbishop of St. Andrews, Knox preached the sermon; thus giving a proof of his approbation of the office. According to Spottiswood, he was "*always urging the obedience of Ministers to their SUPERINTENDENTS.*"—(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 128). On this subject, we know no work more full or more complete than that of Mr Stephen; and we would strenuously urge our readers to put themselves in possession of copies of it. It is so copiously written, that there is not a point, connected with the Scottish Reformation, which he has left untouched.

Knox on
Episcopacy.

Arrival of
Queen
Mary in
Scotland.

On the 20th of August 1561, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, and Queen-dowager of France, after long years of absence, returned to her native soil. She landed at Leith, and proceeded immediately to Holyrood. On landing, she found nothing but fierce barons, and Highland *shelties*—or ponies—prepared to meet her. On the latter, she, and her ladies, reached Holyrood;—a sad contrast to the refinement, and elegance, to which she had been accustomed in France. It may be noticed that Mary was the first person, in Scotland, who used the modern side-saddle, with a pommel. (See Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, Vol. III. p. 260).

One of her first acts was to issue a proclamation worthy of a sovereign. She announced, that she would not disturb the established national faith. Did this announcement meet with a corresponding return? It did not. While she was willing to grant liberty of conscience to others, no liberty of conscience was to be granted to her. The bigots of the age—headed by Knox—proceeded to such a length, that they refused, to their sovereign, that which they demanded for themselves; and, at last, went so far, that they demolished the very chapel—that of Holyrood—in which she dared to worship God as her fathers had

Violence of
Reformers.

been accustomed to do. The priest, who officiated on the occasion, with difficulty escaped with his life.

1562.
Knox's
insolence to
the Queen.

In the present day, when historic truth requires to be vindicated, it is impossible not to reprobate, in the strongest manner, the spiritual pride, and the low vulgarity, which Knox was in the habit of displaying, during his personal interviews with his sovereign. Forgetting the deference due to her rank—forgetting, even, the deference due to her sex—he, when she sent for him, and remonstrated with him, as to the attacks which, in the pulpit, he had been in the habit of making upon her, insulted her in the grossest manner, and spoke to her as if, instead of being her subject, he had been her superior. The insolence of Knox's demeanour to his sovereign, no historian, of candour and liberality, can do otherwise than rebuke.

The treasonable conduct of Knox nothing could exceed. He insisted on usurping the sovereign's authority; and on putting papists to death. Mary spoke to him as a Christian; but, as a Christian, he did not reply to her. In the presence of his sovereign, he enunciated principles, such as no man of a sober and well-informed mind would venture to approve.

While Mary was in an agony of tears, Knox continued his vituperation of her, without the slightest abatement; and the chief source of surprise is, that there was no one, about the palace, to horsewhip him after he left the Royal presence. This, perhaps, would have had more effect upon him, than an attachment for treason. As he was leaving Holyrood, he saw the Queen's maids of honour indulging in a healthy and harmless dance. He could not refrain the venomous slander of his tongue; but coarsely told them, "that there would be no dancing in hell." Even some of the Reforming nobles were at last compelled to inform him, that they could no longer find a justification for his violent proceedings; and Secretary Lethington hinted that his language, and that of his brother-ministers, was treasonable. (Russell, Vol. I. pp. 262, 264). In Mary's own presence, he did not hesitate to compare her to Jezebel; and to refer to the case of Cosbi and Zimri, in language with

which we do not wish to defile our pages. (See his own *History*, p. 288).

All the intellectual power, and all the eloquence, of Dr. M'Crie, his biographer—and these were, certainly, very great—cannot remove, from Knox's memory, the stain of treason, and of undue and unnecessary violence, in the carrying on of the work of what he considered a Reformation of the Scottish Church. Reformation does not mean destruction; and, if a house requires to be cleaned, we do not set it on fire. But Knox utterly destroyed the Scottish Church; and, on its ruins, he erected a miserable imitation, which was very much like Nebuchadnezzar's image, whose feet were of "miry clay." Had the treason, and the violence, of which we speak, been wanting, the work of actual Reformation might possibly have gone quietly on—the revenues of the Church might have been preserved for religious and charitable purposes—and even the sovereign might have seen cause to forsake the errors of Popery for a more pure and undefiled form of Christianity. In comparing the relative merits of Popery with what was termed Protestantism, Mary, undoubtedly, judged of a tree "by its fruits." She could not see, in "Protestantism," any beauty to be desired;—the more especially, as it seemed, to her, from the conduct of Knox, and his abettors, to be a system calculated to throw everything, in Church and State, into confusion and anarchy.

The conduct of Knox, and of other ministers, began to alarm the Reforming nobles themselves. They saw that these ministers were assuming a power utterly inconsistent with the existence of all regular civil authority; and they doubted whether it was proper to allow such ministers to convocate General Assemblies, and to enact ecclesiastical laws, without the sovereign's approbation, trenching upon the civil rights of her Majesty's subjects. Knox was somewhat startled at the check here received; but he was compelled to submit to it. The Book of Discipline was, therefore, submitted to the Queen, for her approbation and ratification; but this was refused by her. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 161).

General violence of his demeanour.

The nobles alarmed.

The Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland has always, in theory, upheld the position, that it was utterly and entirely independent of the civil power. In practice, however, it has shewn itself wofully deficient. Not only is it indebted to the civil power for its possession of manses, glebes, and teinds, and for the enforcement of its sentences; but it cannot, and dare not, legally, assemble once a year, in Edinburgh, as an Ecclesiastical Assembly, for ten days, without the sovereign's representative being present;—without an array of military pomp, and show, which, did it attend the opening of Convocation, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London—to which his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury walks down, in a rainy day, with an umbrella above his head—many Presbyterians would be the first to turn it into derision.

When the General Assembly meets, the Lord High Commissioner—as he is called—constitutes it, in the sovereign's name, an Assembly of “the Church of Scotland.” The Moderator, or ministerial president, then rises, and proceeds to constitute it an Assembly, in the name of “the Lord Jesus Christ.” The Assembly is dissolved in the same manner. Thus is an absurd farce gone through. It is the authority of the sovereign, exercised through the Lord High Commissioner, which constitutes, and which dissolves, the General Assembly, and which renders its acts legal: the affected authority of the Establishment, itself, in regard to the matter, is—like Knox's Episcopacy, or superintendency—an illusion, and nothing more. The General Assembly dare not sit a single hour, after the sovereign's representative has dissolved it.

Knox's
exaspera-
tion on the
subject of
Church
property.

Knox was now to be touched on a tender point. He had calculated not only on the Church property being taken from its lawful possessors, but on its being handed over to himself and his brother-ministers. In this he was mistaken. A Council of twelve of the nobility was appointed, among whom was included the Lord James, (bastard brother of the Queen, and, afterwards, Earl of Moray, and Regent of the kingdom,) who is designated Prior of St. Andrews. This Council ordered that the third part of all the

rents of the ecclesiastical benefices should be appropriated to the use of the Queen ; that the other two-thirds should remain with the Popish incumbents ; and that the Queen's third should be divided between her Majesty and the Knoxian ministers. (Balfour's *Annals*, Vol. I., pp. 326, 327).

On the promulgation of this edict, the rage of Knox knew no bounds. From the pulpit, he uttered his anathemas, without limit, and without discretion. He declared, that two-thirds of the Church-rents "were given to the devil ;" and that the other third part "was to be divided between God and the devil." The intemperance of his harangues may be gathered from the following expressions :—" Oh, *happy* servants of the devil"—meaning the Romish clergy—" and *miserable* servants of Jesus Christ"—referring to his own brethren—" if, after this life, there were not hell and heaven !"—(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 161). The gross and scandalous want of Christian charity, on the part of this remarkable man, is a striking feature of the religious characteristics of the age in which he lived.

While Knox was acting as Superintendent of Superintendents—or, as he himself would have phrased it, in the case of the Pope, as the " Man of Sin " *—the morality of Scotland was growing worse and worse ; and its depravity became a by-word throughout Europe. The cause of this it is not difficult to divine. By the preaching of Knox, and others, religion had been completely separated from morals: What God joined together, man had put asunder. It is impossible for us to put on paper the sins which became common, and flagrant, during the period which immediately succeeded the overthrow of the Church, and the ascendancy of those who had taken the lead in that overthrow.

Unusual depravity of Scottish people.

Knox and Buchanan speak of Queen Mary as a foolish headstrong girl, who minded nothing but sport and pastime ; and who had as little ability as inclina-

Habits of the Queen at council-board.

* At this time he went down to Montrose, to preside at the election, and admission (which means the ordination), of John Erskine, Esquire, Laird of Dün, near that town, as Superintendent of Angus and Mearns. (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 133).

tion for attending to public affairs. If she wanted ability—although this does not exactly tally with Knox's former description of her, as a person of "crafty wit"—for this she was not answerable. It was her misfortune, and not her fault. Who ever expected ability, from a woman, in governing a kingdom? The kingdom of England was—as James the Second very properly remarked to Waller the poet—ruled, not by Elizabeth, but by her counsellors;—by Cecil, by Burleigh, by Walsingham. But, whatever Mary's defects may have been, we are scarcely entitled to number want of inclination among them. According to Randolph, the English resident, whom Elizabeth had contrived to place at the Scottish court as a spy on the Scottish sovereign, "she, for the most part, attended the Council-board; and, when she did, was employed in some female work, as sewing, embroidering, and the like." In a letter to Cecil, dated the 8th of March 1564, he says:—"For expedition of poor men's causes, the Queen here hath ordered three days a week; augmenting the judges' stipends for their attendance, and sitting herself, for more equity oftentimes."—(Keith, Book II. ch. 6).

This reminds us of the days, and habits, of our present good Queen Victoria. Who ever heard of Elizabeth, of England, sitting at the council-board, "sewing" or "embroidering?" We have heard of her as boxing the ear of the Earl of Essex, and as cursing, and swearing, in a style utterly disgraceful to the female character; but we have never heard, or read, of her as speaking in the mild and gentle tones of a woman's voice.

Mary belonged to the sex

which loves the helpless and the weak.

She knew that her poor subjects were helpless in the hands of the mighty barons who ruled over them; and therefore it was that she devoted herself assiduously, along with her judges, to the hearing of their causes, and to the vindication of their wrongs. Had

Mary lived in an age, and among a people, where her character, both as a woman and a sovereign, could have been properly appreciated, her name would have descended to posterity linked with as few blemishes, and radiant with as many virtues, as usually belong to the best specimens of frail humanity.

CHAPTER IX.

Persecution of the Romish clergy—Presbyteries not yet formed—Paul Methven's fall—Additional insolence of Knox—The Queen's marriage with Darnley—Darnley's character—Dr. Cook's opinion as to the Reformers—Men in arms—Tenth General Assembly—Horrible crimes—Knox's insults to the Queen and Darnley—The eleventh General Assembly, and *Fasts*—"Damning" Popery—Intrigues of Elizabeth—Murder of Rizzio—Birth of James the Sixth—Murder of Darnley—Mary's marriage with Bothwell—Separation of Mary and Bothwell—Imprisonment of Mary—Mary's forced resignation—Moray's visit to Mary—Factious abuse of the pulpit—A parliament, or convention—Refusal of the nobles to part with the Church plunder—Dr. Cook—Complete downfall of the ancient hierarchy—Charity of the ancient clergy—Our obligations to them—The necessity of a Reformation—Comparative moderation of the laity—Knoxian persecution—Tyranny of the new system—Toleration of Mary—Horrible persecution of the Roman Catholics—Knox's tirades against women—Mary's conciliating disposition—Martial character of the Scottish preachers—Execution of Darnley's murderers—Escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven—Battle of Langside, and Mary's flight to England—Increase of the persecution against the Roman Catholics, and burning of witches—Death of Moray—Poverty of the ministers—The Earl of Lennox made Regent—Knox acts as Pope—Roasting of the Abbot of Crossraguel—Murder of Archbishop Hamilton—The Reformers not all hostile to Queen Mary—Murder of Lennox.

1563.

Persecution
of the
Romish
clergy.

THE time had now arrived when the Romish clergy were to feel the effects of that persecution which they had inflicted on others. Archbishop Hamilton was committed to Edinburgh Castle; and others, abbots and priors, were put in jail, for no other offence than that of hearing and saying the mass. (Balfour's *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 328). The wrongs of the Reformers were retorted on the Popish priesthood; and the doings of both parties simply proved, that the principles of toleration were unknown during the age to which they belonged. Presbyteries were not yet formed. They did not come into existence till the year 1579, about twenty years

after the government of the Kirk was settled by Knox.* Presbyteries not yet formed. At the period of which we treat, the population of Scotland—a scattered one—did not exceed seven hundred thousand; and, of these, very few could either read or write. When, in 1567, Walter Scott of Harden, a famous Border chief, married Mary Scott of Dryhope, commonly called the *Flower of Yarrow*, neither of the two parties could sign their marriage-contract. We may remark, in passing, that the first General Assembly of the so-called Reformed Kirk of Scotland was composed of forty-six persons.†

The habits of the Scottish people were, at this time, generally, simple in the extreme. In September 1561, we find Queen Mary dining, in the Castle of Edinburgh, at twelve o'clock; and two o'clock was the usual hour for dinner with Darnley, when he was in possession of the crown-matrimonial of Scotland. The Scottish nation had an hour of refreshment called "their four-hours penny;" one at four o'clock in the afternoon, and which the writer distinctly remembers, in the shape of tea-drinking, in his early days.‡

Shakspeare speaks of Scotland's nakedness, and compares it, for barrenness, to the palm of the hand, in his *Comedy of Errors*, Act III. sc. 2.

The endeavours of Knox to amend the religious tenets of the Scottish nation of the sixteenth century did not prevent the lapse of some of his coadjutors into its most prominent vices. Among others, Paul Methven was detected, as we have already indicated, a second time, in the commission of a sin which we do not require to specify; and was sentenced to do public penance on the "cutty-stool," at St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh. On this subject, Dr. M'Crie very quietly remarks:—"Prudential reasons were not wanting, to induce the Reformed Church of Scotland to stifle this affair, and to screen,

Paul Methven's fall.

* Stephen, Vol. I. p. 167. We do not use the word *Kirk* invidiously; but, merely, because it is the name by which the Presbyterians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, themselves, chose, peculiarly, to designate their own form of religion.

† Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 1, 5, and 6.

‡ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 11. The word *penny*, here used, probably refers to a drink vulgarly called *penny-wheep*.

from 'public ignominy, a man who had acted a *distinguished part* in the late Reformation of religion." Had Paul Methven been a Bishop, there is no bolt of his thunder which Dr. M'Crie would not have launched at his head.

When Paul Methven "fell," he was minister of Jedburgh ; and a burning and shining light to the district which he illumed. After two or three years of troubles, and buffetings to and fro, he was reconciled to the Kirk in a manner which vividly exemplifies the sternness of ecclesiastical discipline in the days of Knox. He was excommunicated, by the General Assembly, in 1563. In June 1566, he was ordained to appear personally before the Assembly. This he did, and "prostrate himself before the whole brethren *with weeping and howling*," after which he was commanded to appear "twa preaching-days, betwixt the Sundays, clad in sackcloth, and bareheaded and barefooted," as a spectacle to the people, and then he was "received into the society of the Kirk as ane lively member thereof."

At the after-period of the Revolution, while the "scandalous lives" of the "curates"—that is, the Episcopal clergy—were, on false grounds, publicly railed at, impurity was, notoriously, the prominent vice of the Presbyterian ministers ; as it has, along with drunkenness, been, ever since, the besetting sin of the Scottish nation.

Additional
insolence of
Knox.

This year again witnessed additional insolence, on the part of Knox, towards his sovereign. A riotous mob attacked the palace, with a view to their executing summary vengeance on the Queen's domestic chaplain, who continued to say mass in the Royal household. The feelings of the Queen were roused by this wanton insult ; which had been entirely promoted by the Protestant preachers. Knox was summoned before the Privy Council, as having been, by his treasonable missive letters, the author of this sedition. Knowing his own power, and the weight which his name carried with it, he rudely addressed the Queen, and "charged her, in the name of the Almighty God, and as she desired to escape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forsake that idolatrous religion which she professed,

and, by her power, maintained against the statutes of the realm."—(Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 169, 170).

A farther and still grosser outrage was perpetrated ^{1564.} by Knox. In the month of April, he and his brethren held a communion; but, hearing that a priest was celebrating mass in the chapel-royal, they left their communion, and, with some of the magistrates, went and seized the priest, with all his assistants, and lodged them in gaol. They even put the priest in the pillory; and exposed him to all the filth which an excited and infuriated rabble could bestow upon him. Sentence of death was publicly passed upon him; but the want of Royal authority prevented the sentence from being carried into effect. (Ibid. pp. 170, 171).

That the indignation of Queen Mary, on this occasion, was excited to the highest pitch, cannot be a matter of wonder. Nor was that indignation lessened, when Knox, and his brother-ministers, interfered with her marriage with Henry Lord Darnley. Darnley was of the blood-royal of England; and, next to Mary, was the heir-apparent to the English throne. When this marriage was announced, Knox, and the other Presbyterian ministers, from their pulpits, thundered forth their denunciations against it. (Ibid. pp. 171, 172). Mary and Darnley were married, by the Bishop of Brechin, at the chapel-royal, Holyrood, in the month of July, 1565. The Queen's marriage with Darnley. 1565. Sunday, July 29th.

At a parliament, which met on the 15th of Decem- Dec. 15th. ber, an act was passed, by which "to celebrate mass was made forfeiture of goods, lands, *and life*, except in the Queen's chapel." Knox complains that this act was never put in execution. Thus is it clearly seen, that, whatever were the principles of the Romish Church, the principles of Knox were of the most intolerant kind. Whoever attempts to justify Knox, on account of the barbarity of the age, must be prepared to justify Cardinal Beaton, also, in his burning of Wishart. Both Beaton and Knox were men of great ability, and good education; and we are sorry to come to the conclusion, that they both—like Calvin—acted from motives of worldly policy, and not from motives of mere religious zeal. Beaton was at the

head of the Scoto-Popish Church : Knox was at the head of the Protestant party, in Scotland. Both loved power ; and both were determined, *per fas aut nefas*, to possess it.

Darnley's character.

The marriage of Mary with Darnley was, perhaps, the most unfortunate event of her reign. From motives of the purest affection, she became his wife ; but he had not a single quality to recommend him, excepting a handsome person. He was proud and passionate, profuse and dissipated. He was ungrateful to the lovely woman, who—a queen, sought after by the first princes in Europe—had favoured him with her hand, and person ; and, instead of attempting to act as a king-matrimonial, he allowed himself to be made the tool, and the dupe, of Moray, Mary's favourite bastard brother, and others ; who, after using him for their own base purposes, brought him to a miserable end, and then endeavoured to fasten the guilt of it on her who would have given her own life to preserve his from injury.*

Dr Cook's opinion as to the Reformers.

There is no historian, who more strongly condemns the conduct of the Reformers, in their treatment of Mary, in this the hour of her bitter misery, than Dr. Cook—himself a minister of the Presbyterian Establishment of the nineteenth century, in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. (Vol. III. p. 187). Speaking of the Earl of Moray, and of a demand, on his part, and on that of the Reformers, that the Queen should, although contrary—as she declared—to her conscience, renounce the religion of her forefathers, he says :—“ Nothing connected with his conduct, and with the rebellion which he so soon commenced, reflects such disgrace upon his character as this measure ; by which he confidently expected not only to strengthen his cause, but to insure its

* Those who wish to see a full vindication of the memory of Mary, Queen of Scots, from the charges brought against her, with regard to the murder of Darnley, and other matters, will find them in Miss Agnes Strickland's Life of her, in her *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*. Miss Strickland has exposed the forgeries of Mary's enemies ; and has not left a single point in her character open to a suspicion of guilt.

ultimate success." In short, Moray, Knox, and the others, knew that Mary would refuse so preposterous a request; and they calculated that they would have it in their power thus to represent her as an enemy of the truth. As regarded the mass, and the form of the Protestant worship, she declared, that, although she was willing to give all her subjects liberty of conscience, she herself was not persuaded of the truth of the one, or of the impiety of the other.

Matters were hastening to a crisis. The giant front of Rebellion was beginning to stalk abroad on the land; and Knox shrinks not from stating, that, when the ninth General Assembly—held in December of last year—met, "the brethren" assembled, at St. Leonard's Craig, near Edinburgh, armed, with a view to making war upon the sovereign. (Knox, p. 374). This intention was carried into effect, in the course of the following summer. In the meantime, seditious letters were distributed; while Mary did everything in her power to appease the animosity of the rebellious portion of her subjects, by concession to their demands. She wrote to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Aberdeen, "that they should not do any such thing as was feared by the Protestants."—(Keith, Book III. ch. 4).

The tenth General Assembly had met, in Edinburgh, on the 25th of June, of this year. The number of complaints, from ministers against their superintendents, and from the people against both, was very great; and seemed to shew that the utmost confusion prevailed in almost every parish in the realm. In some parishes, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper had not been administered for six years. Prayer, and praise, and the administration of the Holy Communion, had given way to preaching; a style of public worship which continues, in Scotland, to the present day. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 171).

An enumeration of the horrible crimes, to be found in Scotland, during the prevalence of the Knoxian ministry, will be met with in the following authorities:—Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 174, 175; Keith, B. III. ch. iv.; Knox, B. IV. pp. 328, 329; Heylin, p. 159.

Knox's in-
sults to the
Queen and
Darnley.

Darnley, who was a Romanist, having, with a view to conciliate the factious and turbulent nobility—who viewed his elevation to the throne with jealousy—attended divine service at St. Giles's Church, Knox took the opportunity of furiously branding the King, the Queen, and her whole Court, as idolaters, deserving of both temporal and eternal punishment. He declared, that, for the offences, and ingratitude, of the people, God "set boys and women over them;" and he denounced the Queen, in the foulest language, as "*that harlot Jezebel*." For this, he was cited before the Queen, and the Privy Council; where—his insolence being increased by the countenance of the leading men in the Council—he repeated his treasonable offence, and addressed the Queen as no respectable man would address the vilest of her sex. The Queen was thrown into a hysterical fit of tears; and the only sentence passed on Knox was, that he should be suspended from preaching for some months. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 177).

1565.
Eleventh
General
Assembly,
and *Fasts*.

The eleventh General Assembly had sat down in December 1565. Before proceeding to business, the ministers appointed a *fast*, "for avoiding of the plagues and scourges of God." This, according to Knox, "was the first public fast that was kept since the Reformation; which exercise became frequent afterwards." So frequent did it become, and so thoroughly was it turned to political purposes, that, when she heard that a fast had been proclaimed, Mary—who well knew the sedition, and treason, which lurked under it—exclaimed, "I am more afraid of that than of ten thousand men at arms."—(Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 177, 178). At this Assembly, it was enacted, that children, who had been baptized by a Romish priest, on their coming to years of understanding, before being admitted to the Lord's Table, "*must publicly damn*" the corruptions of Popery. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 179). This reminds us of the Romish practice of "cursing" by bell, book, and candle; a form of which is to be found in Sterne's eccentric and somewhat irreverent work, *Tristram Shandy*.

"Damn-
ing"
Popery.

By the Scottish Presbyterians, the communion is received in a sitting posture. We are not aware that it was so under Knox's Superintendency. In the

Primitive Church, communicants always received the eucharist in a worshipping attitude. The posture of sitting was introduced by the Arians, to shew that they did not believe Christ to be God, but only their fellow-creature. When the Pope performs the office of consecration, he, it is said, communicates sitting. (Milne's *Difference Stated*, p. 55, Note).

Queen Elizabeth, afraid of Mary's claims upon the throne of England, had intrigued against her marriage with Darnley, and had recommended to her her own subject, the profligate and unprincipled Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Failing in this, she secretly stirred up insurrection in Scotland; and was aided, and assisted by the traitor Moray, in his designs against his attached and affectionate half-sister, and but too trusty and confiding sovereign. Moray, and others, rose in arms; but were defeated, and escaped into England. After a little time, they were allowed, by Mary, to return. Evil was the hour in which she granted them permission to do so.

Intrigues of
Elizabeth.

We may here be allowed to state, that Elizabeth had no just claim to the throne of England. She was the illegitimate daughter of Henry the Eighth, by Anne Boleyn, while his legitimate wife, Catharine of Arragon, was alive. Whoever is inquisitive as to the horrible idea of the relationship, as parent and child, between Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn, and as to Henry's knowledge of the fact at the time he married her, we refer him to the Preface of Mr. James Grant's novel of "*Jane Seaton*."

Mary, Queen of Scots, was, as the grand-daughter of Henry the Seventh, the legitimate Queen of England. The English people knew her to be so; and, but for the circumstance that she was a Romanist, and had married a sovereign of France, and that they were afraid lest England might, on this account, become a French province, they would have acknowledged her in that capacity. Her rights, with regard to the throne of England, brought her to her bloody death at Fotheringay Castle.

The particulars connected with the death of David Rizzio, an Italian, the Queen's private secretary, at

Murder of Rizzio. March 9th. Holyrood House, in the Queen's presence, by Darnley, Lord Ruthven, and other ruffians, and that when she was six months advanced in pregnancy, are familiar to every one acquainted with Scottish History. Rizzio was a man of about seventy years of age; and not a youthful gallant, which it has suited Mary's enemies to describe him to have been. Knox approved of the murder of "David," as he termed him; and it is not improbable that he was deep in the counsels of the perpetrators of that dastardly act.

Birth of James VI. June 19th. On the 19th of June, 1566, the Queen gave birth, in Edinburgh Castle, to a son; who, as James the Sixth of Scotland, and first of England, was afterwards destined to unite the two crowns of Scotland and England in his own person. In the early part of 1567, an event took place, which, while it shook the metropolis of Scotland to its foundation, agitated all Europe. This was the murder of Darnley; which took place at one or two in the morning, of Monday, February the 10th.

Murder of Darnley. 1567.

According to the best information that can be got of this mysterious affair, it occurred as follows:—The King, who was in his twenty-first year, had come from Glasgow, where he had been ill; and, as it was pretended that the air of Holyrood was too damp for him, he was lodged in a house in the suburbs of the city, called the Kirk of Field, which stood near the site of the present University. The conspirators against his life, of whom the Earl of Bothwell appears to have been the chief, had placed a quantity of gunpowder in the room below that in which Darnley slept. The moment he went to bed, and fell asleep, the murderers prepared to execute their plan; but their miserable victim was startled by the noise of their false keys in the lock of his apartment, and rushing down, in his shirt and pelisse, endeavoured to make his escape, but was pursued and strangled. His page was also strangled; and their bodies were laid in an adjoining orchard, where they were found. Bothwell, who had not been present hitherto, now arrived; when the murderers completed their purpose, by setting fire to the gunpowder by a train. The explosion utterly demolished the house—roused the

people of Edinburgh from their peaceful slumbers—and thrilled the nations of Europe with horror. (See Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. VII.)

Bothwell aspired to the Queen's hand. He was at the head of the nobility; he was insinuating in his manners; the great nobles presented a petition to the Queen, requesting her to marry him; and she did not believe him to have been connected with the murder of her late husband. Nevertheless, she gave no consent to the petition presented to her. But Bothwell took a step which compelled her to become his wife. He, at the head of a thousand horse, seized her person—carried her to his own castle—and forced her to accept him as her husband.

Mary's
marriage
with Both-
well.
May 15th.

Mary, and her little party, were seized at a place, between Kirkliston and Edinburgh, called "the *Briggs*," where there is an angle of ground enclosed by the Almond River and the Gogar Burn; which two streams meet here. The spot was well chosen by Bothwell, as the Queen, and her followers, could not have fled but at considerable risk. The post-road from Linlithgow to Edinburgh still passes by the place so fatal to Mary's future fortunes, immediately after crossing the river Almond by the Boat-house Bridge.

It is creditable to Edinburgh, that according to the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland*, from 1513–1575, published by the Maitland Club, no sooner did the rumour of the seizure of the Queen's person reach the provost, than "incontinent the common bell rang, and the inhabitants ran to armour and weapons, the ports were steekit, and the artillery of the Castle shot."

No sooner was Mary Bothwell's wife, than the nobles, who had petitioned her to marry him, took arms on the pretence of delivering her from a murderer, and of protecting the prince, her son. The Earl of Moray was at the bottom of all these machinations. At Carberry Hill, Mary and Bothwell parted for ever. The murderer of Darnley went forth, to live a pirate and an outlaw, and to die a raving madman,

Separation
of Mary
and Both-
well.
June 15th.

imprisoned in a lonely fortress, on a far distant shore ; while the gentle and lovely victim of his villainy surrendered herself into the hands of her own subjects, who cared nothing for her gentleness or loveliness, on terms which were destined never to be fulfilled. The newly pardoned rebel Morton—who afterwards confessed, on the scaffold, that he was cognizant of Darnley's murder—was at the head of the armed band, who went out, to Carberry Hill, against their sovereign. She delivered herself into the hands of Kirkcaldy of Grange—subsequently hanged at Edinburgh—telling him “that he was a gentleman ;” and Kirkcaldy, at the time, professed the greatest reverence for her. How far Kirkcaldy deserved the compliment paid to him by his sovereign, the treatment received by Mary, on the same day, and on the next, but too truly shews.

That the traitors cared for nothing but to procure possession of Mary's person, and to have a plea for her deposition, in order that they might have the real command of the kingdom during a long minority, is evident from the fact, that they did not trouble themselves about Bothwell—the well-known actual murderer of Darnley—but allowed him to ride quietly off the field. (Skinner, Vol. II., pp. 181, 182).

Imprison-
ment of
Mary.

The treaty, between Mary and her rebellious nobles, at Carberry Hill, was violated. Mary was taken, a helpless prisoner, to Edinburgh ; she was insulted, in the grossest manner, by individuals who called themselves men ; and, finally, she was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, and there committed to the charge of a woman, who had been the mistress of her father, James the Fifth, and who was the mother of the Earl of Moray. From this woman she received every insult ; and her rebellious nobles did not disdain to strip her of her princely habiliments, and to array her in a cassock of the coarsest brown. They took an inventory of her plate, jewels, and other movables within the palace of Holyrood—broke open her cupboard—melted down the gold and silver—and converted all into coin. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 182 ; and Melville's *Memoirs*).

Shame upon Scotchmen !—shame upon Scotland !—that such a story should have to be recorded.

The next step, in this tragedy, was Mary's forced resignation of her crown. The Lord Ruthven, and the Lord Lindsay of the Byres, were despatched to Lochleven, to compel her to this resignation. This resignation she, with a dignity becoming the head of the Royal House of Stuart, refused to give. Lindsay seized her arm ; and had the unmanly bearing to pinch it, in order to make her sign the documents placed before her. At last—driven by such brutal treatment—she did so ; and Moray was installed Regent of Scotland. A resignation so extorted never could be binding. Mary, trembling, and in tears, signed two documents—the second being the appointment of Moray to the Regency—without reading them.

Mary's
forced re-
signation.
July 24th.

On the 24th of July, Mary's resignation was proclaimed at Edinburgh, and on the 29th, the unconscious infant prince was crowned King, at Stirling. Knox preached the sermon, and thus identified himself with the traitors ; but the English ambassador, Throgmorton, refused to countenance it by his presence. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 194).

Moray arrived in Edinburgh, on the 11th of August, from France—where he had been in exile—and visited his sister, and sovereign, at Lochleven. He there barbarously insulted her, charging her, in presence of their mutual attendants, with adultery and murder. When the broken-hearted Queen, in tears, begged of him, as a brother, that he would spare her life and reputation, his reply was :—“The latter is already lost ; and, as for your life, the parliament must look to that.”

Moray's
visit to
Mary.
Aug. 11th.

That Moray, himself, was cognizant of the murder of Darnley, is evident from the expression used by him, to a person riding with him, in Fife, on Sunday the 9th of February :—“This night the Lord Darnley shall lose his life.”

In order that he might be absent, from Edinburgh, during Darnley's murder, this consummate villain had left Edinburgh, for Donibristle, his seat in Fifeshire ; and when, on the Monday, he returned to the metropolis, his unsuspecting sister, the Queen, flung herself into his

arms, and said :—"Oh, my dear brother, if you had been here, this would not have happened." And yet this man is styled, in Scottish history, "the Good Regent." No wonder Lord Byron says, that History, in general,

Lies like truth, and still most truly lies.

Mary's personal attachment to, and her confidence in, Moray as her half-brother—although illegitimately—was very great. She had pardoned him, repeatedly, for acts of treachery and treason; and, when the time came, that she heard of his untimely end, on the street of Linlithgow, at the hand of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, she shed tears, and prayed for the welfare of his soul. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 194).

Factionous
abuse of
the pulpit.

While the nobles were perpetrating treason, the preachers were not idle. They allied themselves with the traitor-lords; and, to the astonishment of "all Christendom"—as Heylin informs us—preached treason in the boldest manner. Thus, the commonalty were led to believe, that what Morton, and his associates, had done was just and lawful.* In order to induce Knox, and his brother-preachers to pursue this course, Moray, and his colleagues—in alarm at the power of the still loyal portion of the nobility—"with all the strongest grimace they could put on," promised them an ample share of the Church funds. Knox complains bitterly of the violation of this promise; and Bishop Keith remarks :—"Had this gentleman been as *sagacious* as he was *fiery* and *scurrilous*, he might have learned, before this time, what was to be expected from the heads of his faction, when the affair of money came into the plea."—(Keith, B. III. ch. 6).

A parliament,
or convention.
Dec. 15th.

On the 15th of December, Moray, as Regent, congregated a parliament, or convention, to which he rode in great state. As regards this meeting, a peculiar

* Heylin's Presbyterians, B. V. p. 171. "It was a remarkable saying," observes Dr Bisse, an eminent English divine, "founded on the reason of things, that a preaching Church cannot stand."

feature of it was, that, although Romish prelates were sternly prohibited from, either publicly or privately, exercising their religious functions, they still sat in it, as the first estate of the realm. There were four Bishops, and fourteen Abbots, present. This Convention ratified the Confession of Faith, but took no notice of the Book of Discipline. The acts of the celebrated convention of 1560 were sanctioned; and the power of the Pope, and the service of the mass, were formally abolished. (Russell, Vol. I. p. 274).

All the attempts, however, of the preachers, to get possession of a tolerable share of Church plunder, proved unavailing. Moray, to secure their support, would have been inclined to indulge their wishes, on this point, to a certain extent; but the other nobles, who had rioted so deeply in the revenues of cathedrals, monasteries, and rich abbeys, peremptorily refused to disgorge their prey.

Refusal of the nobles to part with the Church plunder.

Dr. Cook, the Presbyterian historian, utterly condemns, as inexcusable, the rebellion against Mary, the deprivation of her liberty, and the denuding her of her crown. (*History of the Reformation*, Vol. III. p. 273).

Dr. Cook.

The ancient hierarchy was now gone. The ecclesiastical constitution, which had existed for upwards of a thousand years, had passed away. And yet we cannot be blind to the fact, that, during that long period, Scotland had been indebted to it for many benefits. It had been the means of promoting civilisation, and of establishing principles of humanity where, otherwise, there would have been none. The learning, and authority, of the clergy had kept the headstrong passions of the fierce barons in awe;—had checked their ferocity;—had softened their manners;—and had often prevented them from imbruing their hands in one another's blood. To the priesthood, also, is Scotland indebted for the abolition of domestic slavery; for to them belongs the merit of having first abolished that curse, and disgrace, of the Middle Ages. They emancipated all the bondmen belonging to their estates, before the lay-proprietors could be taught either the duty, or the advantage, of such a step. (Russell, Vol. I. p. 277).

Complete downfall of the ancient hierarchy.

Charity of
the ancient
clergy.

Nor were the ancient clergy sparing of their worldly means, for purposes of charity and benevolence. They relieved the orphan, the widow, the infirm, and the needy. They supported schools, and founded colleges. They reared magnificent edifices, dedicated to learning and piety—built our cathedrals, our chapels, our universities—and even for the first public roads, and bridges, which were known in the land, we are indebted to them. The extent of their benefactions was only appreciated, when, after the destruction of the monasteries, Scotland was overrun with “sturdy beggars;” and when the lay-nobles were squandering the property of the Church on riotous living, and in indiscriminate profusion, and in devastating the country, during their mutual feuds, from one end to the other. (Russell, Vol. I. pp. 277, 278).

Our obligations to them.

The Roman Catholic priesthood, of the Middle Ages, were the channel, through which the leading articles of the Christian faith, and the authority on which they rest, have been handed down to us; and well would it be for us, were we—instead of traducing their memory—to treat their errors, and corruption of manners, much as we treat the senilities of those who have brought us into being. It should be remembered, too, that, in estimating the character, and conduct, of the mediæval Christian priesthood, what we chiefly know of them is from the pens of their enemies.

The necessity of a Reformation.

That a Reformation of the Scottish Church—as was the case in every other Church in Christendom—was, in the sixteenth century, required, cannot be denied. But, that the utter destruction of that Church, or such a Reformation as Knox, and the Reforming Scottish nobles, brought about, was necessary, must be emphatically denied. In doctrine, in worship, and in discipline, there was, in the Scottish Church, room for ample improvement; but not such pretended improvement as that which Knox introduced. The improvement required was, simply, a return to primitive doctrine, to the lopping off of ceremonial excrescences, and to the abolition of the law of celibacy; a law which, being contrary to the law of nature—in other words, to the law of God—led to the most glaring impurity and crime.

Too much has, perhaps, been made of the vices of the clergy of the ancient Scoto-Romish Church. It is due to them to say, that, as regards personal impurity, the law of celibacy—like the law relating to Royal marriages in England—prevented them acknowledging, openly, those who were really their wives; and that, as regards the manners of the Scottish nation generally, although they were simple, yet they were essentially coarse. The abandonment of Popery did not alter these manners for the better. Personal impurity continued as rampant as ever; and the utmost which Knox, and his brethren, were able to do, with regard to drinking, was, to shut up the public-houses, on Sundays, during the time of divine service. At all other hours of the day, they continued open.

Knox, and his brethren, did not speak of the Romanists as if they had been Christians, holding certain erroneous religious views; but as if they had been infidels, idolaters, and wilful contemners of God and his commandments, who ought, like the ancient Canaanites, to be extirpated. The laity were, comparatively, more moderate in their opinions; and refused to go so far as Knox, and the other furious zealots of the period, demanded. In a letter, from the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the Archbishop of Glasgow—then in France—his Grace says:—"In time, if they be permitted, no man may have life without granting their articles; which I will not. Therefore, provide remeed;"—that is, a remedy.

Comparative moderation of the laity.

The Knoxian persecution went on. Lord Dalhousie was thrown into prison, at St. Andrews, because he had given food to three or four poor friars, who had sought an asylum in his residence. Moray—or the Lord James, as he was called—with the Earl of Arran, searched Dalhousie's house, but found not the friars. They, however, gave vent to their rage, by burning all the books, and destroying all the instruments of Romish worship, which fell into their hands. (Russell, Vol. I. p. 284).

Knoxian persecution.

The tyranny of the dominant party was now complete. Every Papist was pronounced an infidel; and the word Popery was always associated with adultery,

Tyranny of the new system.

Toleration
of Mary.

murder, witchcraft, and blasphemy. The language of Knox, on this subject, is so gross that we cannot pollute our pages with it. At every conference, between Mary and the leaders of the new religious system, Mary's sentiments of toleration were manifest. She simply asked, of her own subjects, that she might be allowed to worship God according to her own conscience ; leaving them to approach their Maker in whatever manner they chose.

Horrible
persecution
of the
Roman
Catholics.

Knox's
tirades
against
women.

The "impiety of the Turks," the "blasphemy of the Jews," and the "vain superstition of the Papists," were expressions common on the lips of Knox and his followers. If our readers would wish to become acquainted with instances of the atrocious tyranny, exercised, by him and his adherents, over the members of the ancient Scottish Church, we refer them to Bishop Russell's *History* (Vol. I. p. 288, *Note*). Even the female sex, as a body, could not escape the slanderous attacks of John Knox. He used language, with regard to them, which even the rudeness of the age in which he lived could not excuse. The following are samples of the language referred to: In allusion to the parliament held in 1563, which was opened by Mary in person, he writes:—"Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that parliament was never before seen in Scotland!" He then goes on to rail against the dresses, and what he calls "the targetting of their tails;" which "all the preachers disliked." The preachers knew little of the female sex, if they supposed that the latter cared a straw about their opinions on the subject of their flounces. They would, sooner, have taken the opinion of their milliners. The conciliating disposition of Mary was evident on many occasions. "She is patient to hear, and beareth much," says Throgmorton, in a letter to Cecil; and there was not a step which she could take, and which she did not take, in order to secure the public peace. When she imagined herself dying, she expressed the most Christian sentiments; she forgave her enemies; and she entreated that her son, the Duke of Rothesay, might be brought up in the fear of God, and as a godly and religious prince over his people.

The martial character of the early Scottish Reformers has been often noted. The zeal of Knox was not the zeal of St. Peter, or St. Paul : it was the zeal of the battle-field. Knox boasted that he was the "trumpet of God's Evangel;" and that he was a moving power in the insurrectionary movements which had, on various occasions, paralyzed the government. He even descended so low, as to address Sir James Croft, the military commander at Berwick, on treasonable purposes, under the feigned name of "John Sinclair." Dr. Cook's animadversions, on Knox's conduct, in relation to this matter, are very severe. (Vol. II. pp. 237-239).

Martial character of the Scottish preachers.

For forms of excommunication, and absolution, used in the days of Knox, we refer the reader to Bishop Russell's *History* (Vol. I. pp. 301, 302).

The opening of the year 1568 was signalised by the execution of four of the murderers of Darnley. These were Hepburn, Hay, Powrie, and Dalglish. On the scaffold, these men "took God to record that this murder was done by Moray and Morton's counsel, invention, and drift committed; and that they never knew the Queen to be participant or ware thereof." —(Balfour's *Annals*, Vol. I. p. 343).

1568.
Execution of Darnley's murderers.
January.

On the 2d of May, Mary, aided by George Douglas, and others, made her escape from Lochleven Castle, and immediately found herself surrounded by a band of her faithful nobles. All her train, in the boat which carried her from captivity to freedom, was a single waiting-maid. The gentry came flocking in; and, in a short time, nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots, and ninety principal barons, had signed a document, by which they bound themselves to stand, or fall, with their lawful sovereign. The battle of Langside, near Glasgow, was fought. At that fatal fight, the rebels triumphed. The troops of Mary were defeated; and, henceforward, honour became dishonour, and loyalty a crime. Mary, trusting to the friendship of Elizabeth, and contrary to the earnest entreaties of those around her, fled into England; where she was basely deceived, and made a prisoner for life.

Escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven.
May 2d.

Battle of Langside, and Mary's flight into England.

1569.
Increase of
persecution
against
Roman
Catholics,
and burn-
ing of
witches.

The persecution of the Roman Catholics, so far from suffering abatement, continued to increase. In this matter, Moray, as Regent, was peculiarly active. He seized four Roman Catholic clergymen at Dunblane; and, for having celebrated mass, had them sentenced to be hanged. Although this sentence was not carried into execution, he ordered them to be tied to a stake, at the market-cross of Stirling, habited in their vestments, with their books and chalices around them, to be pelted, for an hour, with stones, filth, and other missiles, by the rabble. Their books, and vestments, were then burnt. At the same time, a person named Mother Nicknevin, was consigned to the flames, at St. Andrews, for witchcraft. Knox addressed her at the stake; and, as Cardinal Beaton is said to have done with Wishart, witnessed her dying agonies apparently with gratification. In short, Scotland, under the Knoxian system, had become, not metaphorically, but literally, too *hot* for persons desirous of enjoying the slightest freedom of opinion.

1570.
Death of
Moray.
Jan. 23d.

While Moray, as a great functionary of state, was perpetrating crime in every direction, his hour of retribution came. He was shot, through the belly, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, as he was passing, amid a dense crowd, down the street of Linlithgow. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his age. His death became him better than his life. He expired a little before midnight; and, before doing so, recommended the young prince to the care of those nobles who were around him. There can be no doubt that this was an atrocious murder; but neither it, nor the murder of Darnley, was a more heinous crime than the assassination of Rizzio, and Cardinal Beaton. Nevertheless, Knox characterises the murder of Rizzio as, merely, "the slaughter of David;" while he terms that of Beaton a "godly deed." As marking the fierce, and barbarous, habits of the age, we may notice that Bothwellhaugh's assassination of Moray is applauded, or condemned, by contemporary historians, according to their religious or party prejudices. Blackwood extols the act of Hamilton; "who," he says, "satisfied, with a single ounce of lead, him,

whose sacrilegious avarice had stripped the metropolitan church of St. Andrews of its covering.”—(Jebb, Vol. II. p. 263).

The hypocrisy of Moray seems to have imposed even on Archbishop Spottiswood; who gives a flaming character of him, and speaks of him as “a man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed.”—(Book V. pp. 233, 234). As a politician, he may have been so; but no amount of political sagacity can ever compensate for the absence of true religion, and moral integrity. That the death of Moray was an evil to the kingdom, is undeniable; for it was followed by a state of disorganization, such as history seldom has occasion to record. During his lifetime, he never sat down to dinner without a number of ministers around him—without the reading of Scripture, and the hearing of long prayers—and this is, perhaps, the reason why the Archbishop, in his amiable simplicity, considers him to have been a good man.

To such a state of poverty were the ministers at this time reduced, that many of them left the pulpit, and, for the sake of their daily bread, betook themselves to pleading causes before the Lords of Session.

On the death of Moray, Lennox, Darnley's father, was proclaimed Regent. During his Regency, Scotland was a prey to faction, and to every evil deed. Lennox was born in England—had property there—and was the tool of Elizabeth.

While he governed in civil matters, Knox acted as Pope, in religious affairs, over all the ministers, and superintendents in the kingdom. He possessed the richest benefice in the realm; and, nevertheless, refused to pray for her Majesty, the Queen, now Elizabeth's prisoner. On the Sunday after the murder of Moray, he said, in the course of his sermon:—“What others may think I know not, neither do I care; but Mary Stuart never was a queen, in my opinion, and I am sure she is none now. Nor shall I ever be forced, against the light of my own conscience, to acknowledge her hereafter, instead of our sovereign; since God, and the people of this land, have laid her justly aside for her

Poverty of
ministers.

Earl of
Lennox
made Re-
gent.

Knox acts
as Pope.

crying sins." Nor did he stop here. He assembled the city ministers, and procured a resolution to be unanimously passed, "that, for ever hereafter, no clergyman should presume to pray for the Queen, she being utterly unworthy of such a benefit."

Such language would be considered, in the present day, simply as the raving of a madman. The only way in which it can be accounted for is, that Knox's brain was turned with spiritual pride; and that he believed he held the same place, in Scotland, that the prophets of the Lord held under the Jewish theocracy.

Roasting of
the Abbot
of Cross-
raguel.
Sept. 1st.

As a specimen of the frightful barbarity of the age, and of the motives which influenced but too many of the Scottish nobles in their zeal for the reformation—in other words, the destruction—of the Church of the land of their fathers, we may call attention to a most extraordinary act of cruelty perpetrated by the Earl of Cassillis, sometimes called the KING OF CARRICK, on account of the great power which he possessed in that district, on the person of the Abbot of Crossraguel. Cassillis had inveigled the Abbot into his castle of Dunure, a strong fortalice overlooking the Atlantic; and, with a view to compel him to sign certain papers, conveying the property of the abbey to himself, he had him conveyed to "a secret chalmers," termed the *Black Vault*, (Vault,) where they took off his clothes, and literally roasted him at a large fire, sprinkling him with oil, and turning him, sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another, with as much coolness as a cook turns a partridge or a pheasant! To stop the cries of his miserable victim, the Earl caused his mouth to be gagged. After the cruelty had continued for a certain length of time, the Earl ordered the Abbot to be released; winding up his villainy with the remark—" *Benedicite, Jesus, Maria!* you are the most obstinate man that ever I saw! Gif I had known that ye had been so stubborn, I would not for a thousand crowns have handled you so. I never did so to man, before you."—(Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 65-67).

The Regency of Lennox was signalised by another atrocious murder. Archbishop Hamilton, who, with his kindred, was loyal to his sovereign, was seized in

Dumbarton Castle ;—was sent to Stirling ;—was refused even a formal trial ;—and was, according to one account, hanged, in his episcopal robes, over the bridge of Stirling. Hamilton was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was strongly attached to Queen Mary ; and, after the battle of Langside, he accompanied her as far as the Solway, entreating her not to trust her person in the hands of Elizabeth of England. He even waded knee-deep into the water—held back the boat—and conjured her, by every argument in his power, not to leave her native soil. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 220).

1571.
Murder of
Archbishop
Hamilton.
April.

It is usually supposed, that the Scottish Reformers of the sixteenth century were all hostile to Queen Mary. This is not the case. Many Roman Catholics were her enemies ; and many Protestants were her friends. Among the latter were the Duke of Chatelherault, and his son the Lord John of Arbroath, the Earl of Argyle, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries ; Gordon Bishop of Galloway, Carsewell of the Isles, and many others ; all of whom were earnest for a reformation of religion. (Skinner, Vol. I. p. 201, *Note*).

Reformers
not all
hostile to
Queen
Mary.

The murder of Archbishop Hamilton was swiftly and amply revenged. Lord Claud Hamilton, his nephew, Scott of Buccleuch, and others, at the head of two hundred horse, and three hundred foot, suddenly marched upon Stirling ;—seized the Regent ;—and, in the midst of the *melée*, he was shot. Before he died, he “sent his love to Meg, his wife ;”—commended the prince to the care of the nobility ;—and requested the latter to pray for him. In those days, it seems to have been the fashion to separate religion and morality as much as possible ;—to endeavour to make it appear, that a devout death-bed was a sufficient atonement for the sins, and the crimes, of a wicked life. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 222).

Murder of
Lennox.
Sept. 2d.

CHAPTER X.

Knox struck with apoplexy—Miserable state of the places of public worship—Appointment of the Earl of Mar as Regent—Mar's death—Morton made his successor—Revival of the name of Bishops—Crimes of both parties—Last public act of Knox—Character of Knox—Death of Kirkaldy of Grange—Covetousness of Morton—He cajoles the ministers out of their *thirds*—His treatment of the superintendents—Andrew Melville—Robert Pont—Sumptuary Laws—Melville's first attack upon Episcopacy—Bishops attached to particular congregations—Renewed attacks upon Episcopacy—Second Book of Discipline—State of the country—Morton resigns the Regency—Supineness of the titular Bishops—James the Sixth assumes the reins of government—Increase of corruption of manners—Title of Bishop again abolished—The Archbishop of Glasgow—Audacity of Melville—A message from Mary to her son—First mention of a Presbytery—First edition of the Bible in Scotland—Laws respecting the Sabbath—Two poets hanged—Increasing strength of Presbyterianism—The office of Bishop abolished—Extemporary worship adopted—Oliver Sinclair—Death of Morton—Determination of Andrew Melville—Dregs of idolatry—The Raid of Ruthven—Death of George Buchanan—Buchanan's death-bed confession—Contest between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions.

Knox struck with apoplexy. IN the month of October, 1570, Knox was struck with apoplexy; one of the master-spirits of the age thus receiving warning, that, after his great labours, and Herculean exertions, the time had now arrived when "the silver cord" was about to be "loosed," and the "golden bowl" to be "broken." "A bruit [report]," says a chronicler of the period, "went through Scotland, and England, that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was seen; that his face was turned awry to his neck; and that he would never preach or speak again."—(Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. p. 69). Knox lived, during the following year, at St. Andrews; and survived this attack till November 1572.

Oct. 4th. The morals of the time are illustrated by the fact, that John Kello, minister of Spott, in Haddingtonshire,

was executed in Edinburgh for the murder of his wife; a murder perpetrated under circumstances of almost unexampled barbarity. According to a contemporary writer, "the people were casten sae loose, and were become of sic dissolute minds and actions, that nane was in account but he that could either kill or rieve his neighbour."—(*Historie of King James the Sext*).

We have stated elsewhere, (p. 157,) that Archbishop Hamilton was believed, on good grounds, to have been privy to the murder of Darnley. We think it right to say, that, in answer to a dittay which George Buchanan assisted in bringing against him, he denied everything but a foreknowledge of, and participation in, the death of Moray; "of whilk he repentit and askit God mercy."—(*Diurnal of Occurrents*). The tradition of his having been hanged over the bridge of Stirling does not seem historically correct. He was hanged at the market-cross of Stirling, at six o'clock in the evening, on the 7th of April 1571.

If any one wishes to become acquainted with the miserable state of the places of public worship, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, he will find it in a poem, entitled the *Lamentation of Lady Scotland*, printed by Lekprevik in 1572.

Miserable state of places of public worship.

Never was Scotland in a worse state, from the horrors of civil war, and the inveterate rancour of domestic faction. The Earl of Mar was appointed Regent, as successor to Lennox; but his possession of supreme authority was brief. He died in the month of October 1572; leaving behind him the character of having been a good and well-intentioned man. He appears to have been entirely under the influence of Morton; and no sooner was he laid in his grave, than Morton attained the object of his guilty ambition, by being made his successor. During the Regency of Mar, it had been ordained, by a Convention held at Leith, on the 12th of January, that the name of Bishops should be retained. The Episcopacy thus introduced has always gone under the name of the *Tulchan*, or Titular Episcopacy; because its bishops

Appointment of Earl of Mar as Regent.

1572. Oct. 29th. Mar's death.

Morton made his successor. Nov. 1st. Revival of name of bishops.

Jan. 12th. did not possess valid consecration. They were, merely, the superintendents under the old designation.

Crimes of both parties.

Scotland was now devastated by two parties ; that of the Queen, and that of the successful rebels, who governed in the name of the infant prince. Between these parties, the people were defenceless. Kirkaldy of Grange, reputed the best soldier in Scotland, had joined the party of the Queen, and held Edinburgh Castle in her name ; while Morton, in that of the infant prince, had garrisoned Leith. The country around Edinburgh, and Leith, was laid waste by detachments sent out by both. Morton burned all the corn-mills near Edinburgh ; and intercepted all the farmers going to market with provisions. Two of these he hanged : others he branded on the cheek. He seized five women going to market. Their sex was no protection to them. One of them he drowned : the others he ordered to be whipped, and branded. Kirkaldy met these acts by reprisals of the most cruel and revolting kind. Whoever was caught carrying provisions to the prince's party, at Leith, was hanged ; and Kirkaldy took a diabolical pleasure in playing the artillery of the Castle on the innocent and helpless inhabitants of the city. (Crawford, *Mem.* 245).

The murderous disposition of Morton evinced itself in every possible manner. He "hangit ane minister, named Robert Waugh, at Leith," for telling him that he "defended ane unjust cause, and that he wald repent when nae time was to repent ;" and, in the same year, he first tortured, and then hanged, Mr Andrew Douglas, minister of Dunglass, because he had publiely rebuked him for living with the widow of Captain Cullen. (*Diurnal of Occurrents*).

Last public act of Knox.

The last public act of Knox was one deserving of notice, and one praiseworthy of its kind. He was now in his sixty-seventh year. The exertions of an eventful life had exhausted his energies ; and he was fast approaching the land of forgetfulness. The massacre of Bartholomew roused the expiring lamp within him. In that massacre, he had lost personal friends, eminent for piety, for learning, and for rank. He ordered himself

to be conveyed to the pulpit ; and, summoning up the remainder of that strength which had formerly made princes and nobles tremble, he thundered the vengeance of heaven against “the cruel murderer, and false traitor, the king of France.” Not satisfied with doing so, he desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master that sentence had gone forth against him, in Scotland—that, if he repented not, divine vengeance would never depart from him, or from his house—that his name would remain an execration to posterity—and that none, proceeding from his loins, should enjoy his kingdom in peace.

The ambassador strongly resented this indignity to his master ; and required the Regent to silence the preacher. This being refused, he left the kingdom. (*M’Crie’s Life of Knox*, pp. 336, 337).

We cannot but admire this noble act of Knox. It half redeems his fame from the obloquy which, otherwise, stains it ; and was worthy the close of a career, in the course of which the fervour of his lofty eloquence was not always reserved for objects similarly deserving of denunciation and rebuke. It was worthy of him, of whom—whatever may have been his faults, and they were many—when his body was laid in the grave, Morton most truly said :—“There lies he who never feared the face of man !”

This year witnessed a great event ;—the departure, from this life, of that potent spirit which had done more to accomplish the downfall of the ancient hierarchy, and to create a change in the religious opinions of the people of Scotland, than any of, or all, the men of his time. John Knox died on the 27th of November; leaving behind him—like most great men—a reputation partly good, and partly bad. When the reaper, Death, took him, there undoubtedly fell a prince and a great man in Israel.

Death of
Knox.
Nov. 27.

Let us be just to the memory of Knox. Hitherto, we have condemned his violence and turbulence—his contempt of dignities—his personal insults, and other outrages, towards his sovereign. We do so still. We condemn, also, his overthrow of the Scottish Church, on the plea of his wishing to reform it. But, while we do

Character
of Knox.

this, let us see what is the relative scale of his merits, and demerits. Knox was, undoubtedly, an eminent instrument, in the hand of God, in reclaiming the Scottish nation from the errors of Popery ; but, by his undue interference with public secular affairs, and by his constantly advocating the cause of rebellion against lawful authority—a crime which, in Scripture, is said to be “as the sin of witchcraft”—he gave the influence of his name to opinions, which, in the course of little more than seventy years, led to the shedding of blood as water, and to the overthrow of the throne and the altar, in both the northern and southern portions of Great Britain. Essentially, Knox’s doctrines, as to the lawfulness of putting persons to death, for idolatry, blasphemy, and adultery, are the same as those to be found in notes to an authorized edition of the Romish New Testament, published in Ireland, in the year 1816. With Knox, idolatry meant Romanism ; while, with the Romanists, heresy means Protestantism.

Knox’s prayers certainly breathed little of the spirit of Christianity. Specimens of them may be found in Stephen (Vol. I. p. 240).

Knox was not the author of Presbyterianism—which means equality among the ministers of religion—in Scotland. He introduced an Episcopacy on the ruins of the ancient church ; in which superintendents—another name for bishops—enjoyed the pre-eminence which is the prerogative of lawful Bishops.

It is due to Knox to state, that the History of the Reformation ascribed to him was, according to some, not his work. Spottiswood speaks of him as “that worthy man ;” and ridicules the very idea of his being the author of that book. (*History*, Book V. pp. 266, 267). That he did not desire the abolition of Episcopacy, as such, and separate and apart from Romish corruption, is clear, not only from his having sent his two sons to be educated at Cambridge, where he visited them—not only from his having established the order of Superintendents—but from his having, moreover, carried, with him, into England, a letter from the General Assembly, of date December, 1566, to the English Bishops, in which the latter are spoken

of as brethren, "who had renounced the Roman Antichrist, and profest, with them, the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." It is not, however, probable that the English Bishops reciprocated the compliment. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 185, 186).

It has been said that Knox was offered a bishopric in England. If he was so—which is matter of doubt—he could not have been admitted to it without due consecration. Shortly before his death, he wrote to Edward the Sixth, urging him to increase the number of Bishops, ten for every one. (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 368).

In justice also to Knox, we must transcribe the words said to have been uttered, in his own defence, on his death-bed:—"I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great anger and severity; but God knows that I never, in my heart, hated those against whom I thundered God's judgments. I did only hate their sins; and laboured, with all my power, to bring them to Christ. That I spared none, even in the most exalted condition, arose from the fear of my God, who had placed me in the ministry, and who, I knew, would bring me to an account."—(Calderwood, p. 59).

These sentiments, if sincere, were creditable to the great Scottish Reformer. "Perhaps," says Bishop Russell, "it may be asserted, that a more amiable, modest, and temperate person, would have proved less suitable for the office which he undertook to fill. He lived in a storm; and, therefore, required the wings of the eagle, and the courage of the lion, as well as the wisdom of the man." (Vol. I. pp. 342, 343, *Note*).

The 29th of May 1573, witnessed the death of Kirkaldy of Grange. He was promised life, by his old friend Morton; but Elizabeth of England ordered Morton to sacrifice him for their mutual safety; and he was accordingly hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh. His head was placed on the Castle wall. Kirkaldy was a man equally celebrated for his courage in the field, and his wisdom in the cabinet. It was commonly said of him, that he had all the tenderness, and address, of a lover in the house, and the fury of a

1573.
Death of
Kirkaldy of
Grange.
May 29th.

lion in the field. Nevertheless, he had been one of Cardinal Beaton's murderers ;—he was engaged in Moray's rebellion against his sovereign ;—he had treacherously betrayed Mary into the hands of her enemies ;—and he had deserted his old associate, and fellow-rebel, the Earl of Moray, who had entrusted him with the government of Edinburgh Castle.

Maitland of Lethington, a fellow-traitor with Kirkaldy, and Morton, against his sovereign—hearing of the death of his friend Grange—destroyed himself by poison :—in other words, died what a historian has called “a Roman death.” This able man is said to have been the forger of those *Private Letters*, from Mary to Bothwell, on which, in a public declaration, Morton, and the other rebel leaders, proposed to justify their traitorous proceedings, and their seizure of their sovereign's person. Unfortunately for them, they afterwards confessed, that these letters were not in their possession, or known to them, till the 20th of June 1567, five days after they had seized the Queen.

Those, who wish for accurate information, on the subject of these letters, will find it in the pages of Goodal, Tytler, Whittaker, Bell, and Strickland. Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary* is, perhaps, one of the most accurate, and fascinating biographies in existence.

1574.

Covetous-
ness of
Morton.

By writers, who remember only the service done, by Morton, to what they are pleased to term “the good cause”—that is, the destruction of the ancient hierarchy—the insatiable covetousness, and infamous spoliation, of that nobleman are passed over without notice. In the gratification of his ambition, his great object seems to have been to amass wealth. “He fleeced the nation,” says Crawford, “of more money than any seven kings had ever done before him, which he entirely appropriated to his own private use, having reduced the prince's establishment to a very small number, and to a smaller allowance.” The ministers had been permitted, by law, to receive the *thirds* of the benefices ; but even out of this Morton flattered and cajoled them, promising them that, instead thereof, they should receive stipends, regularly paid out of the Exchequer. Having done this, he united three or four parishes under one incumbent ;

He cajoles
the minis-
ters out of
their
thirds.

placing a reader in each parish, whose duty it was to read the prayers when the minister was absent, officiating alternately in his several cures.* The reader received the magnificent sum of thirty pounds Scots, or two pounds ten shillings sterling, per annum.

Not satisfied with harassing, impoverishing, and starving the ministers, he treated with scorn and contempt the superintendents—who were, as Dr. Cook calls them, “the fathers of the Reformation,” and who had spent their own private estates, liberally, in the service of the Church. When they applied for their usual allowances, which had been fixed at five times that of the parish ministers, they were sneeringly told that there was no farther occasion for their services, since the bishops had been restored. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 250). The superintendents—Spottiswood, Winram, and Erskine—indignant at the insult, offered to resign their charges; but the Assembly, well knowing the cause, refused to accept their resignation. The Assembly, also, renewed the article of the Leith concordat, “that bishops and superintendents *stood on the level*; had the same power, the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and were to be regulated by the same canons.” While petitioning the Regent to do justice to the ministers, and superintendents, the Assembly requested “that his Grace *would provide qualified persons for vacant bishoprics.*” On this Bishop Sage justly remarks, “Let the candid reader judge, now, if Episcopacy, by the Leith articles, was *forced* upon the Church *against* her inclination.” — (*Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined*, pp. 212–216).

His treatment of the superintendents.

Calderwood, and Petrie, the Presbyterian historians, have, in relation to this petition, acted most disingenuously. The one has given none, the other has given a garbled account of it.

Whatever may have been the views of the early Reformers, in some other things, it is clear that they were sincerely attached to Episcopacy, as the divinely instituted government of the Church. “Parity”—or equality—says Calvin, “*breedeth strifes* ;” and, for

* This proves that a Liturgy was then in use.

fifteen years after the public establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, no such principle as the "unlawfulness of any superiority of any office, in the Church," above presbyters, was either professed or insisted on. (*Fund. Ch. of Presb.* 303, &c.)

1575.
Andrew
Melville.

The death of Knox led to changes which that reformer never contemplated. He had scarcely been two years in his grave, when, in 1574, Andrew Melville, a man of learning, and the father of Scottish Presbytery, arrived from Geneva; where, under the scholarship of Theodore Beza—the true originator of Presbyterianism—he had imbibed principles utterly hostile to those of Knox, and introduced them into Scotland. Fierce, and turbulent in his nature—hot and fiery in his temper—he set himself to make these principles popular; and, in so far, he succeeded. "He was a man," says Sage, "by nature fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peevish and ungovernable. Education in him had not sweetened nature, but nature had soured education, and both, conspiring together, had tricked him up into a true original; a piece compounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of satire and sarcasm, of venom and vehemence. He hated the crown as much as the mitre, the sceptre as much as the crosier, and could have made as bold with the purple as with the rochet."—(*Fund. Charter*). Melville was a mere layman; and had no claim whatever to be considered a member of the Christian priesthood.

Aug. 6th.
Robert
Pont.

At this time, two Assemblies were held in the year. On the 6th of August, the autumn Assembly met, and Robert Pont, a minister, and one of the Judges of the Court of Session, was chosen moderator. This gives us occasion to remark, that, as in the days of Popery, when cardinals, and archbishops, and bishops, were Lord-High Chancellors, and when abbots—mitred and not mitred—took their seats on the bench as temporal judges, the change in the religious opinions of the Scottish people did not abolish the practice of ministers of the gospel exercising supreme judicial functions. This Robert Pont was superintendent of Lothian; and, when charged with neglect of his functions as such, he excused himself on the ground

that he had his duties, as a Lord of Session, to attend to. The change from Popery did not, in the slightest degree, withdraw from those ministers the love of power;—power spiritual and temporal. To this day, it remains, peculiarly, in Scotland; and the prevalence of such a spirit, in the seventeenth century, when the elements of puritanical violence, and destruction, were let loose against Church and State, gave occasion to Milton's sarcastic remark:—"Presbyter is but priest writ large."

At the Assembly just referred to, the Bishop of Dunkeld was suspended from his episcopal functions for having neglected to excommunicate the Earl of Atholl. As a proof that the festivals of the Church had been celebrated under John Knox, and were still celebrated down to this time, a petition was presented, by this Assembly, to the Regent, praying "that all days *which heretofore have been kept holy*, besides the Sabbath-day, such as Christmas-day, Saints' days, and such other, may be abolished, and a civil penalty be appointed against the keepers thereof, by ceremonies, banquetings, playings, fastings, and other like vanities." —(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 260.)

This General Assembly distinguished itself by an ordinance on the subject of the dress of ministers and their wives. The ladies, as well as their husbands, were made the objects of a regulation which, in the present day, would go far to produce a female rebellion. "We think," said the Assembly, "all kind of broidering unseemly; all begares* of velvet, in gown, hose, or coat, and all superfluous and vain cutting out, steeking with silks, all kind of costly sewing on passments † . . . all kind of costly sewing, or variant hues in sarks; all kind of light and variant hues in clothing, as red, blue, yellow, and such like, which declare the lightness of the mind; all wearing of rings, bracelets, buttons of silver, gold, or other metal." —(*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*). And much more to the same purpose.

Sumptuary
Laws.

* Coloured stripes sewed on a garment.

† Fringes or trimmings.

Presbyterianism has, indeed, since the time of Melville, continued to abolish the observance of Yule, or Christmas-day, as a religious festival ; but it never has abolished—and probably never will abolish—the practice, even among its own adherents, of meeting together at the festal-board. There, on that sacred day, relatives meet together under one roof—generally that of the chief parent of all—and friend meets friend, to gladden each other by interchanges of kindly feeling ; although perhaps they do so, without calling to mind the mercies of an Almighty Father, communicated at that time through his Son, who came into the world, incarnate, to seek, and to save, that which was lost.

Melville's
first attack
upon Epis-
copacy.

Melville was now, privately, beginning to exercise his influence in Scotland. Having insinuated himself into favour with several of the influential ministers, he persuaded John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a good, but weak, and credulous man, to make, in this Assembly, the first attack upon Episcopacy. Dury rose, in his place, and, in his own name, and in that of certain of his brethren, begged to propose objections to the *name* and *office*, of a bishop. (Calderwood, p. 68). Melville, hypocritically pretending ignorance of this motion, seconded it ; and so began a contest, which ended in the Solemn League and Covenant—in desolation and blood—in the cruel and violent deaths of the first, and best, in the land—and in a series of crimes, which rendered Scotland—otherwise the most intellectual country in Europe—a proverb, and a by-word, wherever her name was heard. For an account of Melville's harangue, see Spottiswood. (Book V. p. 275). This writer also tells us, that, on the occasion of Dury and Melville's attack upon Episcopacy, there were six bishops, and two superintendents present, who did not so much as open their mouths in defence of their calling."—(Pp. 275, 276). In the meantime, Melville's attempt, against Episcopacy, was unsuccessful. Of his own share, in this transaction, Dury bitterly repented on his death-bed.

The baseness of Melville's conduct, in this matter, was aggravated by the circumstance, that, on account

of his reputation for ability, and learning, he had been, by the Scottish prelates, invited from Geneva to his native country; and had been, by the Archbishop of Glasgow, appointed Principal of Glasgow University. (Spottiswood, p. 275). The same black ingratitude was, by the famous George Buchanan, evinced towards Queen Mary; who conferred on him a pension out of the rents of the Priory of Crossraguel, which gave him leisure to spend the greater part of his after-life in calumniating that unfortunate princess.

Bishops were, at this time, attached to particular congregations; a circumstance which interfered, most materially, with the oversight of their dioceses. It is still a notion of the Scottish people, that all ecclesiastical rulers, whatever may be the extent of their duties otherwise, ought regularly to exercise the office of preachers. That bishops, both in Scotland and in England, do preach, is very well known. Some of them are among the most eloquent men of the day. And yet, it is wonderful to think, how a man such as the Bishop of London, who has the oversight of twelve hundred parishes, and an overwhelming amount of duty, in connection with them, to perform, can find time to compose sermons.

Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, while declaring his willingness to preach anywhere in any part of his diocese, refused, decidedly, to attach himself to any particular congregation. He refused to do so, on the plea that he should be violating the constitution of the Church and kingdom. (Skinner, Vol. I. p. 271).

In an Assembly held in 1576, Episcopacy was again attacked. The Assembly, however, still stood for Episcopacy; and Melville was a second time defeated. The first appearance of Presbyterianism, in Scotland, was, most undoubtedly, unpalatable to the Scottish people; but Melville shewed that he was determined to put the yoke of it upon them, whether they liked it or no.

During this year, the Second Book of Discipline was drawn up. It differed, materially, from the First Book of Discipline; and Andrew Melville was a leading man in the composition of it.

1576.
Bishops
attached to
particular
congrega-
tions.

Renewed
attacks
upon Epis-
copacy.

1577. The state of Scotland, at this period, may be gathered from the fact, that a national fast was appointed, for the proclaimed reason, that "iniquity overflowed the whole face of the country."—(Calderwood, p. 78). Thus, if Popery had sunk the morals of ancient Caledonia, the attempt to establish Presbyterianism does not appear to have improved them.*

Morton resigns the Regency. Sept. 15th. On the 15th of September, Morton resigned the Regency. Avarice was his ruling passion; and his sagacity shewed him that a storm was about to burst upon his head. He, therefore, retired to Dalkeith; where his house was known as "the Lion's Den." He had plundered the Church; he had cheated the ministers; he had coined, and issued, base money, which he refused, himself, to accept when tendered to him; he had cruelly oppressed the common people; he had betrayed, and sold, the Duke of Northumberland, to Elizabeth, after that nobleman had sought shelter in Scotland; and he had been guilty of repeated breaches of faith, and of acts of despotic tyranny, such as made his name hated, and execrated, by the Scottish nation as if they had been one man.

We have been thus particular in delineating the character of this person, because we shall, by and by, see him led forth to the scaffold, to perish in the embrace of the Maiden,† for the murder of Henry Darnley; a crime which he confessed he had been privy to, after he had headed the rebel troops, at Carberry Hill, against his helpless female sovereign, on this very account.

Supineness of the titular Bishops. The supineness of the titular Bishops was one of the chief causes of the future success of Andrew Melville. As a body, they did not attempt to vindicate their office.

* Dr. Cook's language, on the subject of the introduction of Melville's system of Presbyterianism into Scotland, is well worthy of perusal. It will be found in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 250.

† An instrument of his own invention; or brought from Halifax by him. From this instrument was adopted the idea of the Guillotine. The original Maiden, by which Morton died, and by which afterwards many men better than he died, is still to be seen among the curiosities of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

Their dastardly conduct, and pusillanimity, can only be excused on the supposition, that the violence of Melville, and his followers, was such, that they were paralysed from feelings of terror, lest they should be subjected to personal outrage.

The young prince had now assumed the reins of government. As a matter of course, he was a usurper. He was not King *de jure*; but he was King *de facto*. His mother, the real sovereign of Scotland, was a prisoner in England; and he ruled as the only individual who, practically, swayed the Scottish sceptre.

1578.
James VI. assumes the reins of government.

Still, notwithstanding the renunciation of Popery, the work of ungodliness, in Scotland, goes on. The General Assembly declares that "universal corruption of the whole estates of the realm" prevails; "slackness in religion," in the greatest part of the "professors" thereof is complained of; and "the *daily increase* of all kinds of sins and enormities"—such as we cannot venture to name—were rampant in the highest degree. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 276, 277).

Increase of corruption of manners.

At an Assembly, of which Melville was moderator, the title of bishop was again abolished. Bishops were ordered, in future, to be called by their own names, or, simply, to be denominated "brethren." (Russell, Vol. I. p. 364). After this, we need scarcely be surprised, that, in James the Sixth's presence, Melville, in the height of his passion, seized Archbishop Bancroft's lawn sleeves, and called them "Popish rags;" or, that Charles the Second—profligate as he was—should have declared that Presbyterianism was not a religion for a gentleman.

Title of bishop again abolished.

One of the most dignified, and determined, men of the age was Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow. He refused to submit to the usurped authority of the General Assembly. He had been a patron of Melville; who, with others, was now authorised to annoy him, and whose ingratitude stung him to the quick. The Archbishop, disgusted with the conduct of this man, sunk into a state of sickness, and melancholy, and signed a paper, repugnant to his principles, which had been placed before him. Melville's baseness, towards the Archbishop—the man who had loaded him with favours, and with kindness—was such as no man, of Christian

Archbishop of Glasgow.

principle, and Christian rectitude, can contemplate without indignation and scorn. "In private," says Spottiswood, "and at the Bishop's table—to which he was ever welcome—no man did ever use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but in the public meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his own name, and use him most uncivilly. Indeed, the insolence with which the bishops, generally, were now treated in the General Assemblies, caused them to withdraw from those meetings. (Russel, Vol. I. p. 369).

Even at the distance of nearly three hundred years, the blood boils at the baseness, the treachery, and the ingratitude of Andrew Melville towards his patron. His double-dealing was most disgraceful; and even Dr. Cook, a Presbyterian writer, condemns his conduct towards that "old man," Archbishop Boyd. In addition to his perfidy, with respect to this venerable dignitary, he succeeded in persuading the magistrates of Glasgow to pull down their beautiful cathedral; an atrocity which would have been executed, had not the tradesmen of the city assembled, and—to their everlasting honour—declared the man who should cast down the first stone of it should be buried under it.* The young prince, not then fourteen years of age, applauded the spirit of the tradesmen, and declared that he would stand by them, and support them.

Audacity of
Melville.

The daring audacity of Andrew Melville displayed itself on every possible occasion. When he, as moderator of the General Assembly, came, with certain other commissioners, before the Council with their *grievances*, Arran, according to a cotemporary narration, "begins to threaten, with thravn brow and boasting language. 'What!' says he, 'wha dar subscrivye thir treasonable articles?' Mr. Andrew answers: 'We dar, and will subscrivye them, and give our lives in the cause!' And withal starts to, and taks the pen fra the clerk and subscrivyes, and calls the rest of his brethren with

* Spottiswood, B. VI. p. 304.—Whoever wishes to be better informed about Melville, and his proceedings, is referred to his *Life*, by Dr. M'Crie; to Robertson's *History*, Vol. II. p. 55; and to Dr. Cook, Vol. I. pp. 291-296.

courageous speeches ; wha all cam and subscrivit." Such were the men—ministers of religion—with whom James the Sixth of Scotland, then a boy, had to do.

In 1579, Mary, by her private Secretary, Monsieur Nau, sent a tender and affectionate letter to her son. Because she addressed him as "our loving son, James, *Prince of Scotland*"—which, and nothing more, he undoubtedly was—Morton, who still had considerable influence, refused to allow the prince to receive the letter, and Nau was dismissed with disgrace. (Spottiswood, Vol. VI. p. 307).

1579.
Message from Mary to her son. June.

In this year, a court of Presbytery was first heard of. Such courts were established by the General Assembly ; and, from that time, they have been part and parcel of the Presbyterian system.

First mention of a Presbytery.

The same year witnessed the first edition of the Bible in Scotland. This was an important event ; and an injunction was issued, requiring that all persons, possessing a certain revenue, should procure for their families a copy of it, as well as a psalm-book in the vernacular tongue. This was found in the Genevan liturgy, accommodated to the Scottish Church by John Knox, and his coadjutors ; in which a metrical version of the Psalms occupied the larger portion. (Russell, Vol. I. p. 375).

First edition of Bible in Scotland.

Among other laws, passed at the present time, were some relating to Sunday, or the Lord's Day, which they absurdly styled the Sabbath. Had they termed it the Christian Sabbath, they would have been, in so far, correct ; but the Jewish Sabbath—which is now, to us, Saturday, the seventh day of the week—was abolished with the Jewish dispensation. It was enacted, that, on Sunday there should be no holding of fairs, or passing to taverns and alehouses, or the playing of games, or the using of hand-labour, or the wilful remaining from the parish church, in the time of sermon and prayers. (Russell, Vol. I. p. 375).

Laws respecting Sabbath.

Nor were the laws silent on other points. The Estates passed an act against "strang and idle beggars," and "sic as mak themselves fules and bards." The same act declares certain penalties against "the idle people calling themselves Egyptians ;" and it

Two poets hanged.

strongly condemns all sorts of vagrant idle people, including "minstrels, sangsters, and tale-tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs." This act was passed in October; but, previously, in August, two poets—William Turnbull, a schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and William Scott, notar, had been "hangit" at Stirling, by Morton, for some verses reflecting on his government. Truly, the critics of those times seem to have been more stern, and unrelenting, than even the critics of the nineteenth century! One of the tuneful tribe was hanged for having written a ballad, entitled *Daff and dow nothing*—that is, "Sport, and be at your ease"—and when, less than two years after, Morton was arrested, and conducted to Edinburgh Castle, the widow of the unfortunate votary of the Muses had the satisfaction of sitting down on her bare knees, and pouring out imprecations upon him. (Calderwood).

1580.

Increasing strength of Presbyterianism.

The strength of Presbyterianism was daily increasing. Like the cloud, "no bigger than a man's hand," it gradually swelled, in form, and in size, till it blackened the whole heavens, and prevented the light of primitive Christianity from reaching those who would have gladly embraced it.

The office of Bishop abolished.

The axe was, at last, laid to the root of the tree. The titular Episcopacy, which had subsisted for twenty years, was, by an act of Assembly, swept away; and Scotland, as far as ecclesiastical affairs were concerned, was thrown into a state of anarchy. It was in vain that James remonstrated with the ministers. They had assumed the whole power of the state; and they set his authority at defiance. The Court was weak, and they knew it; and upon this knowledge they founded their contemptuous opposition to him whom they acknowledged as their youthful sovereign. (Cook, Vol. I. p. 326).

Considering the democratical tendency of the principles, and practice, of the Presbyterian ministers, we can scarcely be surprised that James gave utterance to the axiom, "No bishop, no king." James was no fool; and he knew the men with whom he

had to deal. He saw, that, under the cloak of religion, there was hypocrisy of the deepest dye; that the love of power, on the part of the ministers, had mastered every other passion; and that the welfare of the nation at large was, to them, a matter of indifference, in comparison with their own aggrandisement.

The era had arrived, when a Book of Common Prayer was to be discarded; and when extemporary prayer was to be introduced in its stead. The people, at large, were made to believe that the minister's prayers were dictated by the Holy Spirit. The Lord's Prayer was condemned as a "Papistical charm." The Doxology, or "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," was discontinued. The authority of the Apostles' Creed, too, was denied.

Extempo-
rary wor-
ship
adopted.

A lesson to human greatness was, at this time, taught in a very simple but pathetic manner. George Auchinleck of Bahmanno had been one of the confidants of the Regent Morton, in the days of his power. On his way, one day, from the Regent's house, at Dalkeith, to Edinburgh, he met a Captain Nesbit, and, after a slight quarrel with him, slew him. So strong was he in his position with regard to the Regent, that he treated the matter as a trifle. He went on to the Tolbooth, where the Court of Session was sitting; and, as he was standing within the bar of the Tolbooth, an old man, of faded and shabby appearance, pushed through the crowd, and requested to speak with him. On Auchinleck's demanding what he had to say to him, the old man quietly remarked, "I am Oliver Sinclair," and, without another word, turned and went away. This Oliver Sinclair—now a poor and dejected gentleman—was the former powerful favourite of James the Fifth; and, although in poverty, was connected with some of the greatest families in the kingdom. He it was, who was appointed to command the ten thousand Scotsmen who basely surrendered to five hundred Englishmen at Solway Moss.

Oliver
Sinclair.

In June, 1581, Morton was brought to the scaffold. He had been arraigned, before the King, and the Privy Council, of being accessory to the murder of Darnley. Previously to his death, he acknowledged his guilt, in

1581.
Death of
Morton.
June 2d.

this respect ; and acquitted the Queen of all cognizance of the transaction. Spottiswood speaks of Morton's death in a manner of Christian charity which no other writer seems inclined to imitate. (Book VI. pp. 314-317).

There is nothing which strikes the reader of this age more strongly than the use, in the sixteenth century, of the most Christian language on the part of men who were stained with the vilest and foulest crimes. Morton's language on the scaffold was a specimen of this. He died as one of the holy men of God would wish to die. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who married Mary and Bothwell—who, afterwards, in the basest manner, took an active part against her—and who, on account of his shortcomings, was in constant trouble with the General Assembly—writes letters full of expressions of Christian piety and resignation. He is constantly “saying with godly Job, gif we have received guid out of the hand of the Lord, why should we not alsa receive evil—giving him maist hearty thanks, therefore, attesting our godly and stedfast faith in him, whilk is maist evident in time of probane.” Sir John Bellen-den, Justice-Clerk, the monster who had a share in the murder of Rizzio, and who, on receiving, from Moray, a gift of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh's estate, turned Hamilton's wife out of doors, so as to cause her to go mad, in his will, speaks of “my saul, wha baith sall meet my Maister with joy and comfort, to hear that comfortable voice that he has promisit to resoutat [re-suscitate], saying, Come unto me thou as ane of my elect.”* Such was the religious hypocrisy which had ingrained itself into the very heart, and soul, of the people of Scotland.

The manners, and habits, of the Scottish people, in the year 1581, were, verily, strange, when compared with those of the year 1859. King James is residing with the Duke of Lennox at Dalkeith Castle. It is
 June 11th. Sunday. He attends the parish church, within the town, and after service returns *with two pipers playing before him!* This was nine days after the tragic end of Morton.

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 145, 146.

Twenty years after the Reformation, it was still found that the "dregs of idolatry" were to be met with in the kingdom. These consisted of pilgrimages to chapels, wells, and crosses; and in the observation of "sancti-day." An act of parliament condemned them; fining and imprisoning, and administering bread and water to the transgressors.

Dregs of
idolatry.
Nov.

That Andrew Melville was a man of the most determined character, in the cause of what he considered divine truth, no one, who is acquainted with his history, will be inclined to deny.

Determina-
tion of
Andrew
Melville.

It was utterly impossible, while the Scottish ecclesiastical world was in the midst of such a storm, that the political element of the kingdom should be undisturbed. Accordingly, we find a sudden seizure of the king's person, at the Earl of Gowrie's castle of Ruthven;—now called Huntingtower, and within a short distance of Perth;—and this seizure is known, in history, as the Raid of Ruthven.

1582.
Raid of
Ruthven.
Aug.

James was seized in his bedroom. The master of Glammis, along with others, entered his apartment: and, on James's attempting to leave it, Glammis put his own back against the door. James burst into tears; on which the other insolently exclaimed, "*Better bairns greet than bearded men.*" At this time, James was about eighteen years of age. In this "Raid of Ruthven" Andrew Melville, and the other Presbyterian ministers, were secretly engaged. The insurgent nobles removed James to Holyrood; and, after doing so, they received the full, and open, approbation of the General Assembly, for the conduct of which they had been guilty. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 308).

On the 28th of September, died George Buchanan, the young king's preceptor, and the greatest libeller of Queen Mary's character on record, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was buried, at the expense of the city of Edinburgh, in the Greyfriars' churchyard. "There," says Mr. Lawson, "to the disgrace of his country be it recorded, lies the most illustrious scholar Scotland ever possessed, without a monument to mark the spot where his ashes repose." There can be no doubt that Buchanan was a great scholar, especially in

Death of
George
Buchanan.
Sept. 28th.

the Latin tongue, of which his translation of the Psalms into Latin verse—a work unsurpassed for beauty and classical accuracy—is a standing proof ; but, that his principles were extremely Republican—that he was a man of morose, spiteful, and vindictive disposition—and that he wilfully, with his pen, traduced that sovereign, Queen Mary, to whom he was so much indebted, is equally true.

While Mary was in the possession of power, Buchanan was her abject sycophant. When she had fallen from her Royal estate, he joined Moray ; and was the author of most of the papers, by means of which it was endeavoured to cover her name with infamy. He forged documents—letters, and sonnets, containing the most impure and murderous allusions—of which he charged Mary as being the author, asserting their authenticity upon his oath. So great was the abhorrence which his pupil, James, had of his memory, that, in his *Basilicon Doron*, he classes his and Knox's writings as “infamous invectives ;” and terms both these men “archibellows of rebellion.”

Buchanan's
death-bed
confession.

A very remarkable statement concerning Buchanan is to be found in a letter of Bishop Sage, dated October 17th, 1709, relative to his having declared, on his death-bed, that he had grievously wronged Queen Mary, and that he earnestly prayed God that he might be allowed time, and strength, to do her justice. For the sake of human nature, we trust that this statement is correct. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 310, 311).

As farther illustrative of Buchanan's character, it may be mentioned that his mind was easily abused by those around him ;—that he was credulous ;—and that to give him offence was to make him an enemy for ever. From being Morton's fast friend, he became his mortal enemy ; and that, simply, because Morton had purchased, and was determined to keep, a sure-footed and easy-going nag which had been taken from his servant in the time of the civil troubles.

To the last moment of his human existence, Buchanan was always employed ; and, when the Rev. James Melville, accompanied by his uncle Andrew, went “anes-errand,” from St. Andrews, to see him, he found

him teaching his servant-lad. "I see, sir," said Melville, "ye are not idle." "Better this," quoth Buchanan, "nor stealing sheep, or doing nothing, whilk is as ill."

The torrent of ministerial tyranny had now fairly set in. The question had come to be, whether the throne or the pulpit was to reign supreme. James, who, in this year, contrived to emancipate himself from the bondage to which he had been reduced at Ruthven, displayed a spirit which no one, who is acquainted with his general character, would have expected from him; while Melville, and his other ecclesiastical opponents, appeared resolutely determined to carry their spiritual power to its utmost height. French ambassadors had arrived in Scotland; and James begged the ministers to let the strangers alone. Instead of this, the ambassadors were, at the instigation of the ministers, insulted on the public streets; and the ministers themselves—to use the language of Robertson, a Presbyterian writer—"howled" at them *"with a vehemence which no regular government would now tolerate, but which was then exceedingly common."*—(Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 311, 312).

1583.
Contest
between
ecclesiasti-
cal and
civil juris-
dictions.

The king having ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh to entertain the French ambassadors at a public banquet, the ministers proclaimed a fast on the day of the banquet, and excommunicated the magistrates for not having attended church! James, roused to desperation, proceeded to take steps against the ministers, such as might, if possible, put a stop to their seditious and treasonable doings.

CHAPTER XI

Increased mutual exasperation—The Brownists—Dury, and Melville, summoned before the Privy Council—Melville escapes into England—A Parliament—Ravings of the ministers—Death of Spottiswood, the superintendent—Return of Melville to Scotland—Return of Bothwellhaugh—State of the kingdom—Murder of Queen Mary—Death of Erskine of Dun—Death of Archbishop Adamson—Ministerial interference—Parliamentary recognition of Presbyterianism—Slaughter of the Bonny Earl of Moray—The King and the ministers—Insolence of the preachers—The ministers assume legislative power—The *souters* of Edinburgh triumphant—Robert Bruce—Birth of the King's eldest son—The King's determination to put the ministers down—General Assembly—Convention at Falkland—Melville—David Black—His sedition—Riot in Edinburgh—The King's removal of the Courts of Justice from Edinburgh—Death of Bishop Lesley—Witchcraft and Shakspeare—The Basilicon Doron—Change of the commencement of the year—Shakspeare in Scotland—Review of Presbyterianism during the sixteenth century—Brawls, and tumults—Ignorance of the people—Godfathers—The Lord's Supper—Want of toleration—Licentiousness of the age—Restrictions on marriage—Death of Dury—Sincerity of King James's attachment to the Reformed Religion—Heron's account of the Presbyterian ministers of the period—The Gowrie Conspiracy—Fast Castle—The ministers refuse to give public thanks for the King's escape—Bruce banished—Moderation of General Assemblies, and re-erection of the titular Episcopacy—An Assembly at Burntisland—The King's proposal to translate the Bible—The King's mastery of the brethren—Death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, and the accession, to a new throne, of James, as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith.

1584. **HOTTER** and hotter grew the contest between James and the rebellious ministers. The "tug of war," between Greek and Greek, was as nothing to that of the quasi-sovereign of Scotland and the furious fanatics who represented themselves as followers of the meek and holy Jesus.

The Brownists. As far as the Kirk was concerned, trial and trouble seemed the order of the day. A new sect arose, which endeavoured to persuade Prelacy and Presbytery that both were in the wrong. A Robert Brown, a Cam-

bridge student, enunciated new and strange ideas, on the subject of ecclesiastical matters; and, by way of reward, the Bishop of Norwich put him in prison. Having contrived to get liberated, he took refuge at Middleburgh, where he published a pamphlet setting forth the new light which he had received. With a view to his irradiating the darkness which prevailed on the north side of the Tweed, he took ship, and landed at Dundee; whence he went on, through St. Andrews, to Edinburgh, and astonished the people there by his fulminations not less against Episcopacy than against sessions and synods. After a wrangle with the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland, Brown shook off the dust of his shoes against them, and returned to England, where he founded the sect of Independents.

A French Protestant, named Thomas Vautrollier, who had formerly been in England, came, this year, to Edinburgh, where he set up a printing-press, and published a small volume of poems, by the young king, entitled *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*; to which was added a prose treatise embracing the "rules and cautels for Scottish poesie."*

Dury, who, in a sermon, had justified the Ruthven conspiracy, and Melville, who had hinted that the only way to remedy the present troubles of the nation, would be by murdering the king, were summoned before the Privy Council. Melville had alluded, in a tone of approbation, to the rebellion against James the Third, and to his murder at Sauchieburn. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 314). Dury, ultimately, retracted; but Melville justified his language, and declared, that what was spoken in the pulpit was beyond the cognizance of any civil court; and he was personally, and outrageously, insolent to the king. The Council ordered him to enter himself a prisoner at Blackness Castle; but, instead of doing so, he, on the same night, fled to Berwick, whence, along with the other Edinburgh ministers, he escaped into England. There they met with the protection of Elizabeth.

Dury, and Melville, summoned before Privy Council.

Melville escapes into England.

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 154, 155.

From the moment of Melville's flight, the pulpits rang with denunciations of James and his government. They were compared to everything vile and infamous ; and were charged with having driven "the light of the country for learning" out of the land. (Calderwood, p. 144).

A parlia-
ment.

A Parliament was held, at which it was enacted that the king was supreme over all persons, and in all causes. It was, at the same time, declared treason to decline the jurisdiction of his Majesty and the Council. Notwithstanding this the "sincerer sort," as they were called, fulminated their denunciations against James, and his government, while James and his government threatened them with the pains of treason, and called upon them to abandon their meddling with State affairs, and to confine themselves to the discharge of their ministerial duties.

1585.
Ravings of
ministers.

Death of
Spottis-
wood.
Dec. 5th.

The death of Spottiswood of Spottiswood, or of that *Ilk*, who had been Superintendent of Lothian, occurred in 1585. Spottiswood was in priest's orders ; and had been ordained, in England, by Archbishop Cranmer. His father fell at Flodden ; his son was the Archbishop, and historian ; and his grandson, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Lord President of the Court of Session, perished on the scaffold, by the hands of the rebels of a future generation, who accomplished the death of the great Montrose.

Return of
Melville to
Scotland.

Melville, in the company of rebellious barons, who contrived to make their peace with James, had returned to Scotland, and his proceedings continued to be as turbulent as ever. It was at this time, that the Lord Chancellor advised James to let the ministers take their own way ; "for," said he, "in a short time they will become so intolerable, that the people will chase them furth of the country." "True," said James ; "if I were purposed to undo the Church, and religion, I should esteem your counsel good, but my mind is to maintain both."—(Spottiswood, Vol. VI. p. 347).

1586.

In 1586, Andrew Melville, with a violence almost unprecedented in history, procured the excommunication of Adamson, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, at a meeting of the Synod of Fife. The circumstances,

connected with this Synod, are almost ludicrous ;— a young man, named Andrew Hunter, having arisen, “moved,” as he said, “by the Holy Spirit,” declared the anathema of the Synod against the Archbishop. His Grace was handed over, by these fanatics, to the dominion of Satan, and the pains of hell. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 322, 323).

In May, 1586, Bothwellhaugh returned to Scotland. He fell down on his knees—told the king who he was—and implored pardon for shooting Moray. “Pardon you, man! pardon you, man!” said his Majesty, “Blest be he that got you! for, had you not shot that fellow, I had never been king.”

Return of
Bothwell-
haugh.

The state of Scotland, during the present year, was one extremely woeful. The Lowlands were barbarous ; the Highlands exceeded them in barbarity ; and the Hebrides occupied the position of superlative in this quality. So much was this the case, that, in the first edition of his *Basilicon Doron*, the King tells his son to think no more of the Islanders than as “wolves and wild boars.” The General Assembly of the same year describes the condition of the kingdom as one in which swearing, perjury, lies, profaning the Sabbath-day, gluttony, drunkenness, fighting, playing, dancing, rebellion against the laws, murder, incest, fornication, adulteries, sacrilege, theft, oppression, false witnessing, and, finally, all kinds of impiety and wrong abounded.* Such were the fruits of a “Reformation,” which Presbyterian writers tell us was the glory of the land.

State of the
kingdom.

On the 8th of February 1587, was perpetrated a crime, which excited feelings of horror throughout Europe. After nineteen years confinement, at Fotheringay Castle, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, and Dowager Queen of France, was foully murdered, by Elizabeth of England. In Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary*, doubts are started, as to whether the warrant for Mary's execution was not a forgery, perpetrated by a man named Harrison. Even if this warrant, however, were a forgery, the circumstance of its being so could be no justification of Elizabeth's conduct. She

1587.
Feb. 8th.
Murder of
Queen
Mary.

* *Booke of the Universall Kirk.*

had issued a commission to try an independent sovereign ; and she had allowed that commission to issue a sentence of death against one over whom she had no more jurisdiction than over the King of France, the Emperor of Marocco, or the Khan of Tatarly.

Among Mary's last words, were these to Melvin, on the morning of her murder :—" Grieve not, my faithful servant ; for this day shalt thou see Mary Stuart delivered from all her troubles."

In connection with Queen Mary's death, the scenes between James and the ministers were signally disgraceful. When she was under sentence of death, James appointed the 3d of February 1586-7, as a day of solemn prayer, in behalf of the Queen, in St. Giles's Church. On his arrival there, he found that the " ministers had perched up in the pulpit a young fellow, one John Cowpar." The King exclaimed, before the congregation—" Master John, that place was designed for another ; yet, since you are there, do your duty, and obey the charge to pray for my mother." To this command, the reply of the ministerial rebel was, that he would speak solely *as the Spirit of God should direct him*. He, then, commenced an extemporaneous prayer, in which he alluded to Queen Mary under the name of Jezebel, and other Scriptural epithets. The King ordered him to desist ; when he vociferously cried out, " This day shall bear witness against you in the day of the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh, for the last of thy plagues shall be the first." Upon this he descended from the pulpit, and left the church, followed by all the women ; after which, Adamson entered it, and delivered an eloquent and appropriate discourse. (*Moyse's Memoirs*, p. 115).

David Lindsay, of Leith, was the only minister who had Christian charity sufficient to cause him to pray for the persecuted Queen. (*Lawson*, p. 357).

The death of Mary was a stain of infamy upon the memory of Elizabeth which no length of time can efface. It is remarkable that not one of her leading persecuting Scottish nobles died a natural death. Camden speaks of her as a person " of singular piety towards God, invincible magnitude of mind, wisdom above her

sex, and of admirable beauty.”—(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 366).

James was now the real, and undoubted sovereign of Scotland. He was in his twenty-second year ; and he summoned his nobles around him at Holyrood, to signalise his majority.

The murder of Queen Mary excited, within the bosom of her son, feelings of indignation and horror. Motives of prudence, however, compelled him to be quiet ; and prevented him from carrying the armed legions of Scotland across the Border. He ordered his Court to go into mourning ; but one of his barons appeared in bright armour. When asked why he appeared in that martial costume, his reply was :—“This is the proper mourning for the sovereign of Scotland.”

On the 22d of October 1589, James sailed for Denmark, for the purpose of wedding Anne of Denmark, leaving behind him a letter of the most extraordinary and amusing description ; which is to be found in history. (See Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 366, 367). 1589.
Oct. 22d.

In 1590, flourished the Scottish Vandyke, George Jameson. He was patronised by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, the head of the great Highland family now represented by the Marquis of Breadalbane. 1590.
George
Jameson.

The 12th of March 1591, saw John Erskine of Dun expire, in the 82d year of his age. He was a man of great wisdom and prudence, and left behind him a reputation inferior to none connected with the age to which he belonged. Queen Mary described him as a “mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness ;” and Archbishop Spottiswood characterizes him as “a baron of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, and of singular courage, who, for divers resemblances, may be said to have been another Ambrose.”—(Spottiswood, Vol. VI. p. 383). The estate, and mansion, of Dun, in the parish of Dun, and county of Forfar, near Montrose, are still in the possession of the Erskine family. 1591.
Death of
Erskine of
Dun.
Mar. 12th.

The same year witnessed the death of Archbishop Adamson, who had fallen into poverty, chiefly in consequence of the king's having given the revenues of Death of
Archbishop
Adamson.

his see to the Duke of Lennox. Adamson, as a man of learning, and especially as a Latin poet, was an honour to the 16th century; but he was not, in reality, a bishop. He merely belonged to that class, established by Knox, for a long time, known by the very appropriate and significant soubriquet of *Tulchan* Bishops; the word *Tulchan* being derived from a practice, then prevalent, of stuffing a calf's skin with straw, and placing it before a cow, to induce the animal to give milk. The word *tulchan* means a model, or a close resemblance.

Calderwood, a Presbyterian, tells a somewhat amusing story of Adamson, which is worth recording. Having been disappointed of a bishopric, he, in a sermon preached at St. Andrews, in February, 1571-2, told his audience that "there were three sorts of bishops—*my Lord Bishop*, *my Lord's Bishop*, and the *Lord's Bishop*. *My Lord Bishop* was in the time of Popery; *my Lord's Bishop* is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right sure; and the *Lord's Bishop* is the true minister of the Gospel." Thus, by his own acknowledgment, Adamson himself was one of *my Lord's Bishops*;—that is, he was a *tulchan* Bishop, or mere resemblance of a bishop.—(Lawson, p. 112).

Dec. 8th.
Ministerial
interference.

The interference of the ministers, with the King, and even with his family affairs, were incessant and intolerable. Three of them "visited" him at Holyroodhouse, to ascertain what abuses were in his household; and they enjoined upon him that he should have the Scriptures read both at dinner and supper. (Calderwood).

1592.
Parliamentary
recognition
of Presbyterianism.

This year is remarkable for parliament's granting a sort of equivocal, and unwilling, recognition of Presbyterianism, which had been struggling into legal existence for seventeen years, and which King James took the very first opportunity of abrogating.

Slaughter
of the
Bonny Earl
of Moray.
Feb. 7th.

One cruel event of the time, celebrated in the ballad poetry of Scotland, is worthy of passing notice. This was the slaughter of the "Bonnie Earl of Moray," who, according to the minstrel,

was the Queen's luvie,

by the Earl of Huntly, at his residence of Donibristle, in Fife. Huntly had received a commission, from the King and the Chancellor, to capture Moray; but the commission was exceeded, and the latter was brutally killed. "Ye hae spoilt a bonnier face than your ain," were his last words, to the man who slew him. After this slaughter, Huntly marched through Kirkcaldy, and sought admission, for refreshments, to the castle of Ravensheuch. "You are welcome to come in," was the remark of the feudal proprietor, "but you would have been twice welcome to pass by." Moray's body was, by his family, kept unburied for six years.

So tormented was James, by the ministers around him, that, on one occasion, he "said it would not be weel till noblemen and gentlemen gat licence to break ministers' heads."—(Calderwood).

In December, 1592, the Earl of Mar was married, Dec. 25th. at Alloa, to Mary, the second daughter of the late Duke of Lennox, and sister of the Countess of Huntly. Mar had wooed the lady, and been scorned. He became low-spirited, and the king was alarmed for his life. His Majesty called on him, and, in his characteristic familiar style, said, with an oath:—"Ye shanna dee, Jock, for ony lass in the land." The King used his influence to promote the marriage; and to it Scotland is indebted for some of her most remarkable patriots, lawyers, statesmen, and divines. (Sir Walter Scott; who had it from the Earl of Haddington, and who communicated it to Mr Robert Chambers, in 1827).

Far, and wide, did the stream of Presbyterianism 1593. flow. The system of Geneva had triumphed; the barriers of ecclesiastical order had been broken down; the flood had invaded the gates of the temple; and the tempest began to howl. We have the authority of a meeting of ministers, in the end of the preceding year, for saying, that "all kind of impiety, contempt of God's word, and blasphemy of his name, contempt of the sovereign, treason, shedding of innocent blood, adultery, witchcraft, and other abominable crimes," were rampant from one end of Scotland to the other. (Calderwood,

pp. 271, 272). A goodly array of crimes, for a country in which it was stated, that all sin had been the result of Popery, and that nothing but piety, and order, and purity, and holiness of life, were to be expected as the offspring of the doctrine, and discipline, of Geneva !

The king and ministers.

The king, and the ministers, were, as usual, in a state of hostility towards each other. The latter held a meeting, and sent a huge deputation to his Majesty, at Holyrood House. The King complained bitterly of the meeting ; and said that “ he knew not of it till all the wives in the kail-mercat knew of it.”

Insolence of preachers.

The insolence of the preachers grew stronger, and stronger, every day. They called an Assembly—the first purely Presbyterian one of the kind—at Dundee, although they had agreed that no Assembly should be called but by the King’s authority ; but the spirit of James was roused, and he sent Sir James Melville, of Halhill, to inform them that he would not suffer the privilege, and honour, of his crown to be diminished, and Assemblies to be made when, and where, they pleased. He farther directed them to pass an act to inhibit ministers from declaiming, in the pulpit, against his Majesty, and council, under pain of deprivation.

Ministers assume legislative power.

Fiercely, and still more fiercely, raged the warfare between the ministers and their sovereign. A Homeric battle is the only thing to which it can be justly likened. The former claimed civil as well as ecclesiastical power, and threatened merchants with excommunication, if they should traffic with Spain : the latter enunciated the penalties of treason against all who should dare to invade his prerogative as Scotland’s anointed King. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 374).

Souters of Edinburgh triumphant.

The only body of men who were capable of bringing the ministers to order were the shoemakers. The ministers passed an act, abolishing the weekly market in Edinburgh, then held on Monday. The *souters*, or shoemakers, rose ; and the ministers were but too glad to rescind it. This incident gave occasion to much amusement at Court. Not without humour was the remark of King James, when he heard of the riot :—“ That rascals, andouters, could obtain at the

ministers' hands, what the King could not in matters more reasonable."—(Spottiswood, Vol. VI. p. 394).

The ministers went on. They excommunicated the Earls of Errol, Huntly, and Angus, the Lord Hume, and Sir James Chisholm. Their spiritual tyranny was as that of the Inquisition; but King James, whose easy temper has been twisted into pusillanimity, was not the man to submit to their dictation. He told them that they were "his subjects;" and that, as such, he would restrain them by coercion of law. The wantonness of the tyranny attempted to be thus exercised, by the ministers, is evident from the fact, that the noblemen, against whom they had hurled their sentence, were neither within the bounds of their jurisdiction, nor belonged to their communion.

Among the most factious of the Edinburgh ministers was Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, ancestor of Bruce the distinguished Abyssinian traveller. When the King, at their own earnest request, agreed to give the Romish lords a fair trial, this man, and his brethren, in defiance of his Majesty's proclamation to the contrary, raised an armed force; and, having procured six of the ministers to be associated with the judges, thus accomplished the noblemen's condemnation. Judgment went forth against them; their castles were ordered to be demolished; and the Earl of Argyle was commanded to waste their lands with fire and sword. Argyle, either from fear or sympathy, hesitated; but the solicitations of Bruce—a Christian minister!—drove him, at last, to compliance. Huntly and Errol armed in their own defence—met Argyle at Glenlivet—and gave him a total overthrow.

Robert
Bruce.

Never, in the worst times of Popery, was spiritual tyranny so truculent, in Scotland, as at this moment. Presbyterianism had—to use a vulgar expression—"taken the shine" out of the Pope; and truly has an annalist said, "that the King was tossed like a tennis-ball betwixt the precise ministers and the treacherous Papists."—(Balfour's *Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 393-395).

On the 19th of February, the King's eldest son, Henry Frederick, was born at Stirling. Bruce had told the King, to his face, from the pulpit, "that God

1594.
Birth of the
king's
eldest son.

would raise more Bothwells than one, if he did not revenge God's quarrel against the Papists, and repented him not of his own trespasses and iniquities ;" (Ibid.) and the same turbulent traitor, with others of the ministers, actually raised money, by collections at churches, on the plea of its being for the poor saints of Geneva, and then paid it over to two captains in Bothwell's service, for the purpose of embroiling the kingdom in rebellion.

1596.

To such a height had the arrogance of Bruce, and his brethren, arrived, that, not only did they protest against the wives and families of Errol, Angus, and Huntly—who had left the kingdom—receiving the means of subsistence out of their husbands' estates, but Bruce again personally insulted the sovereign, when the latter, knowing his influence in the Kirk, found it necessary to consult him on the subject of the recall of the banished lords from Spain. Bruce acquiesced in the proposal to restore Angus and Errol, but objected to the restoration of Huntly. James was anxious to receive all the three; especially the last, as he was connected with himself by marriage. "I see, sir," said Bruce, "your resolution is to take Huntly into favour; which, if you do, I will oppose! And you will choose whether you will lose Huntly or me; for both of us you cannot keep." It is scarcely possible for persons living in the nineteenth century, to believe, that the ministers summoned the Lord President of the Court of Session to appear before the Synod of Lothian, to answer to the charge of having advised the King to permit the return of Huntly, Errol, and Angus. (Russell, Vol. II. p. 53).

The King's determination to put the ministers down.

James, fully satisfied that the government of the country could never be carried on, so long as the tyranny of the ministers was tolerated, resolved, if possible, to emancipate himself from their power. Anxious for peace, he, nevertheless, prepared himself for war; that is, for a war in which it should be decided, whether the Kirk was to rule him, his nobles, and his other subjects, or whether all classes of his subjects—ministerial, as well as others—were to be compelled to obey the ordinances of the law.

A General Assembly was held in March ; in which the corruptions of all the estates of the realm were bewailed. If Popery had been bad, Presbyterianism had, by the accounts of its advocates, and representatives, proved a hundredfold worse. The corruptions of ministers themselves were deplored. The "King's house," his "Court," and "the judgment-seats," were, as a matter of course, hit at. Bloodshed, adultery, fornication, together with other crimes which cannot be mentioned, were declared to be the characteristics of a country, which, at the same time, boasted that it had the purest, and sincerest, Kirk in the world. Even atheism itself was pronounced to be a prevailing sin of the time.

General
Assembly.
March.

The King summoned a Convention to meet, at Falkland, on the 12th of August. At this Convention Melville, and other ministers, were present. The insolence of Melville, towards the King, on this occasion, exceeded all of which he had ever been guilty before. He seized his Majesty's sleeve, and called him "God's silly vassal ;" and bestowed on his sovereign the benefit of a harangue, on the subject of the superiority of the Kirk over the State, which it would be a waste of our space to transcribe.

Convention
at Falk-
land.
Aug. 12th.

Melville.

Never did Hildebrand, or A'Beckett, at the utmost extent of their supremacy, give utterance to sentiments of more lordly superiority, over the civil power, than did Andrew Melville, in the presence of the head of the Royal House of Stuart, at Falkland.

Melville was not the only leading firebrand among "the brethren." In David Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, he had a tolerably worthy compeer. Black, in a sermon, railed, in the most scurrilous manner, against the King and Queen ;—called all kings "the devil's bairns ;"—charged his Majesty with his heart's being "full of treachery ;"—designated the judges as "miscreants and bribers ;"—characterised the nobility as "degenerate, godless dissemblers, and enemies to the Church ;—and stepped so far out of his way as to declare Elizabeth of England an atheist, and a woman of no religion. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 390, 391).

David
Black.

His sedi-
tion.

Very properly, James made the remark :—"This licentious discoursing of affairs of state, in the pulpit, cannot be tolerated." Even Queen Elizabeth, of England—Protestant as she was—could not stand the language of Black. Through her ambassador, she demanded redress ; and James promised to do every-thing in his power to satisfy her.

Riot in
Edinburgh.

So fiercely did the ministers carry on their war against regal and civil authority, that they excited a riot, in Edinburgh, in which the King's life was in danger. His Majesty had attended the Court of Session, when he found himself surrounded by a clamorous mob. "Bring out Haman!"—meaning the King—and "To arms!" and "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" were the common cries ; and the King's life was saved, only by the provost's bringing out the crafts of the city, and dispersing the rioters.

The king's
removal of
Courts of
Justice
from Edin-
burgh.

This riot was followed by a most determined step, on the part of the King. He removed himself, his family, and his Court, to Linlithgow ; and there he issued a proclamation, declaring that he considered Edinburgh an unfit place for the administration of justice, and therefore ordained the Lords of Session, Sheriffs, Commissioners, and Justices, with their several members, and deputies, to remove forth of Edinburgh, and to repair unto such places as he might appoint. This proclamation so alarmed the people of Edinburgh, that the magistrates, and citizens, sent in a petition to the king, humbly entreating him not to carry his proclamation into effect.

1597.
Death of
Bishop
Lesley.

In 1597, Bishop Lesley, the servant, friend, and defender of Mary Stuart, died at Brussels ; leaving behind him, a name illustrious for learning and for judgment. His *History of Scottish Affairs*—written in Latin—is still looked upon as one valuable of its kind.

Witchcraft,
and Shak-
speare.

Punishment for the imaginary crime of witchcraft now was rife. Twenty-two unfortunate men and women—chiefly the latter—suffered in Aberdeen and its neighbourhood. The trials of these persons derive a peculiar and intense interest from the fact, that it is probable Shakspeare was acquainted with their details.

The chief of his company, Lawrence Fletcher, was in Aberdeen in October 1601; and what is more likely than that Shakspeare was there? The words of the Bard of Avon, in *Macbeth*, bear a strong similarity to words, and doings, attributed, in their dittays, to the Aberdeen witches, Janet Wishart and her associates.

He shall live a man forbid;
Weary seven nights nine times nine,
He shall dwindle, peak, and pine.

These are the dread words of the *Macbeth* hags. The Aberdeen witches had power over the winds; so had those of Macbeth. The Aberdeen witches were accused of prophesying with regard to the growing of corn: Banquo says to the weird sisters,—

If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow, and which will not,
Speak then to me.

For much interesting matter on this curious subject, see Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, (Vol. I. pp. 280-285).

In the month of November of this year, we find ^{Nov.} the Presbytery of Glasgow taking notice of "divers persons wha traduces and slanders the ministers of the city, as the authors of putting to death the persons lately execute for witchcraft;" and it ordains that any person hereafter uttering this slander "shall be put in the branks at the judges' will."—(*Maitland Club Miscellany*, Vol. I. p. 89). The branks was an instrument of punishment, for scolds, slanderers, and other offenders of a secondary class; and consisted in having the head enclosed in an iron frame, from which projected a kind of spike, so as to enter the mouth and prevent speech.—(Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. I. pp. 46, 47).

Andrew Melville perpetrated a very discreditable ^{1599.} transaction, in connection with the King's work ^{*Basilicon Doron.*} entitled *Basilicon Doron*; which was a treatise on the art of government, for the use of his son Henry, and which appears, originally, not to have been intended for publication. In this treatise, there were some severe remarks on the constitution, and discipline, of

the Kirk ; and Melville, having, through Sir James Semple, his Majesty's amanuensis, procured copies of these passages, dispersed them among his fiery brethren. The most obnoxious passage ran as follows : —“ That parity among ministers was inconsistent with the existence of monarchy ; that without bishops the three Estates in Parliament could not be restored ; and that the design of the Presbyterian ministers was to establish a democracy.”

The rage of the brethren was very strong. One of them, named Dykes, minister at Anstruther, threw a seditious libel, on the subject, before the Synod of Fife ; for which he was declared a rebel, and, for non-appearance, outlawed. James immediately published the work, and it found its way into England ; where it was much admired for its piety and wisdom, and where it conducted, greatly, to his peaceable succession to the English throne. (Spottiswood, Vol. VI. p. 456).

Change of commencement of year.

Hitherto, the year had commenced on the 25th of March, or Lady Day. It was now ordered to be, henceforth, commenced on the 1st of January.

Shakspeare in Scotland.

The ministers were now so far subdued, and the nation, at large, seemed so very little inclined to support them in their treasonable proceedings, that, in this, or in the subsequent year, the King even ventured to license a company of players, from England, to perform at Perth, and elsewhere, for the amusement of his people. The ministers excommunicated both the players and the play-goers ; but so strong in power had the King become, that he compelled them to remove the excommunication. Among the players so licensed, there is every reason, as we have said, to believe, was the immortal Shakspeare.

Review of Presbyterianism during the sixteenth century.

Having reached the end of the sixteenth century, it may be well that we take a cursory review of the opinions, and practices, of Presbyterianism, from the epoch of its introduction, into Scotland, by Andrew Melville. This we shall do as impartially as we can.

Brawls and tumults.

Brawls, tumults, and political intrigues among the nobility, were the general, and most prominent, features of the period. Squabbles between King James and the Presbyterian preachers enlivened the scene ; and, but

for the tragical consequences of the doings of the latter, the ludicrous manner in which they often attacked, and persecuted, his Majesty, and reduced him to shifts utterly inconsistent with his royal position, would have impelled Crassus himself to laugh.

For a long time after the Reformation, the people, in general, were very ignorant. Few could read; and many families had no Bible. The scriptures were publicly read, morning and evening, in the Church; and baptism was administered after the morning and evening prayers. In his *Book of Common Order*, known as John Knox's Liturgy, the child was to be presented, for baptism, by one of the parents, and a *God-father*.^{*} Ignorance of people. Godfathers.

During the reign of Presbyterianism, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Lord's Supper was received in a sitting attitude. But the mode of celebrating it was then different from what it has been since the Revolution. It was dispensed, generally, in every congregation, once a month. Persons who refused, or delayed, to communicate, were denounced, and prosecuted, by the respective preachers, and their courts called the kirk-sessions. Lord's Supper.

It may here be noticed, that in the Church of Rome, the only person who communicates *sitting* is the Pope; who does so on the plea, that he is the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ; and that, in consequence, he is entitled to assume an attitude of *familiarity* at his Master's table!—We may repeat our remark, that the primitive Christians sometimes received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a *kneeling* posture: they also sometimes did so standing, but never sitting.

In the sixteenth century, the doctrine of toleration was unknown. All persons, who were avowed, or suspected, Roman Catholics, were expected to be punished by exile, and forfeiture of their property. The Presbyterians, in their public Assemblies, openly Want of toleration.

* Perth MSS.—Lawson, pp. 243–244. In the Perth Register, the Godfathers—for there were usually two—are entered as *witnesses*; but at Aberdeen, and other places in the north of Scotland, the name *Godfather* is retained.—(*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Vol. II.).

declared that no form of religion but their own ought to be allowed.

Licentiousness of the age.

The state of morality, under the *regime* of Presbyterianism, calls for peculiar observation. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the pleasure which the Presbyteries seemed to take in probing cases of scandal, and immorality; and in investigating matters which men of the most ordinary feelings of delicacy would have shrunk from with disgust. The only conclusion to which impartial investigators of the extent of such immoralities can come is, that the age in which they occurred must have been one vicious in the extreme.

Restrictions on marriage.

On the solemn rite of marriage, restrictions were imposed. Parties were not allowed to marry, unless they were possessed of a certain degree of theological knowledge. The consequence was, that these parties retired, and lived as husband and wife, without the sanction of either Church or civil authority. Whenever two Roman Catholics were married by a Roman Catholic priest, the marriage was declared to be null and void. Can we wonder at the licentiousness of the age?

We have heard much, in the present day, of the confessional. No confessional could be more disgusting than were the questions put, by the Presbyterian ministers of the sixteenth century, to females, on the subject of what Calderwood terms "failings of the flesh."

1600.
Death of Dury.

The first year of the seventeenth century carried Dury, the tool of Andrew Melville, in introducing Presbyterianism into Scotland, to his long home. On his death-bed, he sent a message to the Assembly, stating that, "because of the unruliness of the younger ministers, who would not be advised by the elder sort, nor kept in order," there was "a necessity of restoring the ancient government of the Church."—(Spottiswood, p. 457).

Sincerity of James's attachment to the Reformed religion.

There can be no doubt of King James's sincere attachment to the Reformed religion. When presiding at a meeting of the Assembly, held in the course of the present year, he elevated his hands to heaven, and solemnly vowed, that he would faithfully administer

justice, defend religion, and withdraw his confidence from every individual who should endeavour to make him neglect the one, or injure the other. (Russell, Vol. II. p. 72).

The following is an account given, by a Presbyterian historian, of the Presbyterian ministers of the period :—

“ In arrogant pretensions to supreme, unquestionable, uncontrollable, heaven-derived power, civil and ecclesiastical, the Presbyterianism of Scotland, in the days of James the Sixth, did not yield one jot to the Popery of Rome. The Reformation might seem to give the Scottish sovereign five hundred Popes to contend with, instead of one. Should the monarchy have been humbled before the Pope, that was but to be destroyed by the majestic eagle; when its strength was weakened by the Presbyterian ministers, this was to be devoured by vermin, or to be stung to death by wasps. James’s life was continually embittered, during his residence in Scotland, by the Presbyterian ministers belying his purposes, obtruding on him their insolent advice, preaching sedition from their pulpits, exciting tumults in his towns, striving to entice his nobles from their allegiance, abetting whoever rose in rebellion against him, and arrogating to themselves all the censorial powers which the scriptures of the Old Testament teach us to attribute to the theocracy of the ancient Jews, and to the inspired prophets, who were the ministers of Revelation. James struggled against these rabid and outrageous opponents with great dexterity, and with no small success.”—(Heron’s *History of Scotland*, Vol. V. p. 337).

Heron’s account of Presbyterian ministers of the period.

The Gowrie conspiracy afforded the ministers another opportunity of questioning the power, and authority, of their sovereign. Whether the Gowrie family conspired against James, or whether James conspired against the Gowrie family, has been much discussed; but every piece of evidence, as well as every show of probability, is in favour of the idea, that the former was the case. It requires the utmost stretch of imagination for one to believe, that James would have ridden alone from the hunting-field, at Falkland, with Alexander Ruthven, to Gowrie House, at Perth, for the purpose of murdering

Gowrie Conspiracy. Aug. 5th.

its master ; whereas it was by no means unlikely that the Earl of Gowrie, and his brother — harbouring thoughts of revenge for their father's death—should have entered into a private league with Elizabeth of England, to put their sovereign's person in her power.

As rendering this last surmise not improbable, an English ship of war was seen hovering in the mouth of the river Tay ; and, as soon as the bloody incidents, at Gowrie House, became known, it disappeared.

Fast Castle. Had Gowrie, and his brother, succeeded in their conspiracy, it is supposed that they meant to have conveyed the King down to Fast Castle, near St. Abb's Head ; and, thence, to have transported him into England.

The ministers refuse to give public thanks for the king's escape. On the afternoon of the day on which the breaking out of the Gowrie conspiracy occurred, and after the death of the Earl and his brother, James, accompanied by his retinue, returned, on horseback, to Falkland ; and, next day, an order in Council was issued, commanding the ministers of Edinburgh to offer up public thanks to God for his Majesty's deliverance. This they excused themselves from doing, on the plea that they were not acquainted with the particulars. The command being re-issued, they peremptorily refused compliance ; on which they were ordered to leave the town within forty-eight hours. In a few weeks, they all acknowledged their offence, and were pardoned, with the exception of Robert Bruce ; who had the audacity to tell his sovereign, that "he would reverence his Majesty's report of that *accident*, but could not say that he was persuaded of the truth of it." On this account Bruce was banished, and went to France ; where he remained till James, with his usual clemency, permitted him to return.

Bruce banished.

Moderation of General Assemblies and re-erection of titular Episcopacy.

By the time—owing, in great measure, to the vigour, and determination, of the King—the General Assemblies had become moderate in their views, and in their conduct ; and a general impression prevailed, both among the ministers, and throughout the nation at large, that Episcopacy ought to be restored. The violence of Andrew Melville, and his adherents, had produced this result ; and he, and these adherents, not

in talent, but in numbers, formed, in the last year of new the sixteenth century, a contemptible minority. A titular Episcopacy was, therefore, set up. This Episcopacy was set up, simply, because Presbyterianism had been tried, and found wanting.

In the same year, the Queen gave birth, at Dunfermline, to a prince, who was named Charles; afterwards the unfortunate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland.

Birth of Prince Charles. Nov. 29th.

At an Assembly, held at Burntisland, and where some of the Edinburgh ministers, for their contumacy towards the King, were sent, as to country charges, John Hall, of Edinburgh, was chosen moderator. In his opening speech, Hall declared, that such was "the general defection from the purity, and practice, of true religion," that "*it must, at last, terminate in Popery or Atheism, except a substantial evidence were, in time, provided.*"—(Stephen, Vol. I. p. 422).

1601. Assembly at Burntisland. May 12th.

To this Assembly James proposed that a corrected version of the Bible should be undertaken. The proposal was cordially responded to; but it was never carried into effect. This work was, afterwards, accomplished by James, when seated on the throne of England. In the meantime, he himself translated the Psalms into metre. James Melville addressed an inflammatory letter to the Assembly, against the feeling towards Episcopacy, which the King would not allow to be read. (Ibid. p. 424).

The king's proposal to translate the Bible.

The King, having completely mastered the brethren, called an Assembly in the Chapel-Royal, Holyroodhouse, where the "defections," and "backslidings," of the "sincerest Kirk in the world" were deplored; and where additional steps—such as in relation to the sacrament of baptism, which the Presbyterian ministers had refused, under any circumstances, to administer unless during preaching—were taken to approximate the religious system of Scotland to that of the Church of England.

The King's mastery of the brethren. 1602.

On the 24th of March 1603, at three o'clock in the morning, a mighty cedar, on the heights of Lebanon, fell. Queen Elizabeth—the sovereign who, with the exception of Cromwell, wielded the sceptre of England with a majesty, and a power, unsurpassed—went the

1603. Mar. 24th.

Death of
Elizabeth.

Accession
of James
VI. of
Scotland.

way of all flesh ; and a messenger, (Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth) worn with the fury of horseback travel, startled James from his midnight slumber, and informed him, on his knees, that he was King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith.* Elizabeth's private character will not bear investigation. Nor can we even allow her the right of having been a legitimate sovereign. But, as the ruler of a great country, there is no one, whose judgment is not warped by prejudice, who will deny her the merit of having maintained the dignity of the nation of which she was the head with a wisdom, a prudence, a sagacity, a firmness of purpose, and a decision and force of character, which Julius Cæsar, Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, William the Conqueror, and the Napoleon of Jena and Austerlitz, never surpassed.

Sadly, and mournfully, did she draw her last breath ;

Sternly and haughtily passing away,
From the pride of her splendours, the pomp of her sway.

Never was the union of sin and sorrow more thoroughly realized than in the death of Elizabeth Tudor. Remorse for the death of Essex—remorse for the death of Mary Stuart—remorse for many another crime—had stricken into her soul ; and, notwithstanding the testimony of sycophants to the contrary, she left this world in a state of blank despair.

Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, in his Memoirs, speaks indeed of "her Christian and comfortable end." In reference to this statement, never were words more applicable than those of Dr. Samuel Johnson :—"Tell me not, sir, how a man dies : tell me how he has lived." How different the last moments of Mary Stuart, on the scaffold, at Fotheringay, from those of Elizabeth, in the midst of all her Regal splendour !

* Having, here, given a roll of the sovereign of Great Britain's titles, it may interest, or, at least, amuse, the reader to know—on the authority of our late friend the Ettrick Shepherd—that the sovereign of Great Britain is, also, "Head Bailie of the Lang Toun o' Kirkcaldy." This title was—according to Hogg—adopted by one of the Stuart Kings, in compliment to the "Lang Toun ;"—whether before, or after, King James the Sixth's time, we know not.

CHAPTER XII.

King James proclaimed—Observance of the Sunday—James moves into England—Inauguration—Evil effects of the irruption of Scotchmen into England—Death of Archbishop Beaton, and appointment of Spottiswood as his successor—Hampton Court Conference—Presbyterian Convention at Aberdeen—The Gunpowder Plot—The two Melvilles summoned to London—Andrew Melville's insolent demeanour—Imprisoned in the Tower—His death—Violent scene at Perth—Consecration of the Scottish titular Bishops, and establishment of a valid Episcopacy—Death of James Melville—John Ogilvy—Death of Archbishop Gladstones, and translation of Spottiswood to St. Andrews—The Five Articles of Perth—The King visits Scotland—Holds a parliament in Edinburgh—Divine service in the Chapel-Royal—Prudence of the bishops—Another General Assembly—James's practice in the election of bishops—James returns to England—Order to keep Good-Friday—General Assembly—The Articles of Perth—Death of James the Sixth—Accession of Charles the First—Charles's marriage—Its evil effects—Increasing strength of the Puritan party in England—The King endeavours to recover the Church lands—Prelates made Privy Councillors—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Charles visits Scotland—Erection of Edinburgh into a bishopric—Injudicious election of bishops by Charles—Bishop Maxwell—The older bishops, and the younger bishops—Archbishop Laud—Jealousy of the Scottish nation towards England—Activity of the Presbyterian party—Maxwell, Bishop of Ross—The Scottish Prayer-Book, and the Code of Canons.

No sooner had the majestic spirit of Elizabeth Tudor 1603. passed away—no sooner had that sun, which, although King James dimmed by many dark spots, had irradiated the firmament for forty-four years, gone down into darkness—than James, now occupying, as a monarch, the loftiest position in Europe, was proclaimed, by all his styles and titles, first at Whitehall, next at Cheapside, and lastly, at the Cross of Edinburgh, amid the universal applause of his subjects of both nations.

Thus did England—we speak on the authority of a personal friend, now departed, Sir Thomas Christopher

Banks, Bart., the first genealogist of his age—become an appendage of Scotland ; and not, as is often erroneously stated in the south, *vice versa*.

It were folly to say, that James possessed the great genius, and the towering intellect of Elizabeth ; but he was no unworthy successor of that illustrious sovereign. In addition to England being his birthright, he was learned, prudent, and sagacious ; he was a man of great ability, and had compelled even Elizabeth herself to respect him ; and, after seating himself on her throne, he, amid many troubles, contrived, for twenty-two years, to rule his dominions with a wisdom which gave him some claim to the title, frequently awarded to him, of his being the modern Solomon. It is said that when Elizabeth was speechless, and the King of Scots was named as her successor, she indicated her approval by putting her hand to her heart.

Observance
of the
Sunday.

Previously to our following James into England, it may be worth while to take a glance at the manner in which the Sunday, or Lord's-day, was observed, in Scotland, towards the close of the sixteenth, and in the beginning of the seventeenth, century. The Scottish Reformers took the observance of Sunday, as a Sabbath, from the ancient Church ; and the Presbyterians adopted it fully, while with the greatest inconsistency, they flung aside all the other festivals—such as Yule, Good-Friday, Pasch, and the rest. For this an author, named Winzet, in his *Tractates*, published in 1563, and reprinted for the Maitland Club, in 1835, taunts John Knox, and his followers ; telling them that they have no greater authority—namely, that of “the consent of the haly Universal Kirk” —for keeping Sunday than they have for keeping Yule.

The chief demands of the new system of religion were for a complete abstinence from work—from market-holding—and from public amusements—and for a regular attendance on the sermons. The Scottish nation were not prepared for this. Even so late as 1506, the Presbytery of Meigle complained to the Privy Council of the obstinate refusal of the people of their district to abandon their Sunday markets. Two

years later, the Town Council of Aberdeen ordained that "nae mercat, either of fish or flesh, shall be on the Sabbath-day *in time of sermon*;" thus shewing that the people would not submit to a total restriction on the subject. Taverns were allowed to be open, and public amusements were permitted to go on, excepting during the time of "the sermons." In 1607, a kirk-session is found requiring that "the mill be stayit from grinding on the Sabbath-day, *at least by eight in the morning*; and the Aberdeen Kirk-session Records* make us acquainted with the fact, that, in 1609, tailors, shoemakers, and bakers in Aberdeen, worked till eight or nine every Sunday morning "as gif it were ane ouk-day."

Ecclesiastical discipline was sharply administered for non-attendance to Sunday arrangements. In Aberdeen, in 1562, if an elder, or deacon, was absent from the preachings, he was fined "twa shillings." Other "honest persons of the town" were fined sixpence. On the 31st of July 1598, Andrew Robertson, a chirurgeon, and barber, was solemnly admonished for having polled, and razed [shaved], the Laird of —.

Strangely will it sound in the ears of the present generation when they are told, that, at the period of which we are writing, the Sunday commenced at sunset on the Saturday, and terminated at sunset on the Sunday. Such is yet the custom in Norway. In May, 1594, the Presbytery of Glasgow forbade a piper to play his pipes on Sunday "frae the sun-rising till the sun going-to."—(Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, pp. 328-332).

Before leaving Scotland for England, James, after attending divine service in St. Giles's Church, delivered a sensible address to those present; and, in the beginning of April, accompanied by a number of the nobility, and gentry, of the two nations, he departed on his progress to his southern kingdom. Throughout this progress, he was magnificently received; and, finally, he arrived in London on the 7th of May. †

James
moves into
England.
April 4th.

May 7th.

* (Spalding Club.) Aber. 1846.

† On his way, he was respectfully asked by an Englishman whether he had ever, before, seen such magnificent hospitality.

Inauguration.
July 27th.

On the 27th of July, he and his queen were solemnly inaugurated, in the Abbey-church of Westminster, by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Evil effects
of irruption
of Scotchmen
into
England.

It is said, that the multitude of Scotchmen who went with, or followed, the king into England, fomented, if it did not originate, that spirit of insubordination, in both ecclesiastical and civil affairs, which broke out in Puritanism, and which resulted in the Grand Rebellion, and in the treasonable murder of Charles the First, at Whitehall. In confirmation of this, it is remarked in the *Life of Bishop Hacket*, that, "after the coming in of the Scots, with King James, the seed of fanaticism was then laid in the scandalous neglect of the public liturgy, which, all the queen's time, was exceedingly frequented; the people then resorting as devoutly to prayers as they would, afterwards, to hear any famous preacher about the town."

Death of
Beaton;
Spottiswood
his
successor.

James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was the last of the old Roman Catholic prelates, died at Paris; and the King appointed John Spottiswood, the historian, son of the superintendent, and father of the Lord President of the Court of Session, as his successor. As a matter of course, Spottiswood was, at this time, merely a titular bishop. Subsequently, he received valid consecration.

Hampton
Court Conference.
1604.

At a conference held at Hampton Court, the King had it in his power to utter, freely, his sentiments on the subject of ecclesiastical affairs. Puritanism was beginning to creep into England; and objections were being made by, at first, a trifling number of persons, to using the sign of the cross in baptism, to kneeling at the Eucharist, to bowing at the name of Jesus, and to some of the other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.

The clergy of that Church numbered, at this time, about nine thousand; and yet, out of this number, after the Hampton Court Conference, only forty-five

"Tut, man," said his Majesty, "my provost of Forfar keeps open house every day of the year." The Englishman was astounded; but the truth of the matter was, that the provost of Forfar kept an ale-house.

adhered to puritanical opinions. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 242).

The King declared his conviction of the apostolical institution of Episcopacy ; and he congratulated himself on the different position in which he found himself, since he had left Scotland for England. He did not hesitate to declare, that, in the former kingdom, he had been a king without state and honour ; whereas, in the latter, where religion was professed in its purity, he was surrounded by learned, grave, and reverend men. James spoke of his dislike of Presbyterianism, and of the misrule which it had caused in his northern kingdom ; and, when Dr. Reynolds, the leader of the Puritans, asked for his consent to occasional meetings of the clergy, he, in very strong language, declared that he would not give it.

As if for the purpose of exemplifying the truth of the King's statement, at Hampton Court, with respect to Presbyterianism, nine Presbyteries out of fifty, attempted, in defiance of the Royal authority, to hold an Assembly at Aberdeen, and to give laws to the kingdom. Forbes, and Welsh, were the leading men. The King's commissioner—Sir Alexander Straiton, Laird of Lauriston—discharged the meeting at the Market-cross ; nevertheless, the ministers met. The commissioner presented himself, and told them not even Parliament—the three estates of the realm—could meet without his Majesty's consent ; much less could the constituted ecclesiastical authorities of the country. The ministers pursued their course ; and the end of the matter was, that Forbes, and Welsh, were arrested for high treason—tried by a jury—convicted—and committed to Blackness Castle. (Lawson, pp. 428, 429).

The constant plea of these men was, that they were answerable to their brethren only ; and, consequently, they pertinaciously declined the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal. (Russell, Vol. II. p. 75).

While King James was meditating, not only civilly, but ecclesiastically, a union between Scotland and England, a plot to blow up himself, and the Three Estates

Gunpowder
Plot.
1605.
Nov. 5th.

of Parliament, was discovered.* The discovery of the plot was, in a great measure, to be attributed to the sagacity of the King. On this occasion, his Majesty, so far as was consistent with the indispensable execution of justice, evinced a moderation, and magnanimity, which does honour to his character.

The Melvilles summoned to London.

In the existing perplexed state of Scottish ecclesiastical matters, James summoned Andrew and James Melville, along with five other leading Presbyterian ministers, and the titular Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Dunkeld, to London;—the former to represent Presbyterianism, the latter Episcopacy. This attempt, at an amalgamation between the two, was a failure. From the pulpit, Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, discoursed on the superiority of Bishops over Presbyters, and on the inconvenience resulting from parity in the Church;—Buckridge, of Rochester, on the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, frequently, in the course of his sermon, comparing the Pope and Presbyterianism together, in their opposition to sovereign princes;—Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, on the power of monarchs to convoke synods and councils;—and King, Bishop of London, on the office of presbyters, proving that lay-elders had no place, or office, in the Church, and that this late device was without all warrant of precept or example, either in Scripture or antiquity: (Spottiswood, Vol. VII. p. 497).

Sept. 22d. Andrew Melville's insolent demeanour.

As we have said, and as might have been expected; this endeavour to convert the Presbyterian leaders to Episcopacy did not succeed. At a meeting of the Privy Council, where the King was present, Andrew Melville, in a state of the most violent passion, insulted Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury—termed him the persecutor of God's faithful ministers—seized his lawn

* It is usually supposed that the sovereign is one of the estates of the realm. This is a mistake. An estate is a body of men; and, accordingly, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, in the preface to the service for the fifth of November, speaks of "the king and the three estates of the realm." The Lords Spiritual constitute the first estate; the Lords Temporal the second; and the Commons, in parliament assembled, the third.

sleeves—and called them “Romish rags,” and one of the marks of the beast. Yet, very strangely, this same man stood in awe of the English noblemen; and requested that their meetings might be more private, and confined to Scotsmen. This was, evidently, to prevent the English nobility from witnessing the manner in which he was accustomed to address his sovereign (Spottiswood, p. 498).

He told the Lord Advocate of Scotland that he was following the instructions of his uncle, Mr. John Hamilton, and that he was now, himself, become *πατήρας τῶν ἀδελφῶν*. The Earl of Northampton—probably not much versed in Greek—asked the King what he meant. His Majesty replied:—“He calleth him the *muckle deevil*.”

The elder Melville was imprisoned in the Tower; imprisoned whence, after four years' confinement, he was allowed ^{in the} to depart, and to accept the divinity professorship at ^{Tower.} Sedan, in France, where he died. Melville was a ^{His death.} turbulent, but an intrepid man; and of the sincerity of his attachment to Presbyterianism there cannot be a doubt. Had Knox, and he, been but more moderate in their principles, their views, and their tempers, they would have been among the greatest benefactors whom their country ever saw.

In 1607, a violent scene took place at a provincial ^{1607.} Synod, held at Perth, where Lord Scone was the King's ^{Violent} Commissioner, into the details of which we do not think ^{scene at} it necessary to enter. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 439–441). ^{Perth.}

The wranglings and disputations—the conferences, and ^{1608.} the excommunications—of the Presbyterian ministers went to such an extent, that moderate men, of all parties, were, gradually, beginning to see the necessity for a settled Episcopal form of government in the Church. The titular system, mixed up as it was with Presbyterianism; and all the evils which flowed from it, was not satisfactory; and James, whose mind still dwelt, with fond anxiety, upon the welfare of his native land, was determined to remedy it.

In accordance with this determination; Spottiswood, the titular Archbishop of St. Andrews, Bishop Hamilton of Galloway, and Bishop Lamb of Brechin, were

1610. Consecration of Scottish titular Bishops, and establishment of a valid Episcopacy. Oct. 21st. summoned to London, by order of the King, and consecrated in the chapel of London House, on the 21st of October 1616, by Abbot, Bishop of London, Andrews of Ely, Neale of Rochester, and Parry of Worcester. The newly consecrated bishops returned to Scotland, and canonically conferred the Episcopal function on their brethren who filled the other sees. The consecration of these latter bishops took place on Sunday, the 13th of January, and on Sunday, the 24th of February, 1611. As regards this Episcopacy, usually styled the Spottiswood line of succession, and which existed till the year 1660, Calderwood, the Presbyterian historian, bitterly complains, that by far the greatest part of the nation, submitted quietly to it. (Lawson, p. 452).

1614. Death of James Melville. Jan. 13th. Feb. 24th. James Melville, the nephew of the founder of Scottish Presbyterianism, died, at Berwick, on the 21st of January 1614. Calderwood says, that "he made a happy and a blessed end." He was a man milder, and more gentle in his disposition, than his uncle; but he, in so far, imitated him, as to be coarse in his manners—vain-glorious in his demeanour—and a railer at dignities, whether in Church or in State.

John Ogilvy. While the King was controlling Presbyterianism on the one hand, he was menaced with danger on the other. Popery, equally with Presbyterianism, was his foe; and the tenets of the latter now threatened his life. John Ogilvy, a Jesuit, from the college of Gratz, in Germany, was arrested in Glasgow. He had come, he said, "by command of his superiors, to do some service in these parts." Ogilvy was tried; and application was made to the King, for permission to put him to the torture, in order to compel him to confess what had been his dealings, and with whom, in Scotland.* This permission his Majesty refused; stating, that, if Ogilvy were merely a Jesuit, they were to send him out of the kingdom—that he would never hang a man for his religion;—but that, if Ogilvy, were

* *Torture*, was a barbarous custom of the age; and, therefore, it is quite unfair to speak of it as a thing specially, and particularly, applied, at a future period, to the Covenanters who had risen in arms against their sovereign.

convicted of high treason, by stirring up the lieges to rebellion, he should leave him to the course of the law. After a long investigation, and a fair and impartial trial, in the course of which he uttered menaces, of the most formidable description against the King, personally, Ogilvy was convicted, sentenced, and executed. It is very remarkable, that, in the course of his trial, Ogilvy justified, or, rather, attempted to justify, his own tenets, with regard to the excommunication of kings, the renouncing of allegiance to them, and even the putting them to death, by a reference to the principles of "the best of the Scottish ministers."

On the principles of Ogilvy, and of those whom he represented, did the English Puritans act, towards Charles the First; and on the same principles did the Scottish Covenanters act, with regard to his son, and successor, Charles the Second.

The death of Archbishop Gladstones was followed 1615:
 by the translation of Spottiswood, from the Arch-
 bishopric of Glasgow to that of St. Andrews. He is Death of
 Archbishop
 Gladstones:
 May 2d. described, by his successor, as "a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention, but of an easy nature," who, in pecuniary matters, was "induced by those he trusted, to do many things hurtful to the see." He left a paper behind him, testifying to the sincerity with which he believed in the scriptural and apostolical authority of the Episcopal office. (Spottiswood, Vol. VII. p. 523). Gladstones was the first patron of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, then the zealous advocate of Episcopacy; and presented him to the parish of Leuchars, about five miles west of St. Andrews. (Lawson, p. 344).

Spottiswood—unwillingly removed from Glasgow—signalized his translation to St. Andrews by munificently repairing the Cathedral church, and Episcopal castle, of that see. (Lawson, p. 347).

The degree of intelligence existing in Scotland during this early portion of the seventeenth century may, in so far, be guessed from the fact—if correct—stated by Calderwood, that the Earl of Orkney, executed for high treason, although a man of courtly manners, and polished address, was "so ignorant that

he could scarce rehearse the Lord's Prayer. We can hardly wonder at this state of things, considering how the Scottish ministers of religion, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, employed themselves, being more intent on discussing theological dogmas, than in instilling education, and reforming manners.

1616.

The year 1616, so far as the Scottish Church is concerned, is chiefly remarkable for two things. The first, is the absolution, in England, by Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, of the old Marquis of Huntly, from a sentence of excommunication most unjustly, and most absurdly fulminated against him, in Scotland; and the second is an expressed desire, on the part of the King, to a General Assembly held at Aberdeen, to have certain articles introduced among the canons of the Church, which were afterwards famously known as the Five Articles of Perth.

Aug. 13th.

The Five
Articles of
Perth.

To save future trouble, we may here state what these articles were. They enjoined kneeling, as the most decorous and appropriate form of receiving the Holy Communion; they appointed the observance of certain religious holidays; they held that Confirmation was an edifying rite; they allowed of baptism in private houses; and they permitted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be administered to the sick, and the dying, when they were not able to appear in the house of God for the purpose of partaking of the sacred symbols of a Redeemer's love to mankind.

In the year 1638, these Five Articles were, through the medium of the famous General Assembly of Glasgow, made, to a certain extent, the means of overthrowing the British monarchy; and of convulsing Scotland and England, throughout every part of their fair and fertile regions. And yet, in the nineteenth century, how does the case as regards these matters stand among Presbyterians in Scotland? Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and during the other parts of public worship, has not yet been introduced into the Kirk; yet her ministers, generally, if not universally, kneel during their family and other private devotions. These same ministers publish forms of prayers for the use of their congregations; and amongst other forms

are to be found some for "days of more than ordinary solemnity." Calvin advocated the propriety of the rite of Confirmation; and the late Dr. Hill, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, in his Theological Lectures, says:—"We endeavour to supply the want of it in a manner which appears to us to answer the same purpose." Private baptism is in use, openly and notoriously, in three parishes out of four. And, although the dying Christian is still, throughout the whole sphere of the Kirk's jurisdiction, refused access, in private, to the table of his Saviour, we believe that there is not one Presbyterian to be met with, in every hundred, who would not wish to see it otherwise.

In such circumstances, who can believe, that, were matters properly and judiciously managed, the Scottish nation would decline to come under the jurisdiction of an Apostolical and moderate Episcopacy?

The deaths of the two Melvilles had very much tended to soften down the spirit of insubordination in regard to religious matters in Scotland; but, still, a great deal of the old leaven remained, and, even under the new legitimate Episcopacy, the old manners of the Scottish Episcopacy displayed themselves.

Some of our readers may remember a picture of Hogarth, in which a beadle is represented as whipping a dog out of church. The following is somewhat parallel to that transaction. When Cowpar was minister of Perth—as a matter of course, before he was Bishop of Galloway—the Perth Kirk-session Registers record, under date June the 25th, 1616, that the "officer," or beadle, was "ordered to have his red staff in the kirk on the Sabbath-days, therewith to waken [rouse] sleepers, to remove greeting bairns [children crying] furth of the kirk. (Lawson, p. 333).

In 1617, King James, moved, as he termed it, "by a salmon-like instinct," bethought himself of visiting his native land. He did so; and was rapturously received. Previously to his visit, he had sent down portraits of the twelve apostles, to ornament the Chapel-Royal; but this excited such a commotion among the populace—who exclaimed, that images were being set up for worship, and that the next step would be to celebrate

1617.
The King
visits Scot-
land.

the mass—that the bishops, wishing to allay the uproar, petitioned his Majesty to order the removal of them. The King complied, but very reluctantly; remarking, sarcastically, that there had been *scandalum acceptum sed non datum*; “offence taken, but not given.” James was very much amused at the objections of his northern subjects, whom he taunted with an incapacity of being able to distinguish between figures intended for ornament, and images erected for worship. He facetiously compared their scruples to the conduct of the constable of Castile; who, according to Spottiswood, was sent to ratify the peace with Spain. When the dignitary understood that this business was to be concluded in chapel, where some anthems were to be sung, he desired that “whatsoever was sung, God’s name might not be used to it, and that being forborne, they might sing what they listed.” “So,” said King James, “you can endure lions, dragons, and devils, to be figured in your churches, but will not allow the like place to the patriarchs, and apostles.” (Russel, Vol. II. pp. 106, 107, *Note*).

The humorous remark of King James applies to the Scottish Presbyterian churches of the present day. The cross may appear on the outside of the building; but it dare not do so inside. Were it so to appear, the unmeaning cry of “Popery,” or “Puseyism,” would be raised; and all, who will not take the trouble to read, and to think, would join in the cry.

¶ Holds a
Parliament
in Edin-
burgh.
June 13th.

At Edinburgh, James, on the 13th of June, held a parliament; where there was much discussion on the subject of the government of the Church. In all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, the King was declared to be supreme; and an act was passed, “that whatsoever his Majesty should determine, in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law.”—(Spottiswood, Vol. VII. p. 53).

The King had, previously, proposed the archbishops, and bishops, without any of the second order of the Christian priesthood; but the bishops opposed this, and insisted, that, in the making of ecclesiastical laws, the presbyters were entitled to be consulted.

The King agreed, and stated, "that he did not object to the ministers giving their advice, or that a competent number of the most grave, and learned, amongst them should be called to assist the bishop. But," he added, "to have matters ruled as they have hitherto been, in the General Assemblies, I never will agree; for the bishops must rule the ministers, and the King rule both in matters indifferent, and not repugnant to the word of God."

James, on his arrival among his native subjects, had divine service performed in the Chapel-Royal, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Divine service in the Chapel-Royal.

After the re-establishment of a real Episcopacy in Scotland, the bishops acted with great prudence;—so much so, that those of the ministers, who still adhered to Presbyterian principles, found it necessary to prop up their cause, by a resort to the old system of violent tirades, against them, from the pulpit. Prudence of the bishops.

Having been petitioned to summon another General Assembly, James, at first, refused his consent. He declared, that if, at the meeting of it, he were to "use his authority," he should be called "a tyrant, and persecutor." He was assured, by those desiring it, that none would be so insane as to express themselves in that manner. "Yet experience," said the King, "tells me it may be so; therefore, unless I be made sure, I will not sanction an Assembly." Mr Patrick Galloway suggested that Archbishop Spottiswood—who was present—should be responsible for the conduct of the ministers. The Archbishop, however, knew his men too well to undertake such a task; and—saying that he had been already deceived by them—he declined it. "Then," said Galloway, "if your Majesty will trust me, I will become security for the ministers." On this assurance, the King gave his permission; and a General Assembly was ordered to be held, at St. Andrews, on the 25th of November. (Lawson, pp. 380, 381). Another General Assembly.

What are we to think of the state of a country, when the sovereign, on justifiable grounds, refuses to allow the ministers of religion to assemble, for

consultation, lest riot, and confusion, should ensue ? Miserable must be the condition of that country, indeed.

At this Assembly it was ordained, that a person, in deadly sickness, should be allowed to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in his own house ; and that, in the administration of it, the minister should give the elements of bread and wine, out of his own hand, to each of the communicants—who were ordered to be, in addition to the sick person, six individuals—and that the following form should be used by the minister :—"Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Jesus Christ which was broken for you ; do this in remembrance of him ;"—"Drink, this is the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ shed for you ; do this in remembrance of him ;" and that the minister exhort them to be thankful.

Such is, precisely, the form of the administration of the Lord's Supper, used, in the middle of the nineteenth century, by those who use what is commonly called—and what has been ignorantly, and absurdly, vituperated—the Scottish Communion Office.

This same Galloway, on an after-occasion, when he was administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to an old man, said to the latter :—"Why do you sit so slovenly ? Bow down, and kneel." The reply of the aged communicant was :—"If I be now doing wrong, you have been teaching me wrong these forty-three years."—(Lawson, p. 423). This was a rebuke which must have stung Galloway to the quick.

James's
practice in
election of
bishops.

The practice of James, on the vacancy of a bishopric, was a highly commendable one. When a bishop died, his custom was, to direct the archbishop of the province to convene his fellow-bishops, and to propose to him three clergymen, whom they judged most fit for the Episcopal office, out of whom he chose one to be preferred to the vacant see. Were such a plan, or something similar to it, to be adopted in the Church of England, it would be accompanied by most beneficial effects.

James re-
turns to
England.
Aug. 4th.

In the beginning of August, James returned to England. On the 4th of that month, he slept at Carlisle ; and, shortly afterwards, found himself in London.

The year 1618 is noted for some important matters, 1618.
 connected with Scottish ecclesiastical affairs. The Order to
 first of these was an order, from King James, to the keep Good-
 provost, and magistrates, of Edinburgh, that Friday. Friday
 should be observed; and, at the same time, the practice of receiving the sacrament of the Lord's
 Supper kneeling was becoming common. The second
 was, the holding of an Assembly, at Perth, on the 25th General
 of August. This Assembly was composed of prelates, Assembly.
 moderators of presbyteries, and minister commis- Aug. 25th.
 sioners, noblemen, and barons. Archbishop Spottis-
 wood took the chair of moderator, in his own right,
 and as being primate and metropolitan of the kingdom.
 (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 489).

At this Assembly, there were stormy discussions, TheArticles
 regarding the Five Articles of Perth. As we have of Perth.
 already adverted to them, we do not think it necessary
 to analyse their contents here.

On the 27th of March 1625, died King James, at Death of
 Theobalds, at the age of fifty-eight; a sovereign whose James VI.
 life was, certainly, free from vice, and who was, 1625.
 undoubtedly, actuated by a desire for the welfare of Mar. 27th.
 his subjects. Sir James Balfour, in his *Annals*,
 ascribes his death to poison, administered by his
 favourite, Buckingham; but there is no ground for
 this imputation. James died calmly, and placidly;
 maintaining, to the last, the character of having been
 "the king of peace."

James was a man of wisdom; and he was, also, a James's
 man of wit and ready humour. His contests with the character.
 Presbyterian ministers, combined with the errors of
 his education, had given him a habit of irreverent
 expressions; and this he frequently bewailed. He
 said he hoped that God would forgive him for taking
 his holy name in vain, and lay it not to his charge,
 seeing it proceeded not from passion. It is stated by
 Fuller, that James stood much in awe of Bishop
 Andrews, when in his presence; although the latter
 was a man of a very facetious disposition. In parting
 with King James—notwithstanding the ridicule with
 which many eminent writers have enveloped his
 memory—we may justly say, that he was a monarch

of whom Scotland has no cause to be ashamed. His awkwardness of gait, and manner, and his coarseness of speech, have been often made a subject of comment ; and Sir Walter Scott, in his *Fortunes of Nigel*, has, good-humouredly, made this part of his personal character a matter of mirthful amusement. Such awkwardness, and coarseness, must, however, be attributed to his never having had the advantage of proper female training, either in childhood or in boyhood. He was never allowed to know the blessing of a gentle mother's care. He was reared among fierce barons ; scarcely ever a nurse dandled him on her knees ; no fond sister ever embraced him ; a stern preceptor* often chastised him with the rod ; and, when seated on his throne, his life was a life of constant warfare with men who were his subjects, but whose hands were, at the same time, deeply imbrued in blood.

Accession of
Charles I.

James was succeeded by his son, Charles the First ; who, having, during the lifetime of his elder brother Henry, been intended for the Church, was deeply read in ecclesiastical and theological lore. The remembrance of this circumstance will tend to throw light upon many of the events of Charles's troubled reign ; the dark, and dismal, fortunes of which evinced themselves almost from its very commencement.

Of Charles's attachment to Reformed Episcopacy, there can be no doubt. As far as Scotland was concerned, he was resolved to maintain the state of things which his father left behind him. He knew that it was most desirable that the doctrine, and even the form of worship, of Scotland and England, should, as far as possible, be one and the same. He endeavoured to make them so ; but an unfortunate marriage blasted all his schemes for the welfare, and the happiness, of his subjects.

Charles was married, by proxy, to Henrietta Maria,

* If George Buchanan was a stern and rude preceptor, James had another, Sir Peter Young of Seton, who was distinguished for the "elegance of his manners," *proptu morum elegantiam eximiam* : See his epitaph in the old church of St. Vigeans, near Arbroath.

sister of Louis the Thirteenth, King of France, on the 8th of May, according to the rites, and ceremonies, of the Roman Church. This ill-starred union led to many evils. Henrietta was a bigoted papist; and Charles's marriage. May 8th. Charles was weak enough to consent that his children be educated by their mother till they were thirteen years of age. A clause was even inserted in the marriage-contract, that they were not to be suckled by Protestant nurses. Charles must, therefore, have been perfectly aware, that, at a future period of time, he was destined—should he have issue—to be the parent of a family bred in the strictest tenets of the Church of Rome. Its evil effects.

There can be no excuse for Charles's conduct in this matter. In consenting to such an arrangement, he abandoned his duties as a husband, as a parent, and as the sovereign of a great nation, who had a right to look up to him to protect them from the danger of corruption in matters of religion. Great was the error into which he fell; great was the penalty which he paid for it.

A restless, intriguing, proselytising woman, Henrietta was, moreover, a slave to the Romish priests, whom she brought into England, and who acted as her chaplains. At their instigation, and to the ineffable disgust of her husband, she, as a matter of penance, walked barefoot to Tyburn, the common place of execution. Her domestics had the insolence to declare, that his Majesty, being a *heretic*, had no right to interfere in the regulation of the queen's family. Incensed at such conduct, Charles discharged them, and sent them all back to France.

The Puritan party were beginning to increase in England. From the time of Elizabeth, their march had been rapid; and their strength had become formidable. Their religious principles were opposed to those of the Church; and, in politics, they were republican. They had procured seats in the House of Commons; and, in that place, as well as elsewhere, they denounced the use of the surplice, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the sign of the cross in baptism,

Increasing strength of the Puritan party in England.

and gave indications that they were determined to remodel every institution in Church and State.

1626.
The King
endeavours
to recover
the Church
lands.

Knowing how the Church had been spoiled of its lands, and how the ministers of religion had been left in a state of poverty and destitution, Charles took steps to bring before the Scottish Parliament a measure for the recovery of the property which had, originally, by pious individuals, been devoted to the service of God. Never was there a step—speaking in a worldly sense—more imprudent. It led to Charles's ruin. As well might he have attempted to stop the onward course of an avalanche, or to oppose, in its most raging mood, the force of the Atlantic Ocean, as seek to wrest, from the nobles of Scotland, the ecclesiastical plunder with which they were gorged. The King sent the Earl of Nithsdale, as his commissioner, to the Parliament. Nithsdale was told, that, if he dared to propose any such measure as the King desired, he, and his company, should be all massacred in the Parliament House. Lord Belhaven, who was old and infirm, was, at his own request, placed next to the Earl of Dumfries, (one of the favourers of the measure), whom he grasped with one hand, pretending weakness, and with the other held a dagger concealed, ready to plunge it into his heart at the least commotion. (Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 515, 516).

Prelates
made Privy
Councillors.

July 12th.

Originally, the prelates had been taxed for the support of the Court of Session. On this account, one half of the Lords of Session were of the clerical order ; and, on the 12th of July, the King wrote to his Privy Council, commanding them to give place, and precedence, to the Archbishop of St. Andrews before the Lord Chancellor, and all others. This order gave such offence to the Lord Chancellor, that he wrote to his Majesty, telling him "that never a stoled priest in Scotland should set a foot before him, so long as his blood was hot."

1630.
May 29th.
Birth of
the Prince
of Wales.

On the 29th of May 1630, the Prince of Wales—afterwards Charles the Second—was born. This event was solemnized with great splendour ; the Lord Mayor of London, and Sir Heneage Finche, recorder of

London, presented the King with a cup of gold, valued at £1000.

In consequence of the distracted state of the kingdom, Charles—who had not been in it since he was two years of age—resolved, in the early part of 1633, to visit his native country. His progress, through England, was magnificent; and his reception, in Scotland, was of the most loyal, and affectionate kind. So profuse was the hospitality of the Scottish nobles—vying in this respect, with those of England—and to such excess did they carry it, that Clarendon, in his *History of the Great Rebellion*, ascribes that rebellion, partially, to the ruinous waste, and extravagance, then practised. On the 15th of June, the King entered Edinburgh by the West Port, bestriding a Barbary horse, with rich caparison and foot-cloth of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, and oriental pearls; the bosses of bridle, crupper, and tye being richly set with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, and on his head a panache of red and white plumes. Throughout the line of his stately entry, from the West Port to Holyrood Palace, there were “triumphal-arches, obelisks, pictures, artificial fountains, adorned with choice music, and divers other costly shows.” A few days after this Charles was crowned by Archbishop Spottiswood at Holyrood. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 526). 1633.
Charles
visits Scot-
land.

June 15th.

While Charles was in Scotland, he, with the full consent, and approbation, of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, erected Edinburgh into a bishopric—assigned to it a competent, and convenient, jurisdiction—appointed St. Giles's Church to be the cathedral—settled a sufficient revenue upon the see, out of Church lands which he purchased from the Duke of Lennox—provided a dean and chapter for it—and appointed Dr. William Forbes, of the family of Corsindae, in Aberdeenshire, an eminent scholar, as its first bishop. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 292). Of this distinguished prelate, King Charles said, that he had found a man who deserved to have a see created for him. Robert Burnet, Lord Crimond, a Judge of Session—father of Bishop Burnet—declared that he never saw him 1634.
Erection of
Edinburgh
into a
bishopric.
Jan. 26th.

but he thought his heart was in heaven. (Keith, pp. 60, 61).

Injudicious
election of
bishops by
Charles.

One step, towards the hastening on of the national crisis which soon arrived, was the injudicious conduct of Charles, in his appointment of Scottish bishops. We have already stated the manner adopted by his father, King James, with regard to the elevation of persons to the dignity of the mitre. (See *supra*, p. 266). Unfortunately, Charles was guided by a different rule; and court favour became the means of accession to the Episcopal throne. Even so vile an instrument as Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was allowed to appoint to Scottish sees. One of the King's bed-chamber—James Maxwell by name—had the appointment of a namesake as Bishop of Ross; and Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, did not refrain from mixing himself up with ecclesiastical matters, belonging to a kingdom separate, and distinct, from that of which he was the primate, and with which he had no concern.

Bishop
Maxwell.

With the exception of Bishop Maxwell, there was not one of the persons, thus exalted, who was, generally, considered fit for the Episcopal office. And even, as regards Maxwell, his capabilities were vitiated by inordinate ambition. He—along with the other bishops—became a Lord of the Secret Council; but, not contented with this, he continued, also, to be a Lord of the Exchequer, a Lord of Session Extraordinary, and Lord High Treasurer; “which,” as an eminent writer—himself a bishop—remarks, “proved fatal to them all.” (—Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 14).

The older
bishops,
and the
younger
bishops.

We are compelled, here, to draw a strange line of distinction, between the older and the younger bishops of the period of which we speak. It is of importance that we do so, if the causes of the overthrow of the Church in Scotland, as a national establishment, are to be properly understood. The older bishops were men of prudence, and sagacity, who foresaw the danger of meddling with the national prejudices of the Scottish nation, as to their becoming, either ecclesiastically, or civilly, subject to England: the younger bishops were men, who saw nothing but the attainment of certain objects, which would insure them court favour, and

open up to them the prospect of certain offices, both in Church and State. Terrible was the result of the error into which the latter fell.

That King Charles the First was sincerely attached to the liberties, and privileges, of his native kingdom, we see no reason to doubt ; but, at the same time, it is impossible for the impartial historian to be blind to the fact, that, with the knowledge of Church principles which he certainly possessed, he made strange mistakes with regard to the independence of the Scottish Church. His father, King James, desired a liturgy for that Church. So did he. But, who was his chief adviser in the affair ? It was Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; a man who had no more right to interfere with the Scottish ecclesiastical matters than he had to interfere with those of Mesopotamia. Laud was, in many respects, an eminent man ;—of uncorruptible integrity, and the most unblemished purity of morals. But, according to Clarendon, he was hasty, and passionate, in his disposition ; and these two infirmities led him into errors which a more phlegmatic man might easily have avoided. Thus, both his personal, and political, adversaries gained advantages over him which they were not slow to use. He was destitute of prudence ; a virtue so necessary to one in his position. Conscious of the rectitude of his own motives, he cared not what interpretation might be put upon them by others. This was a grievous error. Altogether, so unbending, and uncompromising, was his nature, wherever he considered moral, and religious, principle at stake, that it was a chief cause of that consuming enmity which pursued him, even in his old age, till, amid his gray hairs, and when his knees were so feeble that he could scarcely stand, it brought him to the block.

Archbishop
Laud.

The anecdote, connected with Archie Armstrong, the King's fool, when Laud was in Edinburgh during the commotion that took place, is well known. Archie met the Archbishop as he was entering, or leaving, the council-chamber. "Well, my lord," said he, "wha's fool now ?" For this remark, Laud had the weakness to have the principal jester brought before the King in

council—degraded from his office—and his fool's coat publicly taken from his back.

The pith, as well as the wit, of the jester's remark shews, that under the fool's doublet, lay some of the inherent qualities of a statesman. Had Laud condescended to consult this fool by profession, he would have respected his own Church principles, and would have peremptorily declined to travel beyond his own legitimate province, and to interfere with Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

Jealousy of
the Scottish
nation
towards
England.

Charles had alarmed the Scottish nobility, by certain indications that he meant to revoke the grants of Church lands; but he alarmed the Scottish nation still more, by his allowing it to be supposed, that it was his intention—backed by Laud—to force the liturgy of the Church of England upon it. As a nation, the Scotch had no objection to a liturgy; but they remembered the days of Wallace and of Bruce, and they remembered the days when the Archbishop of York claimed ecclesiastical supremacy over Scotland, and they were determined that, neither in civil nor ecclesiastical matters, would they sanction anything which had the slightest appearance of subjecting them to English rule. The *ingenium perfervidum Scotorum* was roused. The indignation of the Scottish people was exasperated to fury; and the meddling of Laud was the precursor of the tempest, which swept the four corners of the land, and overthrew the altar and the throne.

Activity of
the Presby-
terian
party.

During this time, the Presbyterian party were not idle. They were concocting their plans with the Puritans of England. Both Echard and Antony Wood mention that the celebrated John Hampden annually visited Scotland, for the purpose of concerting measures with his friends. (Stephen, Vol. I. p. 466). The discontented nobility, who were afraid of the Church plunder of which they were possessed, were equally busy; and were ready to join in any measures which might give stability to their position, as the possessors of Church lands.

While Laud insisted on forcing the Prayer Book of the Church of England on the Scottish nation,

Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and others, in a spirit of patriotism, resolutely resisted the attempted imposition; and told his Majesty that no man of honour, "who loved the King best, or respected England most," would ever consent "to bring such dishonour on his native country." This language, coming from such a quarter, somewhat alarmed the King; and he ordered a Prayer Book to be prepared, varying slightly from the English one. Still, Laud was determined to have, what is vulgarly termed "a finger in the pie;" and the book, along with a Code of Canons, was submitted for revisal to him, and Bishops Jaxon of London, and Wren of Norwich. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 294, 295).

Maxwell,
Bishop of
Ross.

The Scot-
tish Prayer
Book, and
the Code of
Canons.

CHAPTER XIII.

The younger bishops—Laud's interference with Scottish ecclesiastical affairs—The Service-Book—Jenny Geddes—Alexander Henderson—Mr. David Dickson—The Tables—The Solemn League and Covenant—Indifference of the English people—Charles recalls the Court of Session from Linlithgow—Appointment of the Marquis of Hamilton as High Commissioner—Glasgow Assembly—The Assembly cites the archbishops, and bishops, before it—Dissolution of the Assembly—The Assembly continues to sit illegally—Dr. Gladstones—Dr. Panter—Dr. Robert Hamilton—Tyrannical measures of the illegal Glasgow Assembly—Rising of the illegal Assembly—The Earl of Argyle—Overthrow of the Church, and civil war declared—Death of Archbishop Spottiswood—Bishop Guthrie of Moray—Treason of the Covenanters—Ideas of the Lord's Day, or Sunday—Profane swearing—Sabbatarianism—Military propensities of the Scottish ministers.

1635.
Younger
bishops.

LET us not trifle with historical facts. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.* Let justice be done, even if the heavens should fall. We cannot deny that the younger bishops, recently appointed, by Charles, to Scottish sees, had a great deal to do with the convulsions, which, in a very short time, rendered Scotland and England a universal battle-field. They were hot in blood, and high in hope. They bore themselves loftily; and they set at defiance the warnings of the elder occupants of the Scottish sees. (Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 15).

Laud's in-
terference
with Scot-
tish ecclesi-
astical
affairs.

If there was one thing, more than another, detrimental to the interests of the Scottish Church, it was the interference of Archbishop Laud with its concerns. With these concerns Laud had nothing whatever to do. Nevertheless, as if he had been primate of Scotland, he wrote to the older Scottish bishops, threatening them with deprivation of their offices, as bishops, if they did not obey the King's orders, with regard to the introduction of a liturgy into Scotland. Contrary to his own principles of churchmanship, he told these bishops, that, if they did not push on the intended liturgy, and

canons, upon the Scottish nation, "the King would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute men, who would not be afraid to do him service."—(Guthrie's *Memoirs*, pp. 15–18). It is utterly impossible to justify the conduct of Laud in this matter. No one was better acquainted than he was with the independence of national churches; and no one knew better than he did that no sovereign had it in his power to take away from a bishop his spiritual jurisdiction over those intrusted to his charge.

A liturgy had now been prepared, which went under the name of the Service Book. It was used—1637. The Service Book. attempted to be used—in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, on the 23d of July 1637. Prayers were read by the Dean; the Bishop being present. Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, was also present. July 23d.

While the Dean was going through the service, a riot commenced. In the midst of it, a woman, named Janet, or Jenny, Geddes, threw a stool at the Dean's head; and the uproar which ensued was of the most disgraceful kind. Jenny Geddes.

It is due to the memory of Jenny Geddes to say, that, when the restoration of Charles the Second took place, she evinced her joy, at the termination of the troubles of which she had been the commencement, in a peculiar manner. She kept an apple-stall, in front of the Tron Church, in Edinburgh; and she threw it into the bonfire which was blazing on the High Street, to commemorate the King's return.

There is historical evidence of the fact, that females of the lower orders were set on, by leading Presbyterian noblemen, and ministers, to perpetrate these outrages. One of the principal female rioters was a Euphemia Henderson. Men, also, were stationed, in St. Giles's Church, in female attire. (Lawson, p. 501; Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 20).

By some absurd mistake, the Canons, in which the use of the Liturgy was enjoined, were issued before the Liturgy itself was in existence; and this gave an opportunity to the Presbyterian leaders to assert, that

something Popish was about to appear.* This notion, conjoined with the idea—an idea sedulously instilled into them—that both the Canons, and the Liturgy, emanated from England, exasperated the people to the highest degree of frenzy; and, at the very moment when their passions were excited to the utmost, a second Andrew Melville, in the person of Alexander Henderson, arose, to stir farther the troubled waters, and to involve his country in bloodshed, and misery.

Alexander
Henderson.

That Henderson was a man of great abilities, both Episcopal and Presbyterian writers testify. Bishop Guthrie speaks of him as a man of “gravity, learning, wisdom, and state-policy.”—(*Memoirs*, p. 21). In his youth, he had been “very Episcopal;” and was indebted to Archbishop Gladstones for his church at Leuchars, in Fife. Notwithstanding these circumstances, he had now become a turbulent, and bitter, opponent of the existing state of ecclesiastical matters in the kingdom. Along with Mr. David Dickson, another minister, he commenced a career, which ended in his exercising a tyranny, in Scotland, equal, if not superior, to that which had ever been exercised, within it, by any bishop of Rome. Even Baillie—originally an Episcopalian, but afterwards a Presbyterian writer—facetiously speaks of Henderson, and Dickson, as the “two archbishops.”

Mr. David
Dickson.

The Tables.

In furtherance of their purposes, the Presbyterian nobles, and ministers, organized a body which went under the strange name of The Tables;—this name being derived from four tables, at which, as committees, they sat. The first table consisted of nobles, the second of lairds, or lesser barons, the third of ministers, and the fourth of burgesses. A general table was formed of commissioners from the four; and the result was, the framing of a National Covenant.

A National
Covenant.
1638.

* For a minute account of the Scottish Liturgy, and the Scottish Canons, see Lawson, pp. 484–498. The Canons were unexceptionable in themselves; and in the Liturgy, as printed in 1637, there is nothing to be found fault with. The Canons were printed at Aberdeen, in 1636: the Liturgy at Edinburgh, by Robert Young, the King’s printer, in 1637.

It is unquestionable, that the treasonable proceedings, which now took place in Scotland, received secret encouragement, not only from the leaders of the Puritan party in England, but even from members of the Scottish Privy Council. Sir Thomas Hope, of Craighall, the Lord Advocate, was deep in the treason. He, privately, advised Henderson, and Lord Balmerino, how to act, without incurring legal penalties; and, while he was at the head of the criminal law of Scotland, for the purpose of keeping that law unbroken, he was doing everything in his power to violate it. Even Cardinal Richelieu, the great minister of France, had a share in fomenting the troubles to which Scotland, and England, were so soon to become a prey.

The Covenant was publicly subscribed, by men of all ranks, in the churchyard of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh. March 1st. This document is still to be seen in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The professors, and ministers, of Aberdeen refused to sign it; and, on this account, had to flee to England. The "three Apostles of the Covenant"—as they were called—were Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo, in Buchan.

Nothing can be more wonderful than the indifference of the people of England, with regard to the portentous events now passing in Scotland. The little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, which afterwards swelled into a storm sufficient to darken the heavens, was considered, by them, as a matter of no consequence; and Clarendon states, that, while the English people were generally interested in what took place in Germany, in Poland, and in almost every other country of Europe, very few among them thought it worth while to inquire into the condition of a region, which their historical recollections had taught them to consider as inhabited by a race, who were hardly emerged from the shades of barbarism, and savage anarchy. No English gazette contained the slightest notice of Scottish politics. Indifference of the English people.

In consequence of the riots, at St. Giles's, in connection with the use of the Liturgy, and the remissness of the magistrates of Edinburgh in putting them down, the King had ordered the removal of the Court of Session Charles recalls the Court of Session from Linlithgow.

to Linlithgow. He now recalled it to the metropolis ; and the Lords of Council and Session resumed their position there, as the supreme Judges of the land.

Appoint-
ment of the
Marquis of
Hamilton
as High
Commis-
sioner.
June.

The King made a most unfortunate selection, when he appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his High Commissioner, in Scotland, to settle all religious, and ecclesiastical, disturbances. In public, Hamilton harangued the Covenanters, in the name of his sovereign, on the subject of their duty : in private, he took them aside, and said :—" My Lords and Gentlemen, I spoke to you, before these Lords of Council, as the King's Commissioner ; now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotchman. If you go on with courage, and resolution, you will carry what you please ; but, if you give ground, and faint in the least, you are undone. A word is enough to wise men."

Glasgow
Assembly.
Nov. 21st.

Solemn, and stately, should be the tone of thought, and solemn, and stately, the style of language, in which, we record the mighty event of this year ;—an event which was the immediate precursor and proximate cause of the Great Rebellion—which originated the distinction between Cavalier and Roundhead—which, from the day of the battle of Edgehill to that of Naseby, deluged the green fields, and verdant meadows, of England with blood—and which consummated the triumph of Puritanism, and rebellion, by the mockery of the High Court of Justice, the Presidency of Bradshaw, and the fearful tragedy which was enacted on the scaffold, at Whitehall.

The famous General Assembly of Glasgow sat down on the 21st of November 1638. The Marquis of Hamilton, as the King's representative, was its president. The Assembly itself was a motley convention of Presbyters and laymen ; of which last there were seven earls, ten lords, forty gentlemen, and fifty-one burgesses. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 329). Alexander Henderson was constituted moderator ; and Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, clerk. The archbishops and bishops, were not present ; and entered a solemn protest against the legality, and canonicity, of the meeting. This protest was treated with scorn, and

contempt. The Assembly declared its perfect independence of the Royal authority; and its competency to meet, sit, or vote, without the presence of the bishops. The members of it even asserted a right to sit in judgment on their ecclesiastical *superiors*;—a thing never previously heard of, either in ecclesiastical or civil law.

This General Assembly—constituted as it was of many ministers, and laymen, who had no right to be members of it—proceeded to take a step unprecedented in Christendom. It cited the archbishops, and bishops, of Scotland to appear; and those dignitaries having declined so unheard-of a summons, the Assembly—after charging them, collectively, and individually, with the guilt of heresy, simony, perjury, and other crimes of the deepest dye, in defiance of Scripture, of law, of reason, and of common sense, issued against them a sentence of deposition from their sacred offices. This denunciation was, of course, powerless; and remained a dead-letter. (Russell, Vol. II. pp. 156, 157.)

The Assembly cites the archbishops and bishops before it.

We must inform our readers, that, although this denunciation is signed by upwards of fifty lords, barons, and burgesses, not more than five ministers could be induced to append their names to it. (See, on this subject, Dr. Cook's *History*, Vol. II. p. 457).

On the 28th of November, the Marquis of Hamilton, as the King's Commissioner, finding that his authority, in it, was utterly disregarded, and that all law, reason, and justice, were set aside in its proceedings, dissolved it; declaring that any further proceedings, on its part, should be null and void.

Nov. 28th.
Dissolution of the Assembly.

In defiance of this sentence of dissolution by the King's Commissioner, the Assembly continued to sit. Such being the case, its judgments could have no force in law.

The Assembly continues to sit illegally.

Dr. Robert Hamilton was the person who presented the declinature of the bishops to appear at the bar of this Glasgow Assembly. The official reported, that Dr. Hamilton had, when he summoned him, told him to "hang himself"—that he "was not a traitor to appear before rebels"—and that he "was an honest man than any who sat in that Assembly."

Dr. Robert Hamilton.
Dec. 5th.

Tyrannical
measures of
the illegal
Glasgow
Assembly.

It is hardly possible for any person, living in the nineteenth century, to comprehend the causes of the illegal, and tyrannical, measures of the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638. We feel compelled, conscientiously, to pronounce this judgment upon it. It affected to abolish all the previous Assemblies which had been held since that of Aberdeen in 1605. It condemned, and annulled, the Service Book, or Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Canons, the Book of Ordination, the High Commission, and the Five Articles of Perth. It abjured Episcopacy, as anti-christian; and it lighted a flame which has existed from that day to the present, and which will continue to burn so long as a single faggot of "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion—false doctrine, heresy, and schism"—are known in the world. For an account of the most extraordinary proceedings of this pretended Glasgow General Assembly, with regard to the Scottish bishops, (see Stephen, Vol. I. pp. 630-632). On the 20th of December it rose. Its members had set law, and order, at defiance. They had violated every duty which subjects owe to their sovereign. They had declared themselves the sovereigns of Scotland; and they had entered upon a contest, with the civil power, which the blood shed on the battle-field of Naseby, and on the scaffold at Whitehall, did not finally exterminate.

Rising of
the illegal
Assembly.
Dec. 20th.

This may be a proper place for noticing that, in the year 1838—exactly two hundred years after its session—a meeting was held, in Edinburgh, on the 20th of December, in the Assembly Rooms, with Sir George Sinclair, Bart., M.P., in the chair, in commemoration of this Assembly. On that occasion, Dr. Candlish, the leader of what is now called the Free Kirk in Scotland, said, that the labours of the Glasgow Assembly "were peculiarly blessed of God." In contradiction to this oracular averment, Edwards, a writer of Dr. Candlish's own party, who lived during the troubles of the seventeenth century, declares, that, after the destruction of the monarchy, "more blasphemies existed than had been known for eighty years before, and that the bishops, and curates, would, one day, rise up in judgment against

that generation." And, in the "Public Acknowledgment of Sins," ordered to be made in all the churches, by the General Assembly of 1648; the following passage occurs:—"It were impossible to reckon up all the abominations that are in the land."

Surely, this is impartial and ample evidence, that the Covenant, and the exertions of the Presbyterian preachers, had done little to improve the morals of the Scottish nation. (See the Rev. John Marshall's *Letter to Sir George Sinclair*, pp. 38, 39).

Before this time a prominent figure on the stage of Scottish politics had appeared. This was Archibald, Earl, and first Marquis of Argyle; who, after an eventful life, in the course of which he had acted the part of a great deceiver—had fully wreaked his vengeance upon those opposed to him—and had, with a meanness of contumely scarcely conceivable, heaped upon the illustrious sufferer, consigned the great Marquis of Montrose to a felon's doom—himself, for high treason, perished on the scaffold, in 1661.

The Earl of Argyle had been the undutiful son of an affectionate and indulgent father. That father was a Roman Catholic; and, in strict interpretation of the law, the old man's possessions were forfeited to the crown. On the father's petition, the family estates were preserved; but only on condition that they should be given up to the son, and that—reserving to himself a moderate means of subsistence—the father should banish himself beyond seas. Argyle was, at this time, Lord Lorn. Nothing can justify, or even palliate, Charles's conduct on this occasion. The inhuman, and unnatural, arrangement was carried through; and the aged Earl of Argyle left his son, Lorn, to enjoy, and to reap, at a future time, the rewards of, his parricidal villainy. The broken-hearted parent, in a letter to his sovereign, told him "that he would submit to his pleasure, though he believed that he was hardly dealt with;" adding—in words which Charles had, afterwards, occasion bitterly to remember—"Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do. You have brought me low, that you may

raise him ; which I doubt you will live to repent : for he is a man of craft, and subtlety, and falsehood, and, if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it ;” “wind you a pirn” is the homely Scottish expression used in the earl’s letter.

Notwithstanding this parental warning, Charles made Lorn—afterwards Argyle—a privy councillor ; and the latter preserved his appearance of loyalty, till he found it convenient to throw off the mask of hypocrisy—to hasten, with his family, and followers, to the metropolis—to sign the Covenant—and to avow himself an ardent partisan of its cause.

Overthrow
of Church,
and civil
war de-
clared.

Death of
Archbishop

Spottis-
wood.

1639.

Dec. 27th.

The Scottish Church was now overthrown ; and civil war was declared. The Covenanters marched upon the Borders ; professing loyalty with their lips, and carrying treason in their hearts. Archbishop Spottiswood had retired into England ; where, overcome with age and grief, he expired.

Three of the bishops—Lindsay of Dunkeld, Graham of Orkney, and Fairly of Argyle—degraded themselves by submitting to the Assembly, and abjuring their Episcopal character ; and notwithstanding the fact that *all* the bishops were accused of the most heinous crimes, they were immediately put in possession of parishes.

Bishop
Guthrie, of
Moray.

The other bishops, who refused to submit to the Assembly, were expelled the kingdom, except John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, who refused either to submit or to leave his native country. A deputation of three Covenanters met him at the door of his church at Elgin, after he had preached, and served the uncanonical, and illegal, sentence of deposition upon him. They, also, enjoined him to make public repentance. This brave man, and pattern of a Christian bishop, treated the message with indifference, and contempt. He retired to the old Episcopal castle, or palace, of Spynie, in the neighbourhood ; which he had amply provided with necessaries, and garrisoned with soldiers, or retainers, and where he resolved to stand a siege. One account states, that he occupied Spynie Castle till 1640, when he was compelled to surrender to Colonel Monro ; another is, that the

bishop's family retained possession of the castle till May, 1642, when, during his absence in Arbroath, Mrs Guthrie sent all his goods, and furniture, by sea, from Spynie Castle, to his paternal mansion, and estate, of Guthrie, in Forfarshire, and, soon afterwards, joined him, attended by two of their sons, Patrick Guthrie, and John Guthrie, minister of Duffus, deposed by the General Assembly in 1642. (Spalding's *History*, Vol. I. p. 99, and Vol. II. pp. 43, 44).

In consequence of his refusal to make public repentance, Guthrie was "excommunicated." After being incarcerated in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, he was released, in the latter end of November, 1641, and died, in the course of the Great Rebellion, at his seat of Guthrie Castle. His son, Henry Guthrie, afterwards held the see of Dunkeld; and, after suffering much misery, at the hands of the Presbyterian party, left behind him an account of the troubles of Charles the First's reign; a book which still exists, and which is very valuable to those who desire to become acquainted with the true state of religious and political matters of that period.

The treason of the Covenanters rapidly advanced; — Treason of
so much so, that they sent a letter to the King of France, addressed, "*Au Roi*," "To the King" — Covenant-
indicating the language of subjects towards their natural sovereign. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 351). ers.

Nothing is more frequent, on the part of the Covenanters, against the bishops, than the charge that they violated the Lord's day; or, as they expressed it, that they broke the Sabbath. This violation consisted in the bishops having, occasionally, to appear on the public roads, on Sundays, for the purpose of their discharging their duty. Ideas of the
Lord's Day,
or Sunday.

Profane swearing was a peculiar vice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Queen Elizabeth used the most fierce oaths; and her successor, King James, by his own acknowledgment, often "took God's holy name in vain." Profane
swearing.

At the period of which we write, the principles of Sabbatarianism began to take root in England. The Sabbatarianism.

term Sabbath was gradually substituted for the Lord's day, or Sunday; and statutes were passed, session after session, inflicting penalties upon such as should be convicted of dancing, singing, or travelling in a boat, on horseback, in a coach, or in a sedan. So perverted were the feelings of these Sabbatarians, on the subject of the Lord's day, that, in their code of laws appears the following:—"No one shall run on the Sabbath-day, or walk in his garden, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave."—(Russell, Vol. II. p. 209).

Military propensities of the Scottish ministers.

The military propensities of the Scottish ministers, during this period, were very strong. The warlike habits of the Scottish preachers are alluded to, in a letter from Archbishop Sharp to Douglas, dated at Breda, in 1660. (Ibid. p. 209, *Note*).

CHAPTER XIV.

The Marquis of Montrose—Civil war—Trial, and murder, of Strafford—General Leslie—Dr. Leslie—Dr. Forbes of Corse—Learning discountenanced—The King's concessions—The Moderate Presbyterians—Progress of revolution—Battle of Edgehill—The Covenanters in open rebellion—Formation of the Solemn League and Covenant—Westminster Assembly—The question of toleration—Marston Moor—Battles of Tippermuir, and Aberdeen—Inverlochy—Auldearn—Alford—Kilsyth—Philiphaugh—Blood-thirstiness of the Covenanting ministers—Battle of Naseby—The King takes refuge in the Scottish camp—Surrender of the King to the English Houses of Parliament—Murder of Charles the First—Sublimity of Charles's demeanour—The popular feeling—Sentence of death—Charles's equanimity—The day of execution—Charles's character—The Engagement—Moderate Presbyterians—Pride's Purge—The Rump—Murder of the Duke of Hamilton—Indignation of the Scots, and proclamation of Prince Charles as their King.

HITHERTO, James, Marquis of Montrose, had been reckoned an adherent of the Covenant. Now, he became a loyal subject of his sovereign; and swore to live, and die, in his service. He had gone with the Covenanters so long as he believed their objects to be rational, and just; and his name is to be seen appended to the original Covenant, which yet exists in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. But after he discovered their real object and character, it is impossible for men of Christian integrity, and honour, in the nineteenth century, to wonder that a man of Montrose's gallant, and high-minded spirit, should have left such men. He did so; and, from the moment of his defection—or, rather, from the moment of his public declaration, that he would adhere to his loyalty, and to his royal master's cause—he has, by Covenanting writers, been compared to all the monsters of iniquity, Marquis of Montrose.

and his name has been used as if he had been everything vile and infamous.

Civil war. The heaviest curse which can befall a nation, presented itself at this time. The clouds had been long gathering : they now burst into a storm, which swept the land. The Covenant had, in so far, triumphed.

In such a state of matters, Charles found it necessary to take decisive steps, for the preservation of his crown, and even of his life. He had invaded no privilege of his subjects ; but he had endeavoured to defend the prerogative which had been handed down to him from his forefathers. This was the crime for which he paid the penalty of his life, on the scaffold before Whitehall. What had gained for Queen Elizabeth the title of "good Queen Bess" was reckoned, in Charles, "flat blasphemy ;" and those, who praise the former for her high-handed execution of power, do not fail to condemn the latter for his mild, but dignified, resolution to maintain his position as the ruler of his people.

Trial, and murder, of Strafford. The fact of the Earl of Strafford's trial and murder is familiar to every reader of English history ; but certain circumstances connected with them are not so well known. Strafford was charged with high treason ; and every one—whether counsel, or witnesses—who should speak in his favour, was ordered to be adjudged guilty of treason also ! (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 53, 54).

The eagerness with which the Covenanters thirsted for the blood of this nobleman, and of Archbishop Laud, may be judged of from the fact, that the Presbyterian Principal Baillie wrote, from London, to the presbytery of Irvine, in the following words :—"But that which is the great *remora*, to all matters, is *the head* of Strafford. As for poor Canterbury, he is so contemptible, that all cast him out of their thoughts."—(Baillie's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 309). Yet "poor Canterbury" was not so "contemptible," as to prevent Principal Baillie's friends from considering it necessary to murder him, in his old age, on Tower Hill.

General Leslie.

The man who was placed at the head of the Covenanting army was General Leslie ; an old man, small

in stature, and deformed in person, who had been an adventurer in foreign parts, but who, according to Baillie, on account of his affected piety of deportment, possessed a great reputation, and was a popular and respected leader. His soldiers were, chiefly, peasants from the Western counties; and, followed by them, he, on the 20th of May, marched upon the English Border.

While the Covenanters marched for the English Border, they displayed *blue* flags, with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, and the inscription—"FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT." For what reason we know not, but a "true *blue* Whig" or Presbyterian—is still known to every reader of Scottish history. General Leslie's army was supplied with a multitude of preachers; who lost no opportunity of stirring up strife and dissension, and of exciting the lieges of Scotland, and England, to rebellion and bloodshed. Their sermons, their psalm-singing, their praying, and their reading of the scriptures, had no end; and, yet, their conduct shewed that they had not a particle of Christian charity in their hearts.

Among those who suffered from the persecution of Dr. Lealey, the Covenanters was Dr. Leslie, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. He was charged with being "lazy." In fact, he was a retired scholar; a reading, painful student, who spent his days, and his nights, among his books. Against the purity of his personal character never was a whisper heard. (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 623, 624).

Dr. Forbes of Corse, was the next whom the Dr. Forbes Covenanters persecuted. He was Professor of Divi- of Corse. nity in Aberdeen; and a man eminent for learning, and piety. He was the son of the great and good Bishop Patrick Forbes; and, in order to avoid the persecution against him, he retired to Holland, from which he did not return till the year 1646.

The more that Presbyterianism advanced, the more Learning was learning thrust into the background. A know- discountenanced. ledge of antiquity, and of the fathers, was held in contempt; and the cry, "Down doctrine, and up

Christ," was one of the popular cries of the day. (Ibid. 625).

1641. In August, 1641, Charles the First revisited Scotland. He held a parliament in Edinburgh; and did everything in his power to conciliate the Covenanters. He granted everything that was asked. The King's real friends were utterly dissatisfied with these marks of Royal favour, conferred upon men who were decidedly rebels. There was indeed a body of men, who may be termed Moderate Presbyterians, and who were satisfied with the King's concessions. Their number, however, was few. The rabid portion of the Covenanters pursued their course; and it is a remarkable fact, that among the most frantic of their adherents were the females of Edinburgh. (Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 94).

1642. Like the lava of Vesuvius, the torrent of Revolution flowed on. From the heights of the mountain it descended into the valleys; and the treason, which had been, at first, confined to the breasts of some of the noblest in the land, gradually expanded itself among the humbler, but more extensive, ranks of society. Charles's concessions had been in vain. He had unkinged himself; and, in the estimation of the loyal portion of his people, he had imprudently given up privileges which were the undoubted prerogative of the crown.

Battle of Edgehill. Oct. 23d. The mighty contest had thoroughly commenced. Cavalier and Roundhead had met in mortal conflict; and the battle of Edgehill, in Warwickshire, had left the troops of the King in so far triumphant.

Covenanters in open rebellion. 1643. The King having refused to assemble a Scottish parliament, and being betrayed by his own advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, who was, privately, against his master's interest, and the adviser of the leaders of the Covenanting party, a Convention of Estates was called, and sat down on the 22d of June. A General Assembly had been held at St. Andrews, on the 27th of July 1642; and, in 1643, another Assembly took place in Edinburgh. These Assemblies, and the Convention, vied with one another, which should be first in its attack upon Regal power, and Episcopal

jurisdiction. A close correspondence went on, between the leading men, in the Long Parliament of England, and those who favoured their ideas in Scotland; and out of this came the formation of the famous Solemn League and Covenant, by which those signing it bound themselves, as they expressed it, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of Popery, and Prelacy; that is, Church-government by archbishops, bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, deans and chapters, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy." Not satisfied with enforcing their Presbyterian tenets on the people of Scotland, the Covenanters extended their views to England, and openly avowed their intention to reduce the English people under the bondage of a similar yoke.

Formation of Solemn League and Covenant. Aug. 17th.

Dr. Cook, who, although a Presbyterian writer, is, on the whole, a candid historian on the subject of the troubles of the seventeenth century, says:—"Alluding to the Solemn League and Covenant, it must not be kept out of view that the whole of its spirit was in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity—breathing an intolerance that sapped the most sacred of those rights, which it was one of its avowed designs to secure—vesting a Protestant community with powers inconsistent with the fundamental principles on which the Reformation had proceeded—and, particularly, destroying that free exercise of private judgment for which the first Reformers, to their immortal honour, had strenuously contended."—(Vol. III. p. 64):

On the 1st of July 1643, the famous Assembly, named the Westminster Assembly, and whose only authority was that of the two English rebel Houses of Parliament, commenced its sittings at Westminster. It consisted of six earls, four lords, sixteen other lay-members of parliament, and a hundred and sixteen preachers, chiefly Presbyterians, with some Independents, and a few Episcopalians. It is amusing to find that the members who composed this heterogeneous Assembly were allowed four shillings a day for maintenance, with a parliamentary security against the penalties of non-residence. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 364).

Westminster Assembly. July 1st.

The Solemn League and Covenant, between the

Scottish and English rebels, was, in September, 1643, ordered, by the rebel English Houses of Parliament, to be signed by every one, under the penalty of being denounced as a *Malignant*, and confiscation of property, and even sentence of death. Surely, never was there such a reign of terror as this, excepting the Reign of Terror which existed, in France, under Robespierre.

The ques-
tion of
toleration.

The question of toleration had been one of the first questions debated in the Westminster Assembly; but it was decided to be unlawful, even in defiance of the remonstrances of the two Houses of Parliament. And yet there are writers, of the nineteenth century, who can coolly speak of the "persecution" of these men, by Episcopalians, when the latter became possessed of power!

Such was the persecution exercised, at this time, against the real clergy of England, that, in London alone—not to speak of other parts of the kingdom—no fewer than about one hundred and fifteen clergymen were turned out of their livings, their houses rifled, and their wives and families driven out upon the streets. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 375).

On a calm consideration of the proceedings of the English Puritans, and the Scottish Covenanters, of the seventeenth century, it is not possible for a dispassionate inquirer to come to any other conclusion, than that, while the ostensible object of both these parties was the vindication of civil and religious liberty, their real purpose was the establishment of a despotism, which—to use their own perverted language of Scripture—was to "bind kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron." The despotism—as in the Romish Church—was to be a spiritual one; and men, on the plea of being ministers of religion, and special servants of the everlasting God, were to take the civil affairs of kingdoms into their hands, and to establish a tyranny unheard of since the days of Hildebrand.

1644.
Marston
Moor.
July. 2d.

The battle of Marston Moor had taken place; and, notwithstanding the loyalty of the great body of his subjects—notwithstanding the firmness of the Marquis of Newcastle, and the fiery charge of Prince Rupert—

the cause of Charles was going down. The battle of Marston Moor was the crisis of the civil war. The genius, and indomitable energy, of Cromwell—the invincibility of his Ironsides—the irresistible determination of Fairfax, and of old Leven, and his nephew, David Leslie—prevailed; and, notwithstanding all that cavalier gallantry, and enthusiasm, could do, down went the king and the crown—down went the altar and the throne.

The brilliant victories of Montrose, over the Covenanting rebels, at Tippermuir, near Perth (Sept. 1st, 1644), and at Aberdeen (Sept. 12th), did not much alter the dismal state of public affairs. They, simply, acquired, for Montrose, from the rebel committee in Scotland, among other titles, that of “the traitor James Graham.”

Battles of
Tipper-
muir, and
Aberdeen:

At Inverlochy, Montrose defeated Argyle in person; and, in the course of three months afterwards, he routed General Murray at Auldearn. Two months subsequently, he attained a victory over General Baillie, at Alford. Kilsyth next witnessed the prowess of this gallant, and accomplished member of the family of Graham; but, nevertheless, the flame of internal discord burnt as fiercely as ever.*

1645.
Innerlochy,
Auldearn,
Alford, and
Kilsyth.
Feb. 2d.
May 4th.
July 2d.

The last battle-field of the great Montrose was Philiphaugh. There, while writing dispatches at Selkirk, a mile off, he was surprised by David Leslie; and, almost unconscious of the attack, utterly defeated. Accompanied by a few friends, he fled across the mountains; and, from that moment, the condition of the Royal cause was hopeless. The bloody revenge, taken by Leslie, was disgraceful to humanity. He shot his prisoners in the courtyard of Newark Castle; and, while one shot, after another, went off, the Rev. David Dickson, one of the lights of the Covenant, exclaimed, “Eh, but the Lord’s wark goes bonnilie on!” It is shocking to think, that the ministers of the

Philip-
haugh.
Sept. 13th.

* Many years after, when Montrose was cold in his grave, an aged Highlander, who had fought at Kilsyth, was, while basking in the summer sun, wont to say, to his grand-children, and great-grand-children, “Ah! lads, it was a braw day, Kilsyth: At ilka stroke o’ my braid-sword, I clove twa ell o’ breeks.”

Blood-thirstiness of Covenanting ministers.

Solemn League and Covenant—so far from being ministers of peace, and of mercy—were, after the battle of Philiphaugh, the most clamorous for the blood of every prisoner taken in the fight. At their instance, many of the best, and the wisest, in the land perished on the scaffold.

The Scottish Covenanting nobles would, probably, have been satisfied; but, in reference to the prisoners taken, the text of the ministers—in the perverted language of Scripture—was, “What meaneth, then, this bleating of sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of oxen?” On the strength of this text, Lord Ogilvy, a young man of eighteen years of age, and a number of others, were consigned to the scaffold. Some days after the battle, about eighty of the wives, and children, and camp-followers, connected with the loyal army, were deliberately drowned. (*Wishart's Life of Montrose*, cited by Napier).

Battle of Naseby.
June 14th.

The battle of Naseby was, as far as England is concerned, the ruin of the Royal cause. Marston Moor had seen the Royal standard go down; but it rose again. At Naseby it went down to rise no more. The personal gallantry of Charles—the proverbial chivalric impetuosity, and rashness of Rupert—and the stern determination of the Cavaliers to live, or die, in defence of their king—were utterly unavailing against the Parliamentary fanaticism of Fairfax, Ireton, Skippen, and Cromwell: whose horse, foot, and artillery, in the end, swept all before them. Charles fled into Wales; and, after various vicissitudes, threw himself upon the generosity of his Scottish subjects, by taking refuge in their camp, before Newark, where he was received by Lord Leven. The high-spirited feeling which led Charles to take refuge with his Scottish subjects, even although in arms against him, in preference to throwing himself upon his enemies in England, can never be sufficiently appreciated. Miserable it is to think, that his confidence should have been misplaced.

The King takes refuge in Scottish camp.
1646.
May 5th.

The Scot of Wallace, and of Bruce's days, would have perished, sword in hand, before he gave up his sovereign, to English hatred, for the sake of English gold. The

mailed warriors who lay around King James, on Flodden's gory field, would have spurned, with undissembled indignation, the slightest proposal, on the part of England, to disavow allegiance to their native, and hereditary, king;—much more, to have handed him over to men who were his subjects, and who, at the same time, thirsted for his blood.

Sad and sorrowful, therefore, is the tale which a Scotchman has to tell, when he is compelled to relate, that a Scottish army sold their King. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of the fact. Historical inquiry only makes it the more indisputable. The rebel parliament of England had used the Scottish Covenanting army for their own purposes. They had agreed to pay them for their traitorous services: they now wished to be released from the burden. The Covenanting army were not unwilling to remove to the north; but they mildly—almost humbly—reminded their southern allies that they had aided them in their treason, and that, as a matter of course, they, like Judas, expected their “thirty pieces of silver.” The Long Parliament of England deigned to take the claims of these degenerate Scotsmen into consideration. They told them, that, if they would consent to deliver the sovereign of both parties into their power, without any condition as to the safety of his Majesty's person, they would pay them the sum of £400,000. To this proposition the Scottish Covenanting army yielded assent.

Surrender
of the King
to English
Houses of
Parliament.
1647.
Jan. 23d.

Shame upon the men, who could so betray the honour of their country! Shame upon the men, who could re-cross the Tweed, leaving upon Scotland a scandal, and a stain of disgrace, which will last while the world endures!

It was on the 16th of January that the rebel Convention of Estates, in Edinburgh, decided on yielding to the demands of the English Parliament. The Royal victim had been bound to the horns of the altar. On the 28th of the same month, the sacrifice was consummated; and the person of his Majesty, Charles the First, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, was formally, at Newcastle, handed over to English commissioners—his born

Jan. 28th.

subjects—to be disposed of as those from whom they derived their authority might please.

At the meeting of the Convention, the Duke of Hamilton, and his friends, solemnly protested against this infamous transaction. So did the Earl of Crawford, Lindsay. The Earl of Lanark, Hamilton's brother, in a tone of the utmost vehemence, said :—" As God shall have mercy on my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market-cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote."—(Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 310).

Thus was Charles bought, and sold. The Scottish Covenanting army received their money : the English rebels received their prey. It has been attempted, again, and again; to deny that the Scottish Covenanters sold their King. But it is impossible to ignore the plain, and simple, circumstance, that the English Parliament agreed to give the Scottish Covenanting army the money demanded by them only on condition of their giving up to them the person of their mutual sovereign.

As a nation, Scotland abhorred the sale of the King. They denounced it in the strongest manner. Not one-third of the nobility of the realm were present at the Convention of Estates which sanctioned the measure. As regards the people at large, perhaps not one out of a hundred would have approved of the deed.

Murder of
Charles I.

One of the greatest tragedies which had yet been known in Europe was about to be enacted. This was the pretended trial, and the murder, of Charles the First. The Presbyterians had lost their power over the King's person: the Independents, and the English army, with Oliver Cromwell at their head, were in possession of it. After many sufferings, on the part of his Majesty, the mock-trial, here referred to, took place in Westminster Hall.

Sublimity
of Charles's
demeanour.
Jan. 20th.

Perhaps there is nothing in history, which can equal the sublimity of conduct and demeanour of Charles the First, when he appeared in that Hall before the pretended High Court of Justice. There sat John Bradshaw, a sergeant-at-law, as president. There stood Coke, or Cook, affecting to be Solicitor

General for the Commons of England. There was an audience, gazing upon a spectacle such as the world never before saw;—a lawful king, the descendant of kings of many centuries, arraigned before his own subjects—a sovereign called upon to plead before those who were bound to obey him. Under the surveillance of a guard, Charles walked into the Hall; and, with kingly dignity, took his seat. He did not remove his hat. The rebels did not dare to order him to do so. “Conscience,” says Shakspeare, “makes cowards of us all;” and, under the influence of this feeling, the fallen monarch was allowed to maintain his position, and to demand of the men who pretended to be his judges the duty of their allegiance. “I,” said he, “am the fountain, of all law; and I demand to know by what authority you bring me here?”

Never was there a scene equal to this mock-trial of Charles. The insolence of Bradshaw, and the calm and majestic dignity of his sovereign, were equally conspicuous. “Sir,” said Bradshaw, “you have heard your charge read. The Court expects your answer.”—“Remember,” was Charles’s reply, “I am your king—your lawful king. I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent. I will not betray it, to answer to a new unlawful authority.”—“I require you,” said Bradshaw, “in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected king, to answer.”—“I deny that,” rejoined his Majesty; “England never was an elective kingdom, but a hereditary kingdom for nearly a thousand years. I stand for the liberties of my people; and I refuse to acknowledge the authority by which you sit there, because, by such an acknowledgment, I should betray them.”—(Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 288–297).

While the proceedings went on, the popular feeling, in behalf of the discrowned monarch, betrayed itself in the most unmistakable manner. During the seven days it lasted, as his Majesty retired from the presence of Bradshaw, and those who sat beside him, the cry was:—“God save the King!”—None but the soldiers refused to respect him; and their insults he received with a calmness, and a dignity, which did honour to

Popular feeling.

him, as a king, a Christian, and a martyr to the liberties of his people.

Sentence
of death.
Jan. 27th.

On the 27th of January, the previously concocted sentence of death, against the King, was pronounced. It was ordered, that Charles, the sovereign of three kingdoms, should be put to death, by having his head severed from his body. The sentence was read by the clerk : it was confirmed by Bradshaw.

Charles's
equani-
mity.

As Charles left the Hall, he was subjected to indignities of the grossest kind. Soldiers puffed their tobacco-smoke in his face—others threw bits of their pipes in his way, in order that they might cause him to stumble—one villain, more insolent than the rest, spit in his Majesty's face. Of the last insult, the King took no further notice, than by wiping his face with his handkerchief. His magnanimity never for a moment, left him ; and he went forth, from the presence of his murderers, as our Saviour went forth from that of Pilate of old.

Day of
execution.
Jan. 30th.

The tragedy is over. Charles has perished on the scaffold ; and the legions of Cromwell are, for a time, triumphant. Charles was attended, in his last moments, by Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. "I go," said he, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown."

Charles's
character.

That Charles possessed great abilities, is generally acknowledged. That he was equal and dispassionate in his temper, and remarkably regular in his private life, can scarcely be denied. He was a virtuous, and attached, husband. As a parent, his conduct is unimpeachable ; and his last interview with his children supplies conclusive evidence of his anxiety that they should be trained in the paths of religion and virtue. No licentious jests were ever allowed to be uttered in his presence. He was diffident of his own judgment ; apt to permit himself to be overruled by the judgment of others. He was deeply learned—he was forcible in his reasoning—and, as an author, he was one of the best writers of his time. Lord Clarendon—no mean judge of human nature—sums up his character in these words :—"He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best

father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced."

One trait in Charles's character must be particularly noticed, as it may be said to have been his ruin. We mean his facility of disposition, which led him to believe persons to be his friends, who were in reality his enemies. He was betrayed by many of those in whom he put his trust; and their perfidy he would not be convinced of. He neglected those who were really attached to him; and he rewarded men, who, for their own political reasons, hated him with a bitter hatred. He granted the Long Parliament perpetuity; and placed the whole influence of the crown of England in their hands. He gave the Scottish Estates the privilege of appointing to all offices of power and trust, whether civil or military. Contrary to "the dictates of a right-informed judgment," he yielded to the Presbyterian party, in Scotland, the establishment of their discipline; and his error became manifest to himself only after he had witnessed the efforts of the Covenanters to force their system upon England. To such an extent did his concessions go, that, at last, there was scarcely anything left for him to concede.

Charles was buried at Windsor, in St. George's ^{Feb 9th.} Chapel, in the middle of the quire. His body remained, for two nights, in a house, at Windsor, which is now a stable, and which is still shewn. The governor refused to allow the burial-office to be read over it; and it was consigned to the earth with no other solemnity than that of sighs and tears. On the coffin was the inscription, "King Charles. 1649."

We have shewn that the Scottish Covenanting army ^{The En-} had sold their King to English traitors; but that the Scot- ^{gagement.} tish nation were no parties to the deed. On the contrary, no sooner was the Scottish Parliament, in 1648, made aware of danger to his Majesty's person, than they vindicated the honour of Scotland, by passing a resolution called the Engagement, and by raising an army intended for the purpose of co-operating with the English royalists. Their doing so gave great offence to the Presbyterian ministers; who launched their thunders

at the heads of all who should dare to take any part in the measure.

Moderate
Presby-
terians.

Much has been said, and written, in connection with the Scottish Covenanters, and the English Puritans, on the subject of "Civil and Religious Liberty." As to this matter, we shall leave the reader to judge for himself, after we have stated the following particulars. The persons who are spoken, and written of, as advocates of civil and religious liberty, actually rendered it a highly punishable offence to print "any reasons, *pro* or *con*," respecting "the Kirk of Scotland, or God's cause in hand, without warrant from Mr. Archibald Johnstone, as clerk to the Assembly, and advocate for the Kirk." They rendered every one liable to excommunication, who might "speak, or write, against the Covenant," or themselves. Their principal writers, such as Baillie, Rutherford, Calamy, and Burgess, declared toleration of their neighbour's mode of thinking, on religious subjects, to be "the hydra of schisms and heresies, and the floodgate to all manner of iniquity and danger;"—a "grand design of the devil," which ought to be "put down by the civil authorities." They preached, and wrote, against "pretended liberty of conscience," as "a monstrous imagination," which "all the devils of hell were at work to promote."

It must not be supposed, however, that there were not moderate Presbyterians in existence during this stormy period. On the contrary, both in Scotland, and in England, there were some who held the violent and sanguinary doctrines of the fierce zealots of the Solemn League and Covenant in abhorrence; and who were the prototypes of the established Presbyterians of Scotland of the present age. There were good, and excellent, men in the Presbyterian body, who saw that the violence of the Covenanting, and Puritanical, factions were bringing a scandal on Christianity itself; and they strove to avert the torrent of sedition, treason, and anarchy, as much as lay in their power. The Long Parliament—as it is styled—had now abolished the House of Lords; and, when it was known that, under the influence of Cromwell, and his military force, they were about to try, and sentence, the King,

the Presbyterian ministers, in, and about, London drew up a spirited remonstrance, which they addressed to the Lord General Fairfax. This remonstrance was signed by forty-seven ministers, and dated the 18th January. Previously to the trial of Charles, Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, had, in December, 1648, surrounded the House of Commons, and had arrested, and put in confinement, forty-one members of the Presbyterian party. On the two following days, above a hundred more were excluded. The Long Parliament was thus reduced to about fifty members; all virulent Republicans. This was called Pride's Purge; and the Parliament which his Purge left was termed the Rump. The star of the Independents, and of Cromwell, was in the ascendant.

Pride's
Purge.
Dec. 6th.
1648.

The Rump.

The murder of Charles the First, by the Independents of England, roused the indignation of the Scottish people;—the more so, as it had been a Scottish Covenanting army that placed him in the power of the Southern rebels, and inasmuch as foreigners taunted them with the sale of their sovereignty, as if it had been a national act. Had they possessed the power to do so, it is probable they would have gone to war with the dominant English traitors. They were obliged, however, to content themselves with entering into a negotiation with Charles's son, Prince Charles, who was then in Holland, with a view to his occupation of the throne of Scotland. The Scottish Convention of Estates sent commissioners to the prince, first, at the Hague, and then in Jersey; and the negotiation ended in Charles's being proclaimed king.

Indignation of the Scots, and proclamation of Prince Charles as their king.

CHAPTER XV.

Accession of Charles the Second.—Montrose—His murder—Fanaticism, and cruelty, of the Covenanters—Fast-days—Dr. Wishart—Sir Robert Spottiswood—The Covenanting reign of terror—Oliver Cromwell—His destruction of General Assemblies—His conquest of Scotland—Death of Cromwell—His Character—Accession of Richard Cromwell—His retirement into private life—Anecdote of his latter years—Charles escapes to the north—The Resolutioners, and the Remonstrators or Protestors—Coronation of Charles—His early disposition—The Honours of Scotland—General feeling towards Episcopacy—General Monk's movements—The Rump Parliament—Proclamation of the King—James Sharpe—The King's advice to the Scottish ministers.

Accession of Charles II. 1649. Jan. 30th. By the death of his father, Charles the Second was without regard to any negotiations between him and the Scottish Convention, the rightful sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. He was eighteen years of age; and had experienced every degree of hardship and suffering. He had often been without food—without fire—and almost without clothing. Nevertheless, such was the natural buoyancy of his spirits, that he had borne all with serenity, and even cheerfulness; and, after he was seated at Whitehall, he frequently made the remembrance of what he had endured a subject of jest and laughter.

Montrose. 1650.

The gallant and accomplished Marquis of Montrose, appears, again, conspicuously on the stage. The King had granted him a commission to act as his Lieutenant-General of Scotland. While executing this commission, with a few followers in the north, he fell into an ambuscade, laid for him by Colonel Strachan, a Covenanting leader; and the result was, that his followers were scattered. He himself escaped into the Reay country, where he was foully betrayed by Macleod of Assynt, and carried to Edinburgh. On his way thither he met his two sons at Kinnaird, the house of his

May 1st.

father-in-law, the Earl of Southesk. He spent a night at the Grange, about twelve miles from Dundee; and, while there, nearly effected his escape. When he arrived at Dundee, the citizens of that town, although they had suffered much from his arms, yet received him with sympathy, and supplied him with clothes, and other necessaries, suitable to his rank. The house in which he slept is still to be seen there; and it is to the honour of the citizens of Dundee, of two centuries ago, that they beheld with reverence, and respect, a fallen foe.

There is not a spot, on the page of Scottish history, blacker than that which characterizes the murder of the great Marquis of Montrose. On the 18th of May, he was brought into Edinburgh in a manner which, before trial, would have been disgraceful even in the case of the vilest of felons. At the Watergate, near the palace of Holyrood, he was placed in a cart, bare-headed, and, amid a countless multitude, slowly removed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. He was bound to the cart by a rope, and the hangman, with his head covered, rode before him on the horse which drew the cart. When the procession reached Moray House, in the Canongate, it stopped; and there, on the balcony, which still exists, stood the Marquis of Argyle, his son Lord Lorn and his newly married wife—a daughter of the Earl of Moray—the Chancellor Loudon, and Johnstone of Warriston. This party were in the midst of marriage festivities; and they feasted their eyes by gazing on the illustrious captive. With a dignity unabashed, Montrose looked toward them, and they crept back into the house.

May 18th.
Saturday.

Montrose appeared before the parliament; where he was not tried, but sentenced. The Chancellor Loudon, addressed him in a vituperative speech; and to this speech the Lieutenant-General of the King replied with courage, temper, and dignity. He declared that his sole object had ever been, to act as a good Christian, and a loyal subject. The brutal address of Loudon, in reply, is upon record. He declared Montrose to be “a person most infamous, perjured, and treacherous”—“a most cruel and inhuman butcher”—

and "a sworn enemy to the Covenant, and the peace of his country." He wound up his speech by ordering Montrose to go down on his knees to hear his sentence; which sentence was, that he should be consigned to the horrors of a barbarous execution; and he heard it unmoved.

May 21st.
His murder.

On Tuesday, the 21st of May, this sentence was carried into effect. Montrose was hanged, on a gallows thirty feet high, at the cross of Edinburgh, after being tormented, in his last moments, by the exhortations of the Rev. James Guthrie, and other ministers of the period. His head was placed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his body was dissevered, and his limbs sent to the four principal towns of the kingdom. Thus perished, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, one who was, at the time, perhaps the most accomplished man in Europe.

Fanaticism
and cruelty
of Coven-
anters.

It may not be unprofitable to take a glance at the general conduct of the Covenanting party while such deeds were being enacted. The fanaticism and cruelty of that party stand forth in prominent characters which cannot be mistaken. According to Bishop Burnet, "curses were thundered out," from their pulpits, "against those who went not out to help the angel of the Lord against the mighty." One preacher, in a sermon, declared that all "the non-subscribers of the Covenant were atheists," numbering among these non-subscribers the judges of the Court of Session, and many of the members of the Privy Council. Another preacher said, that, "as the wrath of God never was diverted from his people until the seven sons of Saul were hanged up before the Lord in Gibeah, so the wrath of God would never depart from the kingdom till the *twice seven*"—alluding to the two archbishops, and the twelve bishops of Scotland—"were hanged up before the Lord." A third very strangely wished, "that he and all the bishops of Scotland, were in a bottomless boat at sea together; for he would be well content to lose his own life so that they lost theirs." Such was the spirit of the age in which the Solemn League and Covenant triumphed.

Not only was the fanaticism of the Covenanters thus

glaring, but their tyranny, oppression, and cruelty, were of the most horrible kind. They ruled the people of Scotland with a rod of iron. While the Covenanters were professing loyalty to the King, yet, if the King's friends met together, they were styled *Plotters*. Infallibility was claimed by the Covenanting party; and the Earl of Leven, Johnston of Warristone, and others, had no hesitation in avowing, that every oath should be received with a mental reservation.

The fast-days of the Covenanters were found to be Fast-days. intolerable. They are thus described by Spalding:—
 “No meat durst be made ready; searchers sought the town's houses, and kitchens, for the same; thus are the people vexed with these extraordinary fasts, and thanksgivings, upon the Sabbath-day, appointed by God for a day of rest, more than their bodies are vexed with labour on the week-day, through the preposterous zeal of our ministers.”—(*History*, Vol. II. pp. 47, 48).

Among those who suffered, at this time, at the hands of the Covenanters, was Dr. Wishart, the future bishop Dr Wishart. of Edinburgh. He and his family were reduced to a state of starvation. He was plundered of all his property, and thrown into a loathsome dungeon, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, named the Thieves' Hole.

The death of Sir Robert Spottiswood—another Sir Robert Spottiswood. victim—was accompanied by circumstances of a peculiarly solemn nature. On the evening before his execution, he was visited by Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, a young man scarcely seventeen years old, and a ward of Argyle; and the advice which Sir Robert gave him was such as would have done honour to the philosophers and saints of any age. “Judge always,” said Sir Robert, “of mankind by their actions. There is no knowing the heart. Religion and virtue are inseparable, and are the only sure and infallible guides to pleasure and happiness. As they teach us our several duties to God, to our neighbours, to ourselves, and to our king and country, so is it impossible that a person can be endued with either who is deficient in any one of these indispensable duties, whatever he may pretend. Remember, young man, that you hear this from one who is to die to-morrow for endeavouring to perform

those sacred obligations, and who can have no other interest in what he says than a real concern for your prosperity, happiness, and honour." Young Lochiel afterwards became a devoted Royalist. (Lawson, p. 650).

Covenant-
ing reign of
terror.

The reign of terror, existing under the sanction, and by the authority, of the Solemn League and Covenant was such as Scotland had never seen before. Civil authority was, in so far, in abeyance; and the Presbyterian ministers ruled the Scottish people with a rod, such as had never been wielded by the Romish clergy even in their palmyest days. The domination of these men is described, in the *Memoirs of Lochiel*, as the "most cruel tyranny that ever scourged, and afflicted, the sons of men." "The jails," it is said, on the same authority, "were crammed full of innocent people, in order to furnish our governors with blood; sacrifices wherewith to feast their eyes. The scaffolds daily smoked with the blood of our best patriots; anarchy swayed with an uncontrolled authority; and avarice, cruelty, and revenge, seemed to be ministers of state. The bones of the dead were dug out of their graves, and their living friends were compelled to ransom them at exorbitant sums." Such as they were pleased to call *Malignants* were taxed, and pillaged, at discretion; and, if they chanced to prove, in the least, refractory, or deficient in payment, their persons, or estates, were seized. The Committee of the Kirk were the actual rulers of the land. A Committee of the Estates were their servants, and obeyed their behests. Every parish had a tyrant, in the shape of a preacher; and to his authority the greatest lord in the district was compelled to bow. The Kirk was his court; the pulpit was the throne, or tribunal, from which he pronounced his terrible decrees; and his council was composed of twelve or fourteen, sour and ignorant enthusiasts, who went under the name of elders. If any one presumed to disobey the mandates of these despots, sentence of excommunication went forth against him;—his goods, and chattels, were confiscated, and seized;—all who conversed with him were placed under a similar ban;—and he was considered as handed over to eternal perdition. (*Memoirs of Lochiel*, pp. 87, 88).

Were it not that history testifies to the fact, it would scarcely be possible to believe, that men who had railed so strongly against the Romish clergy as persecutors, and whose successors continue, to this day, to abuse the public mind with stories of persecution in Charles the Second's days, could have been guilty of such conduct as we have described above. The thunders of the Vatican were never more plentifully, or more powerfully, distributed, than were the excommunications of the Covenanting preachers of the period of which we write. We have thoroughly examined that period, and we find that the Presbyterians were the first, after the Reformation, to set the example of persecution in matters of religion. The Solemn League and Covenant was a document of the most persecuting description; and every man, woman, and child, in the kingdom, capable of writing, was called upon, under pains and penalties, to subscribe it.

The present writer is the descendant of Presbyterian ancestors; but he has looked into the records of the past, and he cannot find that, during the whole course of the seventeenth century, the Presbyterians were persecuted on account of their religious principles. Whenever the civil sword was drawn against them, it was for sedition, and treason;—for their using their religious assemblies as a medium of inculcating, in the most forcible and most flagrant manner, rebellion against the authorities of the state. Among their other courts, a Commission of Assembly was appointed. This exercised its powers with a high hand, and became the most formidable court which had ever existed in Scotland. All liberty of private judgment was, by it, taken away. It was composed of the most ferociously inclined Covenanting preachers; and the peaceably disposed ministers, throughout the country, did not know how to act, so as to please it. (Lawson, p. 654). From the Orkneys to the Tweed—from the Atlantic to the German Oceans—all was terror and dismay. Scotland lay under an incubus, from which nothing but some truculent despotism could possibly relieve it.

That despotism was fast approaching. It appeared in the person of Cromwell; the mighty dictator of

Oliver
Cromwell.

England—the dissolver of the Long Parliament—the murderer of his king—the greatest potentate who ever wielded the power of the English nation—and the first to raise England to the high rank which it still occupies among the powers of Europe.

Cromwell marched into Scotland, and by the victory of Dunbar laid it prostrate at his feet. The Covenanting preachers found that they had now got a master; and all their remonstrances, against the overwhelming power of Cromwell, were in vain. It is only due to Cromwell to say, that he appointed judges, in Scotland, who administered the law so impartially, and so judiciously, that the Scottish people were quiet, contented, and prosperous, under his government. (Lawson, p. 656).

Cromwell's
destruction
of General
Assemblies.

Seeing that Cromwell had dissolved the Long Parliament, it was not likely that he would stand on much ceremony with Scottish General Assemblies. An Assembly attempted to meet at Edinburgh, and Mr. David Dickson was appointed moderator. Cromwell's troops, under Colonel Cotterell, in defiance of the Assembly's declaration that they were met there under the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, dissolved it. The members were then led, like culprits, down the public streets; and were told, by Colonel Cotterell, that they must never, again, "dare to meet above the number of three," under pain of being breakers of the public peace. From this period, no more General Assemblies were held till the first Assembly of the new Presbyterian Establishment after the Revolution. (Lawson, p. 658).

1653.
July 20th.

Strange it is to say, that what all the previous power of England had never been able to accomplish, Cromwell did. That bold and bad man—that man of great intellect, and boundless ambition—who was born to stamp his character upon the age in which he lived, and to rule with a rod of iron, the millions who had refused to submit to their legitimate sovereign's sway—became master of Scotland; and peer and peasant—noble and vassal—were compelled to obey him. The secret of Cromwell's success is clear. Covenanting Presbyterianism had utterly broken the spirit of the nation. It had created division—and, with division, weakness—and

His con-
quest of
Scotland.

thus enabled this man to do, what otherwise, even with all his vast genius, he could not have done ;—namely, vanquish, and entirely coerce, the descendants of those who trod the battle-field with Wallace and Bruce, and who destroyed the flower of the chivalry of England on the plain of Bannockburn.

On the 3d of September 1658, Cromwell died in his 59th year ; and a clear, and truthful account of his character ought to appear. Among the great rulers of Europe he was the greatest ; and the influence of his name was acknowledged wherever it was heard.

Death of
Cromwell.
Sept. 3d.
1658.

This man's memory has been the subject of virulent invective, and of equally extravagant eulogy. His character is entitled to neither. His great military talents cannot be denied ; he was possessed of invincible courage ; his dexterity and address were eminent ; his domestic administration was characterised by great ability ; and all his foreign enterprises were accompanied with remarkable intrepidity and success. That he was arbitrary, oppressive, and unjust, is true ; and, perhaps, this part of his character was owing to the stern necessity of the times. He rode on the whirlwind of political and ecclesiastical convulsion, and directed the storm. That he was a master in dissimulation, and possessed the greatest sagacity in reading the characters, and discerning the designs, of others, every one who has studied his history must acknowledge. Though his youth, and the prime of his manhood, were passed in a private station, yet he shewed himself, on emergency, equal to the highest duties of a great general, and a great prince. He could discover, and he could reward, excellence. Wherever a man eminent in science was, the Protector of England would find him out ; and he possessed the rare talent of employing the abilities of others in the way most profitable to himself, and to the State.

His char-
acter.

One defect of Oliver Cromwell was, that he seemed utterly incapable of expressing himself clearly, either in speaking or in writing. This circumstance may, perhaps, account for much of what has been considered his hypocrisy, in his dealing with others. Of this vice

some have accused him ; but Carlyle has attempted to redeem his memory from the charge.

Accession
of Richard
Cromwell.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, his son, Richard, succeeded him. The mildness of Richard prevented his pursuing the course of his father. Not only was this the case ; but, in a short time, he resigned the Protectorate of England, and retired into private life. The private history of Richard Cromwell is worthy of record. It constitutes a lesson to the young, and the aspiring. He shrank from a renewal of the career which had been stained by the crimes of his parent. He saw that he could not maintain his position without blood being shed in an unrighteous cause. He lived to a venerable old age, at Cheshunt, a village thirteen miles north-east from London. His mild and gentle nature accompanied him to the grave. Charles the Second entertained the highest respect for him. On one occasion, when far advanced in life, he visited London, and happened to stray into the House of Lords. A nobleman, seeing him at the bar, entered into conversation with him, and asked him whether he

His retire-
ment into
private life.

had never been there before. "Never," said he, pointing to the throne, "since I sat in that chair." On another occasion, he was summoned as a witness before the House of Commons. When the good old man entered, the whole House rose, in a body, to receive him. They remembered that he was the son of the great Protector of England, and that he himself had wielded sovereign power, as his father's successor. The House ordered a chair to be placed for him ; and received his evidence while he sat covered.

Anecdote of
his latter
years.

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Charles
escapes to
the north.

Charles was, nominally, the sovereign of the Covenanted Presbyterians. He was, in reality, their prisoner. The insults to which he was subjected were such as no private gentleman would have submitted to. His household was "purged" of "all profane, scandalous, malignant, and disaffected persons,"—by which was meant all loyal subjects—and twenty-two of his devoted adherents were ordered to quit the Court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom within twenty days. The King, with the spirit of his ances-

1650.
Oct. 4th.

tors resented the insult ; and, believing that the next step of the Covenanters would be, to deliver him into the hands of Cromwell, to suffer the fate of his father, he resolved to make his escape from the thralldom of men who professed to be his subjects, but who, in fact, were his masters.

In accordance with this determination, he, under pretence of going a-hawking, accompanied by four of his attendants, fled from Stirling—rode through Perth—and arrived at Dudhope, close on Dundee. From Dudhope he went to Auchterhouse, and thence to Cortachy, the seat of the Earl of Airlie.* After a little refreshment, he proceeded to Clova ; where he entered a wretched hovel, and flung himself on a bed, in a dirty room, “over-wearied, and very fearful.” (Stephen, Vol. II. p. 333). Next morning, he was found, by his pursuers, Robert Montgomery of Scots-craig, and Sir Alexander Hope, fast asleep on his rushy bed ; and by them he was persuaded that his fears of being delivered up to Cromwell were vain. He, therefore, consented to accompany them to Huntly Castle, in the Carse of Gowrie ; and, thence, went onward to Perth. This, in Scottish history, is called “the Start.”

Scotland was, at this time, divided into two parties ; the Resolutioners, and the Remonstrators or Protestors. The former were men of moderate views, inclined to support the authority of the King ; the latter were men entertaining the most extravagant ideas, and, as “godly brethren,” prepared to go all lengths, in persecuting “malignants,”—in other words, the adherents of the authority of the Church and the crown. Such was the fury of the Remonstrators, against those who held more moderate views of things than themselves, that they not only denounced every one who differed from

Resolutioners and Remonstrators, or Protestors.

* The writer cannot allow the present opportunity to pass, without doing justice to this noble family. It has ever been, like the Douglas, “tender and true.” Wherever loyalty was required, with the Ogilvies it was found ; and the field of Culloden—fatal as it was—bore witness to the accuracy of the tribute which we now pay them.

them, but spoke of toleration as "*that impious monster of toleration.*"—(Stephen, Vol. II. p. 342).

Coronation
of Charles.
1651.
Jan. 2d.

On the 1st of January 1651, Charles went through the farce of being crowned at Scone. Previously to his being so, he had to swear to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, and to take the coronation oath. Argyle and Loudon—both traitors—were leading men on this occasion; the former placing the crown on his head, and the latter seating him on the throne.

Never had the spirit of Scotsmen fallen so low as at this time. Argyle was, through his favour with the Kirk, in the possession of sovereign power; and was usually styled the Dictator. He was justly suspected of holding secret correspondence with Cromwell; and with having encouraged the violence of the Remonstrants, for the purpose of creating division, and of preventing a union of all parties against the common enemy. Even Baillie is, at last, convinced of his treachery. (*Letters*, Vol. IV. p. 109). On no other principle can we account for Cromwell's lying so long inactive in the Scottish capital; or, for the Scottish forces being scattered over the country, instead of their being concentrated for its defence. Among the Presbyterian party, the high-souled feeling of loyalty, and of national independence, was utterly extinguished; and religious fanaticism, party-spirit, and private ambition, had taken its place. Thus it was that Cromwell was enabled to put his iron heel on the neck of Scotland;—to do what England, with all her armed legions, and all her proudest chivalry, had never done before.

Charles's
early dis-
position.

Charles's latter years are well known to have been profligate to the last degree. His early dawn, however, seems to have given promise of a better day. During his residence in Scotland, there never was the slightest complaint made, even by his worst enemies, against his moral character. Baillie speaks of the King's good disposition, and correct deportment, and, just before the march to Worcester, says:—"Alas! that *so good a king* should have come among us, *to be destroyed by our*

own hands, most by traitors and dividers."—(*Letters*, Vol. III. p. 145).

While Cromwell marched triumphantly through Scotland, the "honours of Scotland," as they were called—that is, the regalia—ran some risk of falling into his hands. They were deposited in the strong baronial castle of Dunottar, near Stonehaven, under the charge of Mr. George Ogilvy of Barras, as lieutenant-governor, with a company of soldiers and some artillery. General Lambert invested the castle, and it was evident that starvation must soon cause it to surrender. In this emergency, female ingenuity came to the rescue; and, where man's wisdom, and courage, might have failed, woman's contrivance carried off the palm. The Dowager-Countess of Marischal planned the scheme: Mrs. Grainger, wife of the Rev. James Grainger, minister of Kinneff, carried it into effect. Mrs. Grainger obtained permission of Lambert to visit the governor's lady; and, on her return, she had the crown in her lap. Lambert himself assisted her to mount her horse. Her maid followed on foot, bearing the sword, and sceptre, concealed in lint; which Mrs. Grainger told the general was to be spun into yarn. The "honours" were buried, by Mr. and Mrs. Grainger, at dead midnight, under a pavement-stone, in the church of Kinneff, just before the pulpit; and there they lay till after the Restoration, when the worthy Presbyterian minister, and his wife, exhumed them, and delivered them up to the great officers of state. (Stephen, Vol. II. p. 355). After the Restoration, those connected with the preservation of the regalia of Scotland were not forgotten. Mrs. Grainger—Christian Fletcher was her maiden-name—received two thousand merks Scots; John Keith, the youngest son of the Countess Marischal, was created Earl of Kintore, and Knight-marshal of Scotland; and George Ogilvy, the lieutenant-governor, was made a baronet. (Stephen, Vol. II. p. 406).

The Honours of Scotland.

1652.
March.

The severity of the Presbyterian discipline had driven the Scottish nation almost to madness; and, in their extremity, they turned their thoughts to the faith in which their fathers had lived and died, and desired

1659.
General feeling towards Episcopacy.

once more to have a moderate Episcopacy, to rule over them. Mr. Robert Douglas, the head of the Resolutions, or moderate Presbyterians, in reference to the restoration of Episcopacy in England, says:—"Whatever kirk-government be settled there, will have an influence upon this kingdom; for *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.*"—(Russell, Vol. II. p. 245). The reaction of public opinion, in favour of Episcopacy, is corroborated by Baillie. He says:—"Our state is very averse to hear of our League and Covenant. *Many of our people are hankering after bishops.* * * * A young fry of ministers in Lothian and Fife, and elsewhere, look as if they intended some change, without any fear or reverence to the elder ministers, who lately put them in their places."—(*Letters*, Vol. III. p. 448).

1660.
General
Monk's
movements.
Jan. 1st.

The fate of Scotland, as well as that of England, was in the hands of General Monk. That prudent, sagacious, and astute leader had originally borne arms for the King; and he now marched upon London in a mood of mind which no one could divine. Taciturn, selfish, and wary, he refused to disclose his intentions to any one. His impenetrable reserve baffled the counsels of what was termed the Rump Parliament; and ended in his declaration for a free House of Commons, which pronounced for the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors.

The Rump
Parliament.

Proclama-
tion of the
King.
May 8th.

On the 8th of May, Charles was proclaimed, with great solemnity, in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. A deputation was sent to him, at Breda, to request him to take possession of his throne. On the 25th of May he landed at Dover; and on the 29th he entered London, where he was received with every mark of duty and respect.

May 25th
and 29th.

James
Sharp.

Monk had taken into his counsels a very remarkable man. This was James Sharp, minister of Crail, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. Sharp had been sent over, by Monk, to Breda, to inform the King as to the favourable state of matters with regard to the Royal cause. He is charged with having betrayed the

Presbyterians ; but there is no proof that he did so. His sagacity led him to perceive, that the sole means of relieving his native country from the distraction, and misery, of religious discord was by a return to Episcopacy ; and on this conviction he acted. In the course of his subsequent conduct, he does not appear to have been actuated by personal ambition. He saw that the feeling of the Scottish nation ran in favour of the restoration of the hierarchy. He saw that the King's inclinations leant in the same way. He saw that the squabblings of the Resolutioners and Remonstrators were bringing a scandal on all religion. He, therefore, resolved on throwing in his lot with the adherents of the ancient faith ; and, on his return to Scotland, he made no secret of his intention to do so.

By the King's authority, Sharp offered Mr. Robert Douglas the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and, as a matter of course, the primacy. Douglas refused it ; and, on Sharp's rising to leave him, he is said to have laid his hand on Sharp's shoulder, and to have said, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are clear. You will be Bishop of St. Andrews. Take it ; and the curse of God go with it." Such is the story told by Kirkton, in his *History*, p. 135 ; and little is it for the credit of Douglas's memory that it should be true. There is no historical evidence of its being so.

On a future occasion, as Sharp, accompanied by the Earl of Stirling, was leaving the Royal presence at Whitehall, the Earl of Lauderdale met him, and said :— "Mr. Sharp, bishops you are to have in Scotland. You are to be Archbishop of St. Andrews. But, whoever shall be the man, by God, I will smite him, and his order, below the fifth rib."—(Russell, Vol. II. pp. 256, 257, *Note*).

In the face of historical facts, it is impossible to deny that, at the time of the Restoration, the popular feeling, both in England and in Scotland, ran strongly in favour of Episcopacy.

The King was not long seated on his English throne when he found it necessary to address to the Scottish ministers a letter of well-timed advice. He rebuked them sternly ; and told them that he expected them to

The King's
advice to
the Scottish
ministers.
1661.
August.

“behave themselves dutifully and peacefully, as became men of their calling.” He added, that he expected the Church judicatories in Scotland, and the ministers there, to “keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastical,” and leaving matters political to those whose peculiar province it was to regulate them. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 446).

Happy would it have been for Scotland, had these ministers listened to the advice of the gay and dissipated Charles ! Happy would it have been for future generations, had they refrained from mixing themselves up with civil and political affairs ;—had they contented themselves with preaching the gospel of peace ;—had they shewn themselves, by the force of their own example, men desirous of cultivating good-will, and charity, among all mankind !

CHAPTER XVI.

Revival of the Episcopate in Scotland—The Act Rescissory—Patronage—Execution of Argyle and Guthrie—Hugh M'Kail—Escape of Warriston—Desire of the Scottish nation for Episcopacy—Charges of treachery brought against Sharp—Character of the new Scottish bishops—Wrath of the Remonstrants—The faith, worship, and discipline of the Scottish Church after the Restoration—Retaliation—Reception of the bishops in Scotland—Archbishop Sharp's entrance into St. Andrews—Self-ejection of Covenanting ministers—Honour, and respect, paid to the bishops—Incomes of the bishops, and other clergy—Opinion of Calamy—Presbyterian intolerance—Terms offered to the Covenanting Presbyterian ministers—General feeling in favour of Episcopacy—Slandorous disposition of the rigid Covenanters—Ill-timed severity of the Privy Council—The result.

THE stream of history flows rapidly on. The current of events cannot be stayed. Scotland was fast approaching a crisis, which led to issues of the most important nature, and the effects of which are felt at the present day.

The Episcopate of Scotland had expired. None of the bishops remained but Dr. Sydserrf, Bishop of Galloway; and the consequence was, that a new succession had to be obtained from England. Four Scottish ministers were summoned to London, by the King's letter, dated Whitehall, on the 14th of August 1661. Sharp was nominated to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; Fairfoul to that of Glasgow; Hamilton to the See of Galloway; and Leighton was selected as the occupant of Dunblane. These four were all consecrated in Westminster Abbey, on the 15th day of December 1661, by Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards of Winchester; Dr. Richard Sterne, afterwards Archbishop of York; and Dr. Hugh Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff.

Baillie speaks in the highest terms of Sharp, the

future Archbishop of St. Andrews, when minister of Crail. "Many," he says, "blame Mr. Sharp, as the great court minister—or chaplain—by whose advice the King, and statesmen, both Scots and English, are put on, and directed, in these meddlings with our Church; but I have always found him so kind a friend to myself, that I will be loath to admit such thoughts of him."—(*Letters*, Vol. III. p. 468).

The Act
Rescissory.

A statute, commonly called the Act Rescissory, was passed in the course of this year. By it, the King, and Estates of Parliament, rescinded and annulled all the pretended acts of parliament held in the years from 1640 to 1648. They were swept away, as "null and void;" and it was declared that the remembrance of them should be held "in everlasting oblivion." Charles granted a full assurance, and indemnity, to all who had acted under the authority of the said pretended parliaments; and declared it to be his wish that all differences, and animosities, among his subjects, should be forgotten. It was at this time that the title *Covenanters* was thoroughly affixed to those who adhered to the Solemn League and Covenant, and who were determined to stand by its persecuting decrees.

The Act Rescissory put a period to the rebellious supremacy of Presbyterianism; and the Church once more took its place in the affections of the nation. The power of the Kirk was broken; and the popes of every parish found that they were expected to submit to the domination of the law. Knox, Melville, Bruce, Henderson, were in their graves; and with them, as far as the Scottish people was concerned, were buried the notions of spiritual tyranny which, by some unaccountable fatality, had, for a time, ruled the land of Wallace and of Bruce.

Patronage.

Patronage had been the law of Scotland in all Christian ages. Before its existence, bishops had been in the habit of sending forth their deputies to stations for the performance of divine services, and then to return to head-quarters. After noblemen, and other proprietors of land, erected churches on their estates, for the benefit of their tenants, and endowed them with tithes, patronage was called into being. The bishops

and the erecters, and endowers, of the churches arranged that the latter, and their posterity, should have the right of presentation vested in them. And nothing could be more just. At the Reformation, no alteration of the law of patronage took place; and the rights of patrons were fully maintained by Knox. In 1649, these rights were first meddled with. (Stephen, Vol. II., pp. 312, 313). Since that time, this subject has been, in Scotland, the cause of much strife and dissension.

The beginning of this year witnessed the execution of the Marquis of Argyle and the Rev. James Guthrie. On the 13th of February, Argyle was placed at the bar of the Parliament, and arraigned for high treason. After a strictly impartial trial, he was convicted, and condemned to be executed. The fate which he had dealt to the great and gallant Montrose became his own. Montrose was doomed to the gallows-tree: Argyle was permitted to expire under the stroke of the *Maiden*. Within a few days after Argyle's death, the Rev. James Guthrie was brought to the bar of justice, and sentenced to be hanged. His execution was what Talleyrand would have called a "blunder." The government ought to have considered the sincerity of the man, and his adherence to his principles. This extraordinary man was a son of Guthrie of that Ilk, in Forfarshire, and, therefore, closely related to, if not the brother of, Henry Guthrie, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld. His execution, and that of Hugh M'Kail, and others, even although they had been guilty of high treason, which they undoubtedly were, did more harm to the Scottish Church, and to the Stuart line, than all the political and ecclesiastical disasters, which had ever occurred in Scotland before. Although they were dangerous men—dangerous to Church and State—and although their conduct was calculated to loosen all the bonds of society, there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of the principles of the violent Presbyterians of Charles the Second's days. They preached treason, and they practised it. But, notwithstanding, there were points about the Covenanters deserving of respect. Their preachings, and fanatical meetings, on mountain and

Execution
of Argyle
and
Guthrie.

Hugh
M'Kail.

moor—in valley and glen—their self-sacrificing devotion to the cause they had espoused—all these, combined, must, in some respects, excite admiration; and must tend to create regret, that the Scottish government of the day considered it necessary, for the preservation of the King's sovereignty, for the supremacy of the laws, and for the peace of the kingdom at large, to rule them with a rod of iron, and to pursue them as if they had been beasts of the forest.*

Escape of
Warriston.

Warriston, the clerk of the rebellious General Assembly of 1638, and one of the arch-traitors of the period, had fled to the continent; and of him nothing more is heard till, in 1663, he returned to Scotland to suffer the doom he had so often assisted in inflicting on others, and to perish on the scaffold.

Desire of
the Scottish
nation for
Episcopacy.

The general desire of the Scottish nation for Episcopacy, on the restoration of Charles the Second, has been amply proved by writers of the greatest ability, and the utmost historical accuracy. The Earl of Glencairn was Lord Chancellor; and his family had been always remarkable for their zeal in favour of Covenanting Presbyterianism. Nevertheless, in a speech made by him, to his Majesty, at Whitehall, after he had arrived there as one of a deputation from Scotland, he said:—"The insolence of the Presbyterians has so far dissatisfied all loyal subjects and wise men, that six for one, in Scotland, long for Episcopacy, by which no rebellion was ever hatched, that government having always owned the Royal interest; whereas Presbytery has never been introduced into any country without blood and rebellion, as at Geneva, in France

* While saying thus much, in behalf of the adherence of the Covenanters to their principles, we may relate an anecdote of the celebrated Dr. Parr, in connection with his friend, Sir James Macintosh. Sir James was a lawyer, and had done something which Parr considered an abandonment of principle. When O'Quigley, a Roman Catholic priest, was executed for high treason, Macintosh, in Parr's presence, remarked that he believed he was the greatest rascal that had ever lived. "No, Jemmy," said the doctor; "he might have been worse. He was a priest, he might have been a lawyer; he was an Irishman, he might have been a Scotchman; he stuck to his principles, he might have abandoned them."

during their civil wars, in Holland, when they revolted from Spain, and now twice in Scotland—once by the Regent Moray, when Queen Mary was banished, and, lastly, in 1637.”—(Lawson, pp. 670, 671).

It may be noticed, too, that the Synod of Aberdeen sent in a petition for the restoration of Episcopacy. In this petition, the Synod prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to settle the government of this rent Church, *according to the Word of God, and the practice of the ancient primitive Church.* (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 429-432).

Sharp, before his elevation to the See of St. Andrews, was one of those who were called to London to be consulted on this matter; and he has been charged with having betrayed his party. There is not the slightest foundation for this charge. In addition to the general desire of the Scottish nation for the restoration of Episcopacy, Sharp found that the King in Council was resolved on the re-establishment of the Church, and he wrote and informed his constituents that such was the case. In the eyes of Presbyterian historians, his great offence appears to have been his accepting afterwards the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. The moderate Presbyterians did not blame him for doing so. On the contrary, his friend, Robert Douglas, when offered the Episcopal office, had said to him:—“Brother, I render to his Majesty, a thousand thanks; but I have dipped so far in oaths, and the concerns of the late troubles, and particularly in my sermon before the King at his coronation, and now being turned aged and infirm, I want strength to sustain the weight of the office, and the difficulties which I should be obliged to encounter. But if you can comply, who are young, and lie not under the same engagements, *I neither can nor will blame you.*” The sentiments here expressed, seem to have been the sentiments of the great body of the moderate Presbyterians. (Stephen, Vol. II. p. 442).

Charges of treachery brought against Sharp.

Against the character of the bishops of the second Anglican consecration—that is, of those who were consecrated, in England, in 1661—Wodrow, and other Presbyterian writers, have levelled their shafts; and

Character of the new Scottish bishops.

have endeavoured to shew that they were men of immoral lives, and that they were a disgrace, not only to their sacred functions, but to human nature itself. Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was, especially, singled out as an object of their malice; and even Leighton, whose purity of personal demeanour, and whose writings, have been matter of admiration to all future generations, did not escape the venom which issued from their pens.

So long as Sharp was a Presbyterian, his piety, zeal, and general conduct, were the theme of unbounded praise. Baillie terms him "that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp."—(Lawson, p. 680). The constant charge brought against him is, that he apostatized to Episcopacy. When his constituents, the Resolutioners, or moderate Presbyterians, authorized him to tell the King, at Breda, that "they were *no enemies to moderate Episcopacy*," Sharp discharged his duties to them; after doing which, he was a free agent, and as well entitled as Baillie, (who, though Episcopally ordained, had become a Presbyterian), or any other man, to change his opinions on the subject of Church-government. He was not the only man who did so. Nine of the moderate Presbyterians, or Resolutioners, became bishops of the newly restored Church. He betrayed the interests of no party; and, therefore, the imputations heaped upon his memory fall to the ground. (Lawson, pp. 685, 686).

The people of Scotland seemed now heartily tired of Presbyterian intolerance, and yearned after an ecclesiastical system which would give them some latitude as regards their private right to judge of religious opinions, and relieve them from a spiritual thralldom to which the bondage of the children of Israel, under the Pharaohs, was as nothing.

Wrath of
the Remon-
strants.

The wrath of the Remonstrants, or Protesters—that is, of the more violent Presbyterians—was boundless. Their fury burst forth chiefly in violent hatred and abuse of Archbishop Sharp; who, along with others of the Resolutioners—or moderate Presbyterians—shewed his sagacity, and wisdom, in seeing that it was not for the interest of the three kingdoms that they should be

kept in a state of constant turmoil and bloodshed. The calumnies circulated against him were horrible on the one side, and ludicrous on the other. But he treated such calumnies with contempt. He was the associate, and companion, of the first nobility, and gentry, of the realm, and their families ; and by them he was respected, not only as eminent in rank, but as eminent in religious principle, in moral virtue, and in social respectability. If he deserted Presbyterianism, he did nothing more—as we have already remarked—than did Henderson, Baillie, Guthrie, and many others—who deserted Episcopacy.

The re-establishment of the Church, in Scotland, seems to have been the result of the fixed determination of the King, guided by the counsels of his ministers, and particularly by those of the great and wise Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon. The peace of the country, as well as the voice of the nation, demanded such a re-establishment ; and, but for the headstrong fanaticism of the Covenanting Remonstrators, that peace would, in consequence, have been ensured. In connection with this re-establishment, the firmness, and political consistency, of Charles were eminently displayed. He saw that he was restoring Episcopacy in accordance with the wishes of the nation in general. He believed, as truth, what Robert Douglas, the devoted Presbyterian, had said, that the Scottish people bore “ a heart-hatred and malice ” against the Covenant—that they were “ hankering after bishops ”—and that they were “ feeding themselves ” with the prospect of a return to the calm and tranquil enjoyment of the rites, and ordinances, of the Church of their fathers.

The Church being now established legally, as well as spiritually, as the Church of the Scottish people, it may be desirable that we give some account of the faith, the worship, and the discipline of that Church after the Restoration.

The care, and prudence, of the bishops rendered it generally acceptable. Even Robert Douglas himself, once the eminent leading Presbyterian, attending its service. The Scottish Church had no liturgy, or form

The faith, worship, and discipline of the Scottish Church after the Restoration

of public prayer ; the remembrance of Jenny Geddes's stool having deterred its rulers from introducing one. Many of the clergy compiled forms for their own particular use, chiefly from the English Book of Common Prayer ; all of them concluding their prayers with the Lord's Prayer, and with the singing of the Doxology. The sacraments of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were administered without signing with the sign of the cross in the one, or kneeling at the other. The bishops had their diocesan synods ; and, had it been his Majesty's pleasure, they might have had their National Convocations.

Retaliation.

The sun of the Covenant had been in the ascendant : it was now on the decline. The day of retaliation had come. The sovereign of three kingdoms had perished on the scaffold. The blood of his faithful subjects had been murderously shed. His son was seated on the throne of his ancestors ; and it cannot be supposed that he would do otherwise than take such steps as should prevent the recurrence of similar acts of treason and horror. The atrocious murders, after the battle of Philiphaugh, were not forgotten. Even a Presbyterian historian says :—" If, in future turns of fortune, the Covenanters became the victims of bloody persecution, *let it not be forgotten that this system of wholesale murder originated in the massacre at Newark Castle.*" In that, he adds, " commenced the bloody war of party revenge, which, for nearly forty years afterwards polluted and dishonoured the annals of Scotland."—(Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 442). These words speak volumes, and ought ever to be kept in mind. They explain much of what occurred, when Claverhouse—afterwards the gallant Dundee—crushed the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge :—when, sternly pursuing the path of loyalty, and of duty, he avenged the slaughtered dead by the might of his genius, and the power of his sword.

The Christian religion has told us that we are to return good for evil ; but this was not the maxim of any party in the seventeenth century. The Covenanters had shed blood like water ; they had sent the noblest in the land to the scaffold ; they had delivered

up their anointed sovereign to be butchered by Cromwell, and his fellow-rebels; they had turned the fair, and fertile, fields of England into scenes of blood; and the hills, and valleys, of Scotland testified to the desolation, and misery, which the Covenant had caused. Under these circumstances, we are not to be surprised if we find that the opponents of the Covenant, in the fulness of their strength, meted to their adversaries the measure which they had received from them.

The newly consecrated bishops were received, in Scotland, with the greatest cordiality. A large concourse of the nobility, barons, gentry, burgesses, and others, met them at Cockburnspath, Haddington, and Musselburgh; and, by these, they were received, and conducted into Edinburgh, with the utmost pomp and grandeur, reverence and respect. (Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 363, 364.)

Reception
of bishops
in Scot-
land.
1662.
April 8th.

Archbishop Sharp crossed the Frith of Forth, to take possession of his diocese; and was received, by all ranks of the population of Fife, in such a manner as clearly to shew, that his change from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy was not unpopular. He slept at Leslie House, the seat of the Earl of Rothes; and thence, with the Earl of Rothes on his right hand, and the Earl of Kellie on his left, and accompanied by seven or eight hundred horsemen, congregated from all quarters of the country, he entered the chief seat of his Archiepiscopal domain, in which he was destined to exercise his functions, and near which he was doomed bloodily to die. (Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, Vol. II., pp. 73, 74.)

Archbishop
Sharp's
entrance
into St.
Andrews.
April 15th.

The Covenanting ministers had got possession of their pulpits by means the most nefarious. Nevertheless, the new government were inclined to deal leniently with them; and an act of parliament was passed, by which they were guaranteed in the possession of their livings, on the simple condition, that they should demand a presentation from the patron—which the patron was not at liberty to refuse—and that they should ask a licence from the archbishop, which he had it not in his power to deny.

Self-ejec-
tion of
Covenant-
ing minis-
ters.

These easy terms were rejected. Strife, and

dissension, were the object of men who called themselves ministers of the gospel of peace ; and the love of popularity, and the reputation of martyrdom, led from one to two hundred of them to abandon their parishes, and to throw themselves into the midst of the people as seeds of discord. In a short time, however, most of them discovered their error, and went back to the positions which they had left. (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 493-498).

Honour,
and respect,
paid to the
bishops.
May 8th.

It is almost impossible, at the present day, to conceive the honour, and respect, paid to the Scottish bishops of the second Anglican consecration. At the meeting of parliament, on the 8th of May, the names of the two archbishops, and all the bishops, were placed on the roll, as constituting the first Estate of the realm. A deputation of peers, and others, waited formally upon them, in his Majesty's name, at Archbishop Sharp's lodgings, to invite them to take their places, and to give their votes, as in the days of old. Accompanied by the deputation, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Brechin, Caithness, and the Isles, proceeded, on this occasion, in solemn state, to the Parliament House. The two archbishops walked between the Earls of Kellie and Wemyss, and the seven bishops were attended by barons, gentlemen, and the magistrates of Edinburgh in their robes. They were addressed in a congratulatory speech from the throne. The act restoring them was read. Having taken the oath of allegiance, and the oath of parliament, they were added to the Lords of the Articles. They, afterwards, dined in Holyrood House, with the Lord Commissioner ; who walked with them, in procession, from the Parliament House, preceded by six mace-bearers, three gentlemen-ushers, and the purse-bearer uncovered, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor Glencairn, and a number of the nobility. A select party of members of the parliament sat down with the bishops, "at four of the clock, to a sumptuous entertainment, and remained at table till eight."—(Lawson, p. 725). Such was the reception given, in Scotland, to those bishops whom it has been the fashion of

Presbyterian writers to decry, as having been forced upon the Scottish nation.

One of the beneficent acts of the parliament was, to pass a vote, granting certain sums of money to clergymen, and to the widows, and destitute families, of clergymen, who, by the Covenanting party, had been thrust from their charges, and thrown, in beggary, upon the world. (Lawson, pp. 730, 731).

Let it be remembered, by the reader, that the Covenanting Presbyterians had expelled, in the most summary manner, all incumbents who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Solemn League and Covenant;—a Covenant which called upon them to extirpate prelacy, or the government of the Church by bishops, in every possible way. Now that the hand of oppression was removed, and that they themselves felt the force of legal retribution inflicted upon them, they raised their voices, and made the welkin ring, with their cries of persecution.

After the Restoration, the incomes of the bishops, and other clergy, in Scotland, were very moderate. The primate had £1000 yearly; the other bishops from £300 to £500; and the inferior clergy from £20 to £100. According to the style of the age, and according to the manners of the country, these sums were considered sufficient to enable them to support their position, and rank, in society.

Incomes of the bishops and other clergy.

So moderate was the Episcopacy established under Charles the Second, and so easy were the terms upon which the Remonstrators, or violent Presbyterians, might have connected themselves with it, that Calamy, the celebrated English Puritan, when he heard of these terms, exclaimed, "What would our brethren in Scotland be at?—or what would they have?—Would to God we had these offers!"—(Russell, Vol. II. p. 262).

Opinion of Calamy.

Neal, the author of the *History of the Puritans*, was a most prejudiced historian. Nevertheless, he states, that, if the Presbyterians would have consented to accommodate matters on the "footing of a limited toleration, they might have saved the Constitution, and made their own terms with the King. But," he adds, "they were enchanted with the beauties of Covenant

Presbyterian intolerance.

uniformity, and the divine right of Presbytery ; which, after all, the parliament would not admit in its full extent." In short, at the time of which we speak, toleration was considered a crime not to be forgiven. It was the sin of sins. It was the " putting a sword in a madman's hand, a cup of poison into the hands of a child, or letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands, and appointing a city of refuge, in men's consciences, for the devil to fly to. It was the laying of a stumbling-block before the blind, or proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs. It was not to provide for tender consciences, but to take away conscience altogether."

All this, in the opinion of the Covenantee Presbyterians, was toleration two hundred years ago. We need not, therefore, be surprised that the ministers, on the basis of the *Jus Divinum*, recommended " a compulsive, co-active, primitive, corrective power, to the political magistrate, in matters of religion."—(Russell's *edit. of Keith's Catalogue*, p. 489).

In the deprivation of Covenantee ministers, for refusing to comply with the act of parliament, which demanded that they should request a presentation at the hands of the patron, and collation from the archbishop, Archbishop Sharp had no share. On the contrary, we have the explicit testimony of Burnet—Sharp's bitter enemy—that the Primate repeatedly stated that he was glad that he had no hand in the proceedings of the Privy Council. (*History of his Own Times*, Vol. I. p. 215).

Terms
offered to
Covenantee
Presbyterian
ministers.

Presbyterian writers assert, that, throughout the kingdom, nearly four hundred of their preachers were deprived, on account of their refusal to submit to Episcopacy. They omit to state, however, that these preachers had usurped the place of others—Episcopal incumbents, who had been tyrannically, and mercilessly, deposed, and reduced to a state of poverty and destitution, because they refused to take the Covenant ;—and that they might have retained their positions on terms of the easiest kind. They were simply required to conform themselves to the Church established by law. They were not called upon to use a liturgy. The Five

Articles of Perth were no more. No Book of Canons threatened them with its horrors. The Court of High Commission had ceased to exist; and even the power, and authority of the bishops had become merely nominal.

The self-ejection of the Covenantee ministers of Charles the Second's age may, not inappropriately, be compared to that of the four hundred non-intrusion ministers, who left the Presbyterian Establishment in 1843. The latter did not leave because of any persecution from the state—of any threatened change of doctrine, or discipline—or of any intended innovations whatever. They left because they were not allowed to place themselves above all law, civil and ecclesiastical.

General feeling in favour of Episcopacy.

The general feeling in favour of Episcopacy displayed itself in almost every parish of Scotland. The submission to Episcopal ordination, and diocesan jurisdiction, was almost universal; and, even according to Wodrow, Covenantee Presbyterianism was chiefly confined to the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton.

There is nothing which more strongly attracts the attention of a Christian mind than the slanderous disposition of the rigid Covenanters. They saw not even the shadow of a virtue in their opponents. They scattered around them the most atrocious calumnies; and they brought charges, against those who differed from them, sufficient to make human nature blush. Nor were these calumnies confined to their Episcopalian adversaries. They extended them to the moderate Presbyterians; whom they described as men of depraved habits.

Slanderous disposition of the rigid Covenanters.

The harshness, and severity, of the Privy Council, under the guidance of Middleton, in carrying out, against the Covenantee ministers, the edicts of parliament, is undeniable. These ministers were indeed sufficiently untractable. They were eager in spirit; they were sour in temper; but their sincerity, and earnestness of disposition, were entitled to respect.

Ill-timed severity of the Privy Council.

Archbishop Sharp disapproved of the conduct of the Privy Council. He saw the evil effects which must result from it. He saw that, at the lowest calculation,

two hundred resolute and determined men were to be thrown on the wide world, deprived of the means of living, and solemnly intent on carrying into practice the principles—however erroneous—which they advocated.

The result. The result of all this was, that the Covenanters betook themselves to the open fields;—they placed themselves under the broad canopy of heaven;—they enunciated their principles with a power, and effect, which no government could treat with contempt;—they placed themselves in an attitude, with regard to the civil power, which that power had scarcely the means to withstand.

CHAPTER XVII.

Lord Clarendon—Sufferings of the English clergy—Oath of Abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant—Atrocious conduct of the Covenanters towards the Scottish clergy—Dissatisfaction of Archbishop Sharp—Arrest and execution of Johnston of Warriston—Conventicles and field-meetings—Welsh and Semple—Wodrow's estimate of the self-ejected ministers—Style of Covenanting writing and preaching—Court of High Commission—Precedence restored to Archbishop Sharp—Sir James Turner—His early service under the Covenanters—Instructions to Turner—Bishop Burnet—Moderation of the new Episcopacy—Disturbed state of the country—Rising in the West—Battle of Rullion Green—Whigs.

IN reference to the Covenanting Presbyterians, both of Lord Clarendon. England and Scotland, Lord Clarendon, on introducing the bill for the Act of Uniformity, said :—“What good Christian can think, without horror, of these ministers of the gospel, who, by their function, should be messengers of peace, and are, in their practices, the only trumpeters of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion? And, if the person, and place, can aggravate the offence, as no doubt it does before God and men, methinks the preaching rebellion, and treason, out of the pulpit, should be as much worse than the advancing it in the market, as poisoning a man at a communion would be worse than killing him at a tavern.” Never were sentiments more expressive, or more appropriate. The illustrious and good author of the *History of the Great Rebellion* knew, that, but for the indefatigable exertions, and rebellious outpourings, of the fanatical preachers of his time, the fair fields of England never would have been laid waste—the blood of England's children never would have stained her soil—and the sovereign of three kingdoms never would have perished on the scaffold.

Much has been written, on the subject of the self-

Sufferings
of English
clergy.

ejection of from one to two hundred Scottish Covenanted ministers, who were evidently in possession of parishes from which they had turned out the lawful incumbents. Not a word, however, does Scottish Presbyterian history say of the eight thousand English clergy who had, because of their refusal to take the Covenant, been driven from their livings, and, with their wives and families, thrown upon the wide world, to starve. (See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 439).

Oath of
abjuration
of Solemn
League and
Covenant.

It is a matter of complaint, by Presbyterian writers, that two thousand Covenanted ministers in England were self-ejected from their livings, because of their refusal to adopt the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant. But it should be remembered, in the first place, that they had unlawfully taken possession of those livings. It should also be kept in view, that all ministers and schoolmasters were called upon, at their admission to their offices, to subscribe, before the feast

Aug. 24th.

of St. Bartholomew, a declaration, "that it is not lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person." Nothing could be more reasonable than to require such a declaration; and it was utterly impossible that any man, who refused to subscribe it, should be allowed to hold a position in Church or state. The self-ejection, therefore, as it is called, of those who countenanced the treasonable proceedings of the "Great Rebellion," followed as a matter of necessity.

Atrocious
conduct of
Covenant-
ers towards
the Scottish
clergy.

The conduct of those who thus resigned their usurped benefices was most atrocious. They did not leave the district, but remained in the neighbourhood; and did everything in their power to annoy the lawful Episcopal possessors of their cures. The expedients, indeed, which they adopted for this purpose are disgraceful to human nature.

1663.
Dissatisfac-
tion of
Archbishop
Sharp.

The summary proceeding of the Privy Council, in driving the Covenanted ministers to a resignation of their benefices, was utterly disapproved of by Archbishop Sharp. Although, in reality, it was not so, it had the appearance of persecution; and, therefore, the

Archbishop protested against it. He foresaw the evils which were likely to ensue ; and these evils arrived at no distant day.

Since the year 1660, when he escaped to France, Johnston of Warriston had wandered about on the continent—chiefly in Holland—till he finally settled at Rouen. There, he was, in the course of the present year, arrested, by the order of Louis the Fourteenth—sent over to England—and, thence, transferred to Scotland. As a matter of course, having been formerly attainted of treason, he was sentenced to be executed. He was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh ; and his head was placed on the Netherbow, beside that of his friend, the Rev. James Guthrie.

Arrest, and execution, of Johnston of Warriston.

“ It was,” as Mr. Napier very properly remarks, “ a Scottish faction that, in the seventeenth century, when paving the way to such enormities as the murders of Charles the First and Montrose, had wielded the destinies, and decided the fate of England.” Again were the self-same scenes of violence and bloodshed threatened. The self-ejected Covenanting ministers were not contented to preach the gospel ; they preached treason.

Conventicles, and field-meetings.

The first who took to the hillside, and the open canopy of heaven, with a view to the indulgence of their treasonable harangues, were John Welsh and Gabriel Semple. These men urged their followers to flee from the “ perjured curates ” as from the pestilence.

Welsh and Semple.

Wodrow’s estimate of the self-ejected ministers seems to have been very moderate. According to him, “ none of these ministers were scandalous, insufficient, or negligent, so far as could be noticed.” Were we to believe the Covenanting Wodrow to have been a wag, we might suppose that he meant here a sly charge of hypocrisy against his friends. Miserable must be the condition of a body of Christian ministers, whose highest praise is, that they are not “ scandalous, insufficient, or negligent ! ” Higher qualities are expected of them in the Scriptures of truth.

Wodrow’s estimate of self-ejected ministers.

The slanderous pen of Bishop Burnet is busily at work against the Scottish younger clergy. Having declared their preaching to be bad—having charged them with ignorance, at a time when Covenanting zeal, and

Style of Covenanting writing and preaching.

fanaticism, had driven learning from the kingdom—and having, openly, without adducing a particle of proof, pointed them out as men vicious, and profligate, in their lives—it may be worth while to take a cursory view of the style of writing, and preaching, of his Covenanting friends, during the latter part of the seventeenth, and the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

It very much resembled that of their brethren the Puritans of England. That they should use the language of Scripture was natural; but the peculiarity of this use was, that they seldom employed the mild and gentle language of the gospel dispensation, as it is to be found in the New Testament, while they indulged lavishly in that of the Old Testament, comparing themselves to Moses, and to the other great leaders of Israel; and likening their opponents to those nations whom Moses was commissioned to destroy, and to all the worst characters of the Jewish people.

1664.

Court of
High Com-
mission.

From an idea that it would strengthen the hands of the executive in Scotland, the King and his English Council appointed a Court of High Commission, which should judge, and determine, in all cases of ecclesiastical offence. This Court consisted of all the prelates, the Lord Chancellor, and about thirty laymen; and five members, a bishop being one, constituted a quorum. Their business, generally speaking, was to put into vigorous execution all acts of parliament, and of the Privy Council, which, from time to time, had been enacted for preserving the peace, and order, of the Church. The Court was—like all Courts of a similar kind—a harsh and tyrannical one; and, after it had fined some, and imprisoned others, and had spread the terror of its power among the ignorant and infatuated peasantry, against whom its denunciations were chiefly fulminated, it was, by the King, on the representations of many of the nobility and clergy, dissolved. That it was instituted at the suggestion of Archbishop Sharp, is a malignant calumny of Burnet and Wodrow. (Russell, Vol. II. pp. 280, 281).

In former times, the Archbishops of St. Andrews had always taken precedence of all the nobility, and

the officers of state ; as the Archbishop of Canterbury, just now, ranks as chief of the Church, and the first lord in the land, next to the blood-royal of England. Charles the Second, unsolicited, and by letters-patent, restored the privilege to Archbishop Sharp. Burnet, without evidence, attributes the precedence to the Archbishop's solicitation, and describes it as an inexcusable piece of vanity ; and the Lord Chancellor, Glencairn, is said to have taken it so much to heart that he died a few months afterwards. Glencairn's character was such that there seems to have been no truth in this report. (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 529, 530).

Precedence restored to Archbishop Sharp.

May 30th.

The proceedings of the Covenanting Presbyterians now became thoroughly dangerous. In the dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway they had exhibited symptoms of turbulence and sedition. They had even betaken themselves to arms ; and the Government found it necessary to send Sir James Turner, and some soldiers, into Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbright, to prevent their breaking into open rebellion. Under their two preachers, Welsh and Semple, they were not disinclined to do so.

Sir James Turner.

Turner seems to have been a stern soldier, and his character in that respect may be said to have taken its rise in his early service under the Covenanters. While in this service, he was a spectator of, if not a participator in, the two horrid massacres at Dunnavearty and Duart, where not fewer than three hundred men were put to death in cold blood, merely for fighting under the banners of the king. (Turner's *Memoirs*, pp. 45-47).

His early service under the Covenanters.

The instructions given to him by government were, that he should quarter his dragoons on the most disorderly of the people ; and he was told, also, to exact fines, according to his discretion, for non-conformity as well as disaffection. We cannot be blind to the fact, that, according to the ideas, and habits, of the nineteenth century, these were tyrannical and oppressive acts ; but we must, at the same time, remember, that they were merely reprisals for similar measures which had been inflicted on the Royalists, by the Covenanting and Puritanical parties, during the time of the Commonwealth. The character of Bishop Burnet, one of

Instructions to Turner.

Bishop
Burnet.

their great advocates, seems to be an enigma. On his ordination to the ministry, and his appointment to the parish of Salton, he appears to have discharged his duties in a manner highly creditable to himself; but self-conceit, and a tendency to gossip and slander, seem to have been his ruling passions. His character for veracity is thus summed up by a writer who lived in his own time:—"He happens to stand so ill in the opinion of the world, as to be ranked with one sort of men, who are never believed, even when they speak the truth."—(*Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times*, by Bevill Higgons, pp. 93, 94).

Moderation
of the new
Episcopacy.

After the Restoration, Episcopacy was not established, in Scotland, for a year and a half; and, when it was so, the moderation of its principles, and the mildness of its practice, may be gathered from a few particulars.

In 1663, Archbishop Sharp appointed parochial kirk-sessions; and, at the same time, presbyteries and diocesan synods were constituted. No liturgy was used; and each clergyman was allowed either to pray *ex tempore*, or to use his own written formula of prayer. "The Westminster Directory," for public worship, was set aside; and the former mode, in use before 1637, was authorized. Readers of the Scriptures, in the towns, were revived. The clergy were enjoined to use the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology; and parents, and others, who presented children for baptism, were expected to give an account of their faith, and of their belief in the Apostles' creed. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the Presbyterian form of sitting at long tables. There were no organs in the churches. The clergy's sole distinctive dress was the black gown. Even the bishops rarely appeared in their Episcopal habit. "In short," says Lawson, "the whole was externally Presbyterian, and the only difference was in the constitution of the Church."—(pp. 670 and 741).

Disturbed
state of the
country.

The disaffected and turbulent state of Scotland, both before and after the Restoration, merits observation. This may be accounted for by the distractions of the Grand Rebellion, and by the habits of war, and pillage, to which it had inured the people at large; by the

want of employment ; and by the secret incitements of persons, in the higher walks of life, who were interested in preventing the restoration of the Church to her former property and privileges. A large body of the people had become factious and miserable.

Sir James Turner's expedition to the west was not at all successful. With only sixty men at his command, he found himself in the hands of the Philistines ; and he was suddenly arrested, one morning, in his bed, by his Covenanting opponents. Open rebellion now took the place of mere sedition. With a spirit worthy of a better cause, the Covenanters, fierce with fiery fanaticism and enthusiasm, hoisted the standard of the Covenant, contrary to their allegiance bade defiance to the ruling powers, and marched upon the metropolis. The government were startled at this outbreak ; and Generals Drummond and Dalzell were sent against them. The latter was a warrior who had spent many years in Muscovy, and whose very name carried terror along with it. Since the day when Charles the First perished, he had never shaved. He had sworn not to do so. His beard reached his girdle ; and he hated the Covenanters, and Puritans, with an intensity of hatred such as nothing could possibly allay.

Rising in
the west.

The Covenanters had been led to believe that the whole country, between Dumfries and Edinburgh, would rise in their favour. In this they were deceived. Carrying Sir James Turner a prisoner along with them—many of the ministers urging that he should be put to death—they reached the metropolis, the gates of which they found shut against them. Throughout Lothian the influence of the Resolutioners, or moderate Presbyterians, prevailed. The Covenanting, or Remonstrant, army, therefore, amounting to about three thousand men, with a determination such as Romans might have envied, and with an array of cavalry, and foot, such as Gustavus, the Lion of the North, or the great Duke of Marlborough, or the victor of Waterloo, might not have disdained to lead, directed their steps towards the Pentland Hills, and took up their position on a spot called Rullion Green. The Covenanting cavalry were well provided with sword and pistol ; the infantry

Battle of
Rullion
Green.

with musket and pike ; while others displayed scythes, hay-forks, and staves. Notwithstanding this array, the genius, and military skill, of Dalzell prevailed. The

Nov. 28th. Covenanters were scattered ; and, as far as Presbyterianism was concerned, the name of Rullion Green became a name of defeat.

Whigs. The term *Whigs* was first applied in this year to the Covenanters. The "Whigs of Fife" soon became a common expression ; indicating men who held extreme views of Presbyterianism, and who were prepared, doggedly, to carry out their principles at all hazards. The name was afterwards introduced into the British parliament ; and carried with it a meaning, indicating the support of democratic influence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Humane offers of the government—Cruel government retribution—Attempt on Archbishop Sharp's life—James Mitchell—Meeting of the Privy Council—Reasonable nature of the Conventicles—The Indulgence—The Assertory Act—Evil effects of the Indulgence, and of the Assertory Act—Sufferings of the western clergy—Attempts to conciliate the Presbyterians—Richard Cameron—General and mutual intolerance—The Oath of Supremacy—Death of Archbishop Leighton—Arrest, and execution, of James Mitchell—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Character of Archbishop Sharp—Presbyterian opinions of Archbishop Sharp's murder—Battle of Drumclog—Graham of Claverhouse.

BEFORE the battle of Rullion Green, the government had, by an open proclamation, offered an amnesty to all the Covenanters who would lay down their arms, and retire to their homes in peace. These fanatics, full of zeal on behalf of the cause they had adopted, spurned the proffer made to them.

Would that it could be said, that the triumph of Rullion Green, or, as it is often termed, the Pentland Hills, had been followed by measures of clemency, and mercy, on the part of the government! Not such was the case. Many of the misguided peasantry taken on the field of battle, and conveyed to Edinburgh, were executed, after being inhumanly tortured by order of the Privy Council. Eighteen were executed in the metropolis, and thirty-five in the country. The heart bleeds at the very idea of such scenes of horror. The only possible excuse which can be made for the Council is, that, by the King's personal command, the prisoners were offered their lives on the easy terms that they should promise to obey the laws, and use the Scriptural expression, "God save the King!"—an expression used towards even heathen kings, by the servants of God; as in the words,—“O Nebuchadnezzar, live for ever!” “O king, live for ever!”

Dec. 22d. Only four accepted the conditions tendered. As Archbishop Sharp's name has been frequently mixed up with the execution of these men, it may be proper to observe, that he was not in Edinburgh, during the greater part of the month, at all, but at his residence in St. Andrews. (Stephen, Vol. II. p. 566).

That the insurgents had been guilty of high treason—that they had been in arms against the established government of the country—and that they had even been arrayed against religious toleration, and liberty of conscience—is undeniable. Nevertheless, the ruling powers ought to have considered the circumstances of the times. They ought to have considered that, whatever might have been the views of their leaders, the mass of those who took up their position on Rullion Green, were Scotsmen actuated by the purest motives, however erroneous; and that they had marched against their opponents animated by the same sentiments which inspired their ancestors, when the latter met the battalions of Edward of England at Bannockburn, and encountered the host of Surrey from the ridges of Flodden. On this account the rigours of the law should have been relaxed; mercy should have triumphed over justice; and the lives of misguided men, who believed that they were facing peril in the discharge of duty, should have been spared.

1668. On the 11th of July 1668, a crime was committed
 July 11th. on the streets of Edinburgh, which, in the present day,
 Attempt on would have excited the utmost indignation and horror.
 Archbishop When we read of the attempt on the life of George the
 Sharp's Third by Hatfield—when we remember the bullet which
 life. missed Sir Robert Peel, to consign to eternity a Drum-
 Saturday. mond—and when we ponder on the various endeavours
 made to place even Victoria, Queen of Britain, in an
 untimely tomb—the blood curdles, and the heart rouses
 itself to ask, why the perpetrators of such actions should
 be allowed to live? In like manner, when Archbishop
 Sharp, the Primate of Scotland, was attacked by an
 assassin, we have a right to inquire why that assassin
 was not made amenable to the laws of his country?

The Archbishop was sitting quietly, in his coach, in front of Blackfriars' Wynd, and was in the act of

distributing alms to mendicants, when a deadly weapon was pointed at him, and five bullets missed him only to break the arm of Honyman, Bishop of Orkney, who was sitting beside him. The man who discharged the pistol was a field-preacher, named James Mitchell. Turner, who knew him personally, describes him as a railer against all authority. Wodrow eulogises him as "a youth of much zeal and piety."

James
Mitchell.

The attempt on Archbishop Sharp's life was followed by a meeting of the Privy Council ; which addressed a letter to the King, informing him of the event, and communicating to him their intention to use every endeavour to apprehend, and punish, the intended murderer. Mitchell had been disguised in a wig ; and had escaped by one of the back-lanes of the city.

Meeting of
the Privy
Council.

The nuisance of conventicles, or field-preachings, which assembled in retired places, and were attended by Presbyterians notoriously disaffected to the laws of the country, at last attracted the special attention of the government. At these conventicles, under the pretence of religion, the preachers enunciated doctrines of the most treasonable kind. They perverted Scripture to their own peculiar views. One rebellion had been recently subdued ; and the government were naturally alarmed lest there should be the outbreak of another.

1669.
Treason-
able nature
of the con-
venticles.

In their perplexity, they issued a proclamation, prohibiting all children from being baptized by the Presbyterian ministers, and ordering them to be carried, for the administration of that sacrament, to the parish churches. Such a proclamation, in the present day, would be a matter of derision. Then, it was a matter of serious import ; but the operation of it was confined to the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Galloway—thus shewing that Presbyterianism was chiefly to be found in those districts. (Stephen, Vol. II. pp. 603, 604).

March 4th.

Desirous of conciliating the Presbyterians in every possible way, the King, and the government, issued what is usually known as the Indulgence, by which Presbyterian ministers, who consented to live peaceably with the Established clergy, were allowed to hold benefices ; while many of them, who had not benefices

The Indul-
gence.
June 7th,

were allowed a *Regium Donum* of four hundred merks a year. (Ibid. pp. 606, 607). This measure, so far from its savouring of persecution, was one of the most liberal kind. The Indulgence was accepted by the great body of the moderate Presbyterians. Their doing so roused the wrath of the stringent Solemn League and Covenant party. The latter stigmatized them as "dumb dogs," and "king's curates;" while the name which they gave to the regular clergy was that of the "bishop's curates." The conciliatory act of the government, as regards the peaceably disposed portion of the Presbyterian community, got the name of the "Black Indulgence." (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 473).

The Asser-
tory Act.
Nov. 16th.

An act, called the Assertory Act, was passed, this year, in parliament, by which the whole power of the ordering, and disposal, of the external government, and policy, of the Church was vested in the king. This act was strenuously opposed by Archbishop Sharp, and other rulers of the Church, but in vain. It became law; and, as a matter of course, invested the civil government with powers, in relation to ecclesiastical matters, to which it had no rightful claim.

Evil effects
of the In-
dulgence,
and of the
Assertory
Act.

The Indulgence, and the Assertory Act, were both accompanied by effects injurious to the Church. The former had admitted men within the parish churches who were utterly destitute of Church principles: the latter had given to the king an Erastian power to deprive bishops at his pleasure, which no sovereign of Scotland had ever possessed since Iona sent forth her missionaries.

Sufferings
of western
clergy.

The fire of persecution, on the part of the presbyterians, raged in the west. The barbarities perpetrated on the persons, the families, and the property of the Established clergy were such, that it became necessary to pass an act of parliament, entitled "An act for the security of the persons of ministers," for their protection. No Episcopal clergyman could lay his head on his pillow with safety, or in peace. The murderer was abroad; and the murders committed were committed under the pretence of religion, and "in the name of the Lord."

Every attempt, on the part of the Church, and the

government, to conciliate the Covenanting Presbyterians was vain. The utter extirpation of Episcopacy was the object of the latter; and of that object they were determined not to lose sight. Even the pious, and benevolent, Archbishop Leighton found it impossible to manage this untractable race; and told them plainly that he "washed his hands" of the consequences which must ensue from their determined and rebellious conduct. (Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, XCI.)

1671.

Attempts to conciliate Presbyterians.

About this time, arose a person whose name, afterwards, as the founder of a sect, acquired some notoriety. This was Richard Cameron, whose followers, termed Cameronians, rendered themselves troublesome to the government, by the fierce determination with which they attempted to enforce their fanatical opinions at the point of the sword.

Richard Cameron.

The only apology which can be made, either for the Presbyterian or Episcopalian parties of this period was, the general and mutual intolerance of the age. The Scottish government thundered its manifestoes against unlawful, seditious, and treasonable assemblies; and the Covenanters did everything in their power to evade the laws, and to inflict vengeance on those to whom they were opposed. In the strife of the two parties, the barriers of Christian charity were broken down—the passions of the old Adam were roused within them—and feelings of malignity took the place where gentleness, mildness, and the forbearance enjoined by the gospel of Christ, should have prevailed.

General and mutual intolerance.

Imitating the example of the Covenanters, Lauderdale, and his furious council, attacked the Presbyterians with their own weapons, and forced upon men, and even ignorant women, oaths with respect to the king's supremacy, of which they understood not the nature, and which their intellects, and acquirements, did not permit them to comprehend. Property, freedom, and life, were at stake on both sides; and the only person, who interfered to allay the dissensions which were being carried to such a height of ferocity, was the easy, the good-natured, King himself. (Russell, Vol. II. p. 298).

The Oath of Supremacy.

Archbishop Leighton, disgusted with the state of

Death of
Archbishop
Leighton.

things in Scotland, had retired into England, where he had two sisters married, and where he led a life of pious seclusion. On the 25th of June 1684, he died at an inn, in Warwick Lane, in the arms of Burnet, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Leighton was never married; and, with the exception of a small legacy to one of his sisters, and her son, he bequeathed his property to pious and charitable uses. His simplicity of life was very remarkable; and anecdotes, connected with it, were long remembered in the decayed city of Dunblane. The *Bishop's Walk* is still known as the promenade which he usually occupied. He left his books to the clergy of the diocese; and his library there still exists.

1674.
Arrest, and
execution,
of James
Mitchell.

James Mitchell, the person who had attempted the life of Archbishop Sharp, had returned from abroad; and, being recognised, he was arrested. A conditional promise of his life was given him; but, as he violated the condition, he was put upon his trial, convicted, and sentenced to death. He was executed in 1678; and died glorying in the deed for which he suffered.

1679.
Murder of
Archbishop
Sharp.
May 3d.

The consummation of the event which he had attempted now took place; an event which, even in a barbarous and savage age, was characterized by circumstances of almost unexampled atrocity. The murder of the Primate of Scotland was, perhaps, the most dastardly act of cowardice recorded in the annals of the country which he spiritually ruled. Here was an old man, with gray hairs. Here were ten men, in the prime of life, armed to the teeth. Here was a youthful maiden, clinging to her father's person, and to the feet of her father's murderers, overpowered with agony, and imploring his life. The scene is terrible. It strikes at the very foundation of human feeling; and makes one ashamed that, in the shape of human nature, such monsters could exist.

On Friday, the 2d of May, the Archbishop, accompanied by his eldest daughter, Isabel, crossed the Forth, from Edinburgh, and slept at the village of Kennoway, about half-way between Kinghorn and St. Andrews, at the house of a Captain Seaton. He had no reason to fear violence; and the domestics who

accompanied him were few. He travelled leisurely, in his own carriage. On the Saturday morning, his spirits were much depressed ; and he was longer, and more fervent, than usual, in his private devotions. The "coming event cast its shadow before ;" and, from his conversation with his daughter, it appeared as if he had a presentiment of his approaching end. (Stephen, Vol. III. pp. 149, 150). It appears that, on the morning of that day, some of the more violent Presbyterians were wandering on Magus Moor, about three miles from St. Andrews, in search of the Sheriff of Fife, whose activity in favour of the Archbishop had roused them to feelings of revenge, and, while seeking for the servant they fell in with the master. Between twelve and one o'clock, ten men on horseback, headed by John Balfour of Kinloch (commonly called Balfour of Burley) stopped the Archbishop's carriage, cut the traces, dragged him out, and, in the presence of his daughter, murdered him under circumstances of the most brutal kind.

The character of Archbishop Sharp has been fearfully traduced. The malignities of Presbyterian writers, and the malicious slanders of Bishop Burnet cannot justly stain his name. From being a Presbyterian, he became an Episcopalian ; and that was his great crime.

Character
of Arch-
bishop
Sharp.

"I can," says Mr. Elliott, "justly, and on good grounds, say, that he was a most reverend and grave churchman, very strict and circumspect in his course of life ; a man of great learning, great wit, and no less great and solid judgment ; a man of great counsel, most faithful in his Episcopal office, most vigilant over the enemies of the Church, and most observant of performing the duties of divine worship, both publicly, in the house of God, and, privately, in his own family. In a word, none could deserve better the place, and dignity, of Primate of all Scotland. I could say a great deal more in commendation of this most reverend and most worthy primate."—(Stephen, Vol. III. pp. 161, 162).

Of the murder of Archbishop Sharp a Presbyterian writer says :—"Viewing the transaction impartially, it is impossible to pronounce it anything else than a deliberate and dastardly murder, disgraceful not only to

Presby-
terian
opinions of
Archbishop
Sharp's
murder.

them by whom it was committed, but, in some measure, to the whole body of the Covenanters, and reflecting odium on the age in which it was perpetrated. The murder of Archbishop Sharp may be viewed as the premeditated and deliberate design of the Covenanters at large. It was recommended by their preachers, long determined by many, repeatedly attempted, and at last accomplished with savage ferocity, and afterwards approved, and the perpetrators countenanced by their brethren in other parts of Scotland. The deed was not more base and dastardly than the means used to excite to its perpetration were dangerous and diabolical."—(See Lawson, p. 847).

The results of the death of Archbishop Sharp became soon apparent. The government were enraged at the foul murder; and justly so. They issued orders for the putting down of treasonable conventicles in the west; and these orders were stringently enforced. The Covenanters were in arms. They protested against "Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, and the Indulgence." They marched against the King's troops, who were headed by Graham of Claverhouse; and they were partially successful in a skirmish at Loudon Hill, or, as it is usually designated Drumclog, the only field on which they were ever victors. This elated their spirits; and they endeavoured to follow up the advantage which they had gained. The rebels were commanded by a brother of Sir William Hamilton of Preston; and, in a short time, they had gathered to the amount of seven or eight thousand men. At Drumclog, Hamilton had issued orders that no quarter should be given to the King's troops; and, at the present day, there is in existence a banner called the "Bluidy Banner," which was used on this occasion, and on which the words are displayed:—"NO QUARTERS TO YE ACTIVE ENEMIES OF YE COVENANT."* Hamilton

Battle of
Drumclog.
June.

* This banner is of blue silk, about four and a half feet in length, by three and a half feet in breadth. It was subsequently used at Bothwell Bridge. It is now in the possession of a family, named Raeburn, at Dunbar. It originally belonged to Hall of Haughhead, a zealous Covenanter, and leader at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.

himself boasted, that, after the skirmish, he, with his own hand, killed a prisoner in cold blood. It is said, that a nephew of Claverhouse—Cornet Graham—who was sent, with a flag of truce to the rebels, was, contrary to the law of nations, remorselessly shot down, before the eyes of his uncle, by one of the leaders of the latter. “The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon!” was the watchword of the Covenanters. “Down with the traitors!” said Claverhouse, and his booted dragoons.

The Privy Council had issued an edict, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms. The only persons who were excepted from the amnesty were the actual murderers of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The King had sent down his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, to take command of the troops, and to endeavour to reduce the Covenanters to obedience. The Duke was mild, and gentle, in his nature; and the utmost desire of his heart was, to conciliate the rebels to a sense of their duty. But, although Monmouth was supreme in command, the animating genius of the king's troops was the celebrated personage whom we have just had occasion to mention, in connection with the battle of Drumclog, John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards known as Viscount Dundee. The “Bloody Clavers” was the name under which he was known in the west of Scotland; the “gallant Dundee” announced the opinion which was entertained of his conduct, and character, in the regions of the north.*

June 18th.

Graham of Claverhouse.

The next stage of our history will exhibit a mingled scene of folly, fanaticism, and crime.

* The marriage-bed of Claverhouse was childless; and, therefore, he left no issue behind him. His nearest of kin, in the nineteenth century, is the well-known and remarkably talented Miss Stirling Graham of Duntrune, in Forfarshire; who is in possession of his patent of nobility, his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and his contract of marriage with the Lady Jean Cochrane. After Claverhouse's death, his widow married Lord Kilsyth; and, about fifty or sixty years ago, on her tomb being opened at Kilsyth, she was found, with an infant in her arms—she and the infant being both in an apparent state of preservation. On being exposed to the air, they crumbled into dust.

CHAPTER XIX.

Battle of Bothwell Bridge—Defeat of the rebels—The prisoners liberated—Aird's Moss—Execution of Hackston of Rathillet—Death of Charles the Second—Accession of James the Seventh—James's advances to arbitrary power—Tyrannical proceedings of the King—Deprivation of Scottish bishops—The Seven Bishops—Acquittal of the bishops—Preparations for an invasion of England—The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay—Extraordinary conduct of the King—He withdraws to France—Movements of Dundee—The Revolution—The Cameronians, or Hill-men—Rabbling of the clergy—The Scottish nobility agree to wait on the Prince of Orange—Mission of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Orkney to London—Bishop Rose's account of it—His avowal of his sentiments—Continued rabbling of the Scottish clergy—Meeting of the Scottish Convention of Estates—The Claim of Right—Deprivation of bishops in England—Ejection of Sancroft from Lambeth.

Battle of
Bothwell
Bridge.

June 22d.

THE Duke of Monmouth, with his army, which was a small but well-disciplined one, moved westward in the direction of Glasgow, and took up a position, in the front of the Covenanters, at Bothwell Bridge, near Hamilton. Here the Covenanters were intrenched, in formidable array, 12,000 strong. After some vain attempts, on the part of the Duke, at negotiation, in the course of which, he, by the King's command, offered the Covenanters every third church in the kingdom, with many other privileges, provided they would lay down their arms—would return home to their respective dwellings—and live quietly under the government,* he attacked the rebels, who were chiefly composed of fanatical peasantry, and who were under the command of deep and designing men. As might have been expected, the latter could not withstand the onset of the King's troops; troops burning to revenge the temporary check which they had received at

* Memoirs of Lord Dundee. By an Officer of the Army. London: 1714. pp. 11, 12.

Drumclog. In a short time, all, on the side of the Covenanters, was confusion. Four hundred of them were killed, and twelve hundred were taken prisoners. The swords of Dalzell and Claverhouse were not idle. "Sheathe your sword, I command you," said Monmouth to the former, "and sound the retreat. Enough of blood has been shed; give quarter to the King's misguided subjects." But the latter—the fiery and vindictive Graham—in the exultation of victory, was far beyond the Duke's voice; and, with his cavalry, was fearfully avenging the blood which the insurgents had shed.*

Defeat of
the rebels.

Of the prisoners taken, all who promised to live peaceably for the future were liberated. After the battle, the Covenanters retired to the west of Scotland; and Claverhouse was sent after them, into Galloway, with a strong party of horse. Here he acted with great discretion, and with much moderation. Sometimes, he threatened the rebels with the utmost rigours of the law; at other times, he treated them with unexpected clemency—thus, in a great measure, gaining the affections both of the gentry and of the commons of the district. He fined the Covenanters according to law; but the fines were always remitted by him, on condition that they should go to church, and should submit themselves to the government, and live in quiet. (*Memoirs of Lord Dundee*, pp. 12, 13).

The prison-
ers liber-
ated.

* The sufferings of the Covenanters had not taught them mercy towards their fellow-creatures. Captain Crichton, whose *Memoirs* are edited by Swift, tells us that they had set up, in their camp at Bothwell Bridge, a huge gibbet, or gallows, having many hooks on it, with a coil of new ropes lying beside it, for the execution of such Royalists as they might make prisoners. Guild, in his *Bellum Bothwellianum*, gives a minute description of this machine.

When the Duke of York came to Scotland, as his brother's commissioner, he was so struck with the state of matters in the country, that he asked if there was no such thing as a bedlam in the kingdom. One poor wrong-headed fellow, who hardly knew what had impelled him to rise in rebellion against his sovereign, was, at the place of execution, inclined to accept his life on condition of his saying, "God save the King!" when his wife took him by the arm, and almost pushed him off the ladder, saying, "Go, die for the good old cause, my dear."

All Claverhouse's advice, and entreaties, to the blue-bonneted Whigs were thrown away. The disease was too deeply seated to be so overcome. He soon found that his dragoons were the only medicines which could effectually strike at the root of the malady. In proof of this, on the 20th of June 1680, Richard Cameron entered the little town of Sanquhar, in Dumfriesshire, accompanied by twenty persons well armed, and publicly, at the cross, renounced his allegiance to the King. This daring action struck the moderate Presbyterians with terror and dismay. They were afraid lest they should be mixed up with his cause. On the 20th of July, backed by about three hundred supporters, chiefly horse, he met the King's troops, at Aird's Moss, in Ayrshire, and was, along with his brother, killed in the action. At the same action, Hackston of Rathillet was taken prisoner. The affair of Aird's Moss was the last open act of rebellion perpetrated by the Covenanters, during the reign of Charles the Second.

1680.
June 20th.

Aird's
Moss.
July 20th.

Execution
of Hack-
ston of
Rathillet.
July 30th.

1685.
Death of
Charles II.
Feb. 6th.

Accession
of James
VII.

1686.
James's
advances to
arbitrary
power.

Tyrannical
proceedings
of the King.

Hackston was transferred to Edinburgh—was convicted of the murder of Archbishop Sharp, and, also, of the crime of high treason—and, on the 30th of July, was hanged.

The crown of Scotland, and England, was now to demise. Charles the Second—the good-natured, the peace-loving, the gay, the easy, the obliging, and the licentious—passed away. He died, at Whitehall, on the 6th of February 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

James the Seventh ascended the throne in tranquillity and peace. His first actions promised well; but his want of judgment became soon apparent. His advances to the possession of arbitrary power, and towards the establishment of Popery, were of the most rapid description. Presuming on the popularity which he had acquired in Scotland, when he was his brother's Lord Commissioner, he commenced his operations in that part of his dominions.

James's proceedings seem, indeed, to have been characterised almost by marks of insanity. Having consulted the twelve judges of England, who all, with one exception, gave an opinion favourable to his views,

he took the dangerous step of dispensing with the laws. He declared his own proclamation to be superior to the fundamental principles of the constitution of the kingdom.

The Scottish Church was not exempted from the iron pressure of this tyranny. Because of their protests, in their sermons, against the doctrines of Popery, various Scottish bishops were arbitrarily, by command of the King, deprived of their sees.

1687.
Deprivation of
Scottish
bishops.

He had hitherto conducted matters with a high hand ; but he carried them to a climax when he seized the persons of the Seven Bishops, and, on a pretended charge of high treason, committed them to the Tower.

1688.
The seven
bishops.
June 8th.

The bishops, after trial, were acquitted. Not only Westminster Hall rang with applause, but even the soldiers raised a shout of delight. The King demanded the reason of it; and the reply given was, "It is on account of the acquittal of the bishops." "So much the worse for them," said the infatuated monarch.*

Acquittal
of the
bishops.
June 15th.

James, at length, made some concessions ; but they came too late. William of Orange, his son-in-law, and nephew, aided by traitors in England, and especially by the activity of Bishop Burnet, was preparing a fleet and an army, for the purpose of landing the latter on the shores of Albion. Notwithstanding the errors, and the arbitrary conduct of the King, the Scottish bishops and clergy did not fail in their duty. The University of St. Andrews, with the archbishop at their head as chancellor, and all the professors and heads of colleges, sent an address to his Majesty, expressive of their Christian principles of loyalty and obedience ; and on the 3d of November, twelve of the bishops met, and sent up an address to the same effect. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 512-514).

Prepara-
tions for
invading
England.

The celebrated 5th of November arrived. On that day—the same day which had witnessed the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, in the time of the Sixth James—

The Prince
of Orange
lands at
Torbay.
Nov. 5th.

* Upwards of thirty years ago, the writer has seen, in the possession of the late Dr. Jamieson, a medal, with the "Seven Bishops," or, the Seven Golden Candlesticks, as they were called, upon it.

the Prince of Orange, with a powerful army, put his foot on British soil, at Torbay, in Devonshire, and commenced his march upon the metropolis.

Extraordinary conduct of the King.

The King's conduct, on this occasion, was extraordinary, if not altogether unaccountable. He was not deficient in courage; and, at first, issued his orders with a firmness, and decision, which, had they been properly followed up, might have driven the Prince of Orange, and his Dutchmen, into the sea. But he was betrayed by those in whom he most trusted; and even his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and his daughter, the Princess Anne, went over to the enemy. His courage now failed; and dreading the fate of his father, his Majesty first sent his queen and infant child over to France, and soon after made his escape to that country.

He withdraws to France.
Dec. 23d.

Movements of Dundee.

While these events were taking place, Lord Dundee was not unmindful of that principle of loyalty, which was his birthright—which has stamped him as, in a peculiar sense, the "last of Scotsmen"—and which has sent down his name, untarnished, to a late generation.

When Monmouth landed in England, and Argyle in Scotland, Dundee was on the Borders of Scotland with some troops of horse, to prevent all insurrections, and to intercept every communication between these two noblemen. When the invasion of the Prince of Orange occurred, he, at the head of a Scottish army, marched into England; but, hearing of the dissolution of King James's army on Salisbury Plain, he returned to Scotland, and found a packed Convention of Estates sitting at Edinburgh. He took his place among them; but not long did he remain in their company. He left the Convention; mounted his horse; and, with about thirty followers, through lines of armed Covenanters, took his way down Leith Wynd, and along the way called the Lang-gate. He halted his party opposite the Castle, near the West Kirk; and clambered up the Castle rock, where he had an interview of half an hour with the Duke of Gordon, who held the Castle for King James. (*Memoirs of Dundee*, pp. 21, 22).

After numerous movements, during which he twice visited his house of Dudhope, near Dundee, where his

wife was, he found himself on the scene of his greatest grandeur ;—on the spot where his fame rose to its apex, and where his soul took its flight, as he had often wished it might do, amid the clash of arms, leaving behind it a renown, and a lustre, which all the arts of misrepresentation, and calumny, and malice, have never been able to overcloud. (Ibid. pp. 22–25).

The Revolution was accomplished. From being the ruler of a petty state, William of Orange sat on the throne of three mighty kingdoms ; as the sovereign of which he was destined to pursue a memorable and illustrious career.

The Revolution.

No sooner had intelligence of the success of the Prince of Orange's expedition reached the north, than the Cameronians, or Hill-men, in the west, rose in a body, and commenced a system of barbarity, and licentious violence, such as is scarcely credible, against the clergy of the Established Episcopal Church. To use a phrase peculiar to the period, they *rabbled* them out of their livings ; and, in the course of a very short time, no fewer than two hundred ministers were dispossessed, in the shires of Ayr, and Renfrew, in Clydesdale, Nithsdale, and the greater part of Annandale and Galloway, alone. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 516, 517).

The Cameronians, or Hill-men.

Rabbling of the clergy.

It was agreed among the Scottish nobles that they should formally wait on the Prince of Orange, and request him to call a Convention of the Estates of Scotland, to meet on the 14th of March ; and, in the meantime, to take upon himself the administration of the affairs of Scotland. To both these things William assented. There can be no doubt whatever, that he was favourable to the continuance of Episcopacy, as the National Establishment of Scotland, provided the bishops and clergy would have coincided with his views. The circumstances connected with the Revolution had paralyzed, and perplexed, the Scottish bishops in no ordinary degree. When, in November, 1688, they heard of the landing of the Prince of Orange, they resolved to send Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Dr. Bruce, Bishop of Orkney, to London, to renew their duty to the king, and to ask the advice and

Scottish nobility agree to wait on the Prince of Orange.

Mission of Bishops of Edinburgh, and Orkney, to London. Nov.

assistance, of the English prelates. The Bishop of Orkney was detained, by illness, on the way ; but the Bishop of Edinburgh reached the southern metropolis in safety ; and he has left a letter giving an account of his transactions there.

Bishop
Rose's ac-
count of it.

The first person he saw was Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. After the bishop had presented his commission to him, his Grace said that matters were very dark, and that the cloud was so thick, and gross, that he could not see through it. He stated, that the English bishops knew not what to do themselves ; much less were they capable of giving advice to their brethren in Scotland.

In a conversation which Bishop Rose had with Compton the Bishop of London, the latter said :—“ My Lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a-swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him ; and, therefore, he cannot cast them off, unless he could see, otherwise, how he could be served. And the King bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland ; for, while there, he was made believe that Scotland generally, all over, was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility, and gentry, are for Episcopacy, and that it is the trading, and inferior sort, that are for Presbytery. Wherefore, he bids me tell you, 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 fine speech had no effect on Bishop Rose. The time-serving policy recommended in it did not coincide with his notions of right and wrong. Studiously avoiding to give the Prince of Orange the title of king, in reply to the Bishop of London, he said, “ My Lord, I cannot but humbly thank the Prince for his frankness and offer ; but, withal, I must tell your lordship, that, when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have now seen in England, and I neither was nor could be instructed by

them what answer to make to the Prince's offer. And, therefore, what I say is not in their name, but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they will not serve the Prince so as he is served in England; that is, (as I take it), to make him their king, or to give their suffrage for his being king. And though, as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have, or may expect to have, in Britain."

Before leaving London, Bishop Rose had an interview with the Prince of Orange, now styled King William, at Whitehall. The new monarch stepped three or four steps forward from his company, and said:—"My Lord, are you going for Scotland?" "My reply," says Bishop Rose, "was, 'Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me.' William immediately rejoined:—"Then, I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' Whereupon, being somewhat diffculted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer, without entangling myself, I readily replied:—"Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, and conscience will allow me.' How this answer pleased I cannot well tell; but it seems the limitations, and conditions, of it were not acceptable, for instantly the Prince, without saying anything more, turned away from me and went back to his company."—(Russell, Vol. II. pp. 340-342).

His avowal
of his sen-
timents.

Bishop Rose was of opinion that King William—for such he must now be called—was perfectly sincere in his proposal to protect the Episcopal Church, and to abandon the Presbyterians. "I am the more confirmed in this," says he, "that, after my downcoming here, my Lord St. Andrews, and I, taking occasion to wait upon Duke Hamilton, his Grace told us, a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from King William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy in Scotland, in case the bishops could, by any means, be brought to defend his interest; and prayed us, most pathetically, for our own sake, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my Lord St. Andrews replied, that, both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most

solemn oaths, we were engaged in the King's interest ; and that we were, by God's grace, to stand by it, in the face of all dangers, and to the greatest losses." —(Ibid. p. 342).

Continued
rabbling of
the Scottish
clergy.

Meanwhile, the rabbling of the Scottish clergy continued. Women, as well as men, took their share in it. Such was the treatment which many clergymen received, that a regard for decency will not permit us to detail it. Not only in their own houses, but in the time of divine service, they were assailed. Many of them were so used, that the personal injuries inflicted on them resulted in death. (Stephen, Vol. III. pp. 379-391).

1689.
Meeting of
the Scottish
Convention
of Estates.
Mar. 14th.

The Scottish Convention of Estates sat down on the 14th of March 1689, when seven bishops were present. Much discussion ensued. The majority soon shewed that they were favourable to William ; while a strong minority advocated the rights, and interests, of James. Many of the nobility, holding to their allegiance, and looking upon William as a foreigner, who had no right to convene them, refused to attend at all.

Claim of
Right.

The Convention, disencumbered of most of those who had a respect for their oaths of allegiance, proceeded to issue a declaration, which they called a Claim of Right ; and in which, after enumerating all the delinquencies, real and supposed, of their sovereign, they declared that he had FORFEITED the crown, and that it was, therefore, vacant. They concluded by declaring William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland.

Depriva-
tion of
bishops in
England.

In England, William had not found all orders of men near so subservient to his will as he expected. The Archbishop of Canterbury—whose firmness and dignity, had not been quenched by age—and five other bishops, refused to swear allegiance to a man whom they justly considered to be an illegal occupant of their master's throne. Of these, four belonged to the noble band who had been sent, by King James, to the Tower.

Ejectment
of Sancroft
from Lam-
beth.

Sancroft was expelled from Lambeth under the following circumstances. Tillotson had told Mary that "he was ready to take the place of Archbishop Sancroft as soon as her Majesty found it vacant." But Sancroft declined the *voluntary* act of depriving him-

self of his high office. He persisted in his assertion, "that, if the queen wanted Lambeth, she must thrust him out of it." She therefore sent a mandate, signed by her own hand, warning him to quit the palace in ten days. Not obeying this, the emissaries of the queen thrust him out on the 23d of June. He took a boat at the stairs, the same evening, and crossed the Thames to the Temple, where he remained in a private house till August ; when he retired to end his days in his humble cottage at Fressingfield, his native village, in Suffolk.

CHAPTER XX.

Article in the Claim of Right—Abolition of Episcopacy, as the national Establishment—First Presbyterian General Assembly—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee—Establishment of Presbyterianism—Massacre of Glencoe—Refusal of Presbyterians to take the Oath of Assurance—Exercise of a dispensing power—Death of Archbishop Tillotson—Death of Queen Mary—Proceedings of the first General Assembly—Evil state of Scotland—Death of King James—James's character—Death of William the Third—Oath of Abjuration—William's character—Accession of Queen Anne—The Rev. Robert Calder—Death of the Primate Ross—Introduction of the English Prayer-Book into Scotland—Sacrilige—Consecrations by the ejected bishops—Hostility of the people, generally, to Presbyterianism—Political character of the Scottish Episcopalians, in the beginning of the eighteenth century—Liberality of Queen Anne to Bishop Rose—The General Assembly remonstrates against Toleration.

Article in
the Claim
of Right.
April 11th.

WE now notice a famous article, embodied in the Claim of Right. This article declares, 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 inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, (they having reformed from Popery by presbyters,) and, therefore, ought to be abolished."

This article is full of transparent inaccuracies. In the first place, the Scottish nation was *not* reformed from Popery merely by persons clothed with the presbyterial character. There were prelates who concurred in the work. Knox states, that there were present, in the parliament held in August, 1560—which parliament gave the first national establishment to the Reformation—the Bishop of Galloway, the Abbots of Lindores, Culross, St. Colme's Inch, Coldingham, St. Mary Isle, and the Sub-prior of St. Andrews, with many others. Of these, Knox says, "that they had renounced Papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ."

(Knox, p. 260). Spottiswood reckons up no fewer than eight of the Spiritual estate, all Protestants, chosen, at that time, to be Lords of the Articles :—namely, the Bishops of Galloway and Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, and the Abbots of Aberbrothock, Kilwinning, Lindores, Newbattle, and Culross. (Spottiswood, p. 149). If we put these two statements together, we shall find that there were, at least, fourteen persons Episcopally ordained, connected with the carrying on the work of the Reformation in Scotland, and that two of these were bishops. There is no doubt that the Reformation there was conducted, chiefly, by men who were not in holy orders. This is a fact acknowledged by Knox himself. The Laird of Dun, and those combined with him, were purely laymen ; who had no authority, excepting what they assumed, to exercise ecclesiastical power. To use the cant of the party to which they belonged, they “exhorted their brethren according to the gifts, and graces, granted to them.” These gifts, and graces, were few. Nor are we to wonder at this, when we consider that Paul Methven, one of the godly Reformers, was a baker, and that William Harlaw, another would-be improver of the Church of Christ, in Scotland, was a tailor. (Sage, p. 5).

That the first Scottish Reformers, whoever or whatever they were, were hostile to Prelacy, and tied down to Presbyterian principles, is a mistake. Calvin has been pleaded as the advocate of Presbyterianism ; but Calvin denounced it. Those who choose to refer to his works will find that what we assert is founded on fact, as we have already shewn.

The article in the Claim of Right declares that Prelacy, and the superiority of any office, in the Church, above presbyters, was “a great and insupportable grievance, and trouble to this nation.” Suppose we grant this, it does not follow that Episcopacy should have been abolished. The Levitical law was a burden to the Jews : nevertheless, they were compelled to submit to it. The Ten Commandments—the obligations of morality—the rule of right and wrong—all these are a grievance, and a trouble, to the man whose desires

are unholy ; but the moral state of that man does not prevent the Ten Commandments, the obligations of morality, and the rule of right and wrong, from being entitled to enforcement.

Again, the article declares that Prelacy was "contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." This we deny. So far was Presbytery from being universally popular, in Scotland, in 1688, that, not only were the nobility and gentry, with a few exceptions, Episcopalians, but also a vast preponderance of the lower classes of the people. There was, unfortunately, then, no middle class of society in existence. It was chiefly in the western counties—those counties, indeed, which had been the stronghold of the Covenant—that the admirers of the Genevan model of Church-government were to be found. To the north of the Tay—in other words, over more than one-half of the kingdom—so strongly wedded were the people's affections to the principles of Episcopacy, that, in most places, the Brunswick administration deemed it a matter of prudence to permit the old incumbents to remain in possession of the parish churches. It was not till after the fatal insurrection of 1745, that they were completely ejected ; and, even then, in numerous districts, the aid of the military was required, to put the award of the law in force.

Abolition
of Episco-
pacy, as the
national
Establish-
ment.
July 22d.

On the 22d of July 1689, the Scottish Convention of Estates, which had been turned into a parliament, abolished Episcopacy, as the national Establishment, and Presbyterianism reigned in its stead. Thus did the Church go down ; and dissent was established by law. The venerable fathers of the Church, true to their loyalty, renounced their high temporal dignities, and went forth into the world, with staff in hand, like the palmers of old, and with nothing but the consciousness of their own rectitude to support them.

First Pres-
byterian
General
Assembly.

At the period of the Revolution, there were not more than three, or four, Presbyterian meeting-houses on the north of the Tay. (Sage, p. 315). The first Presbyterian General Assembly contained about one hundred and eighty members. At this Assembly, no representatives, from the populous and extensive districts of

Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeen, were present. The only University which sent a representative was that of Edinburgh. From Dundee there came a petition, craving a supply of preachers, and complaining that, though the general meeting had sent a minister to them, he could neither get an auditory, nor access to a kirk within the town. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 562, 563).

Much has been written, and said, on the subject of the persecution to which the Covenanters were exposed, under the sway of the second Charles. Whatever may have been their sufferings, these sufferings were in no degree superior to those now inflicted on the adherents of the old system. There cannot be a doubt that the Episcopalians were persecuted. Had they been merely expelled from their legal charges, the term *persecution* could not, perhaps, with propriety, have been applied to the treatment experienced by them. But, not contented with this, the government of the day proceeded to pass act after act, for the purpose of deterring them from the exercise of their clerical functions, even in private.

While Presbyterian ministers were squabbling about points of theological doctrine, and systems of ecclesiastical government, great military events "were on the gale." The slogan had been heard in the wilds of the north. The war-cry of many a Celtic tribe had gone forth; and the trumpet of Claverhouse—now Dundee—had wakened the echoes of many a Highland glen. Troop after troop of plaided warriors, each under the guidance of some noted chieftain, found their way to the braes of the Tummel and banks of the Garry; and Killiecrankie, amid its hitherto silent hills, told a tale which will never be forgotten.

Battle of
Killie-
crankie.
June 13th.

Dundee lay encamped, in an open plain, at the northern end of the Pass of Killiecrankie. He arrived there on Saturday the 13th of June 1689, at noon. In the afternoon, his spies informed him that General Mackay, with nine regiments of foot, and two troops of horse, were marching through the Pass. Dundee took his measures accordingly. His army consisted of eighteen hundred foot, and forty-five horse. This force he immediately moved to the hills on the north side

Death of
Dundee.

of the river Tummel. Mackay's army approached, marshalled in one line, and having three men in a file.

The clans urgently entreated Dundee not to risk his person in the battle. They told him that their method of fighting was totally different from that of regular troops. They represented to him, that, should he fall, King James's interest would be lost in Scotland. But no argument could prevail to prevent his heading his troops.

The battle commenced. The discipline of the Saxon could not withstand the onset of the Highland claymore. The Highlanders cast from them their plaids, their haversacks, and everything else which might encumber them ; and, in their shirts, and doublets, with their fusils, swords, targets, and pistols ready, marched resolutely and deliberately down the hill, and received Mackay's third fire before they pierced his line. In the midst of the shock, many of the Highland army fell ; among others, Dundee. Thus died "the terror of the Whigs, the supporter of King James, and the glory of his country." Thus,

— amidst the battle's thunder, shot, and steel, and scorching
flame,

In the glory of his manhood passed the spirit of the Graeme !

(*Memoirs of Dundee*, pp. 25-27).*

* It is said, that, while Dundee's arm was raised to direct the pursuit, he was shot with a pistol, by a Covenanting traitor who had entered his service for the express purpose of watching his opportunity of perpetrating the murder. Of this circumstance, however, the author of the curious old volume, entitled *Memoirs of Lord Dundee, of the Highland Clans, of the Massacre of Glencoe, &c.*—to be seen in the Advocates' Library—takes no notice.

The story of Claverhouse, in connection with John Brown, the carrier, is well known. Unfortunately for the lovers of the horrible, and for those whose anxious wish it is to blacken the memory of the great Dundee as much as possible, there is not a word of truth in it. It is simply a Covenanting myth ; the invention of the Pedens, and the Kirktons, and the Wodrows, and the Calderwoods, who have too long been considered as veritable chroniclers of Scottish history. Brown was a determined rebel, taken with arms, against the government, in his hands. In consequence, he was subjected to martial law, and sentenced to be shot. At the same time, he was offered his life on condition that

The fall of their leader only excited the Highlanders to deeds of almost superhuman strength. Down in the deepest pools of the Garry—down like driftwood—went the Sassenach before the avenging onslaught of the son of the Gael. The Pass, in the midst of its awful grandeur, had to be re-trod. And how was it to be so, in such circumstances, by strangers, to whom the rugged mountains, and the savage scenery, around them were as if they had come to the uttermost ends of the earth?*

Like a tempest down the ridges swept the hurricane of steel,
Rose the slogan of Macdonald—flashed the broadsword of Lochiel!

Few there were, who met Dundee, on that day, in mortal combat, that went back to tell their tale in the south. The Highlanders had laid their plans; and, as the broken and scattered fragments of Mackay's columns endeavoured to find their way into the open country,

he should acknowledge the government, and consent to live peaceably. These reasonable terms he refused; and he was executed by a file of soldiers.

The original documents, explanatory of this much-discussed matter, are in the charter-chest at Drumlanrig; if we mistake not, among the Queensberry papers. Mr. Mark Napier was the first to call attention to them, about two years ago, in a communication read at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. We are happy to understand that Mr. Napier intends embodying them in his forthcoming *Life of Claverhouse*.

And yet, notwithstanding all the evidence which can be produced to the contrary, the tale of the "bloody Claver'se" and the "godly" carrier, John Brown—how the former put his pistol to the head of the latter, and blew out his brains, scattering these brains over his wife and the sucking infant which she carried in her arms—still clings as strongly to the Scottish Presbyterian history of the middle of the nineteenth century as does the limpet to the rock.

Verily, no wonder that Claverhouse was believed to drink a cup of warm blood to his breakfast—that he was considered to be in express alliance with the Evil One—that his sorrel steed, which was killed at Drumclog, was regarded as a present to him from his infernal ally—that leaden bullets could not harm him—and that nothing short of silver buttons were likely to penetrate his jack-boots and doublet, or to affect the charmed life which he bore.

* In 1748, the Hanoverian troops refused to enter the Pass of Killiecrankie; believing that they had come to the end of the world.

the stones, and the mighty rocks, came bounding down, and swept the flying Saxon into the river. In all history, there is nothing analogous to the defeat of the army of General Mackay, in the Pass of Killiecrankie, unless it be the defeat of the Austrian chivalry, by William Tell, and his shepherd-men—the men of the Forest Sea—in the rude Morgarten Strait.

As to Mackay, he fled across the country, and never drew bridle till he was at Castle-Menzies.

On the day of Killiecrankie, Pitcur of Pitcur also fell. The bodies of Dundee and Pitcur were entombed in the church of the Blair of Athol.

Open wide the vaults of Athol, where the bones of heroes rest—
Open wide the hallowed portals, to receive another guest !
Last of Scots, and last of freemen—last of all that dauntless race,
Who would rather die unsullied than outlive the land's disgrace ! *

1690.
Establishment of Presbyterianism.

After the lapse of about ten months, from the time of the abolition of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism was established by law, in Scotland ; and this at a period when the Episcopal Church was the Church of, at least, two-thirds of the nation. The truth of history requires this statement ; and it can be easily verified. The nobility and gentry of the land, were in its favour. The Universities stood by it. The College of Justice, headed by the supreme judges, lent its influence to preserve it from overthrow ; and even the burgesses of towns declared their adherence to a system which involved the faith, and the heavenly prospects, of their forefathers. (Russell, Vol. II. pp. 361, 362).

1693.
Massacre of Glencoe.
Feb. 12th.

Now we come down upon a scene of unmitigated ignominy and horror—the massacre of Glencoe ; and the heart of every true Scotsman swells with indignation when he thinks of this crime, which was highly calculated to stain the fair fame of Scotland, and to plant upon it the stamp of dishonour, and of infamy. There can be little doubt that William, knowingly and willingly, granted his warrant for this atrocious act.

* We state Dundee to have been buried “in the church of the Blair of Athol,” on the authority of the author of the *Memoirs of Dundee*. It is right, however, to mention, that other writers speak of him as having been interred in the churchyard of Moulin, the parish in which he died.

(Stephen, Vol. III. pp. 575-577). The name of Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, then Secretary of State for Scotland, has been deeply implicated in this foul villainy. It was an old saying, among the Cavaliers of Scotland, that, where there was a Campbell, or a Dalrymple, in power, a Stuart would never be safe on his throne; and Charles the Second was wont to say, when he heard of any dissensions, or rebellions, in Scotland, that he was sure there was a Campbell, or a Dalrymple, at the bottom of them. (*Memoirs of Dundee, Preface, p. ix.*)

Seated on the throne of Great Britain, William and Mary, nevertheless, felt their position insecure. An act of parliament had been passed, ordering every one to take an oath that they were *de jure*, as well as *de facto*, sovereigns. Many of the Presbyterian ministers refused to take this oath. William was inflexible; a rebellion was threatened; and it was only through the exertions of Carstairs—a Presbyterian of great influence with the King—that such a catastrophe was averted.

Refusal of Presbyterians to take the Oath of Assurance.

The exercise of a dispensing power—that is, the putting his own arbitrary declaration, tolerating all forms of religion in the state, above acts of parliament—cost James the Seventh his crown. Nevertheless, King William, at the earnest entreaty of Carstairs, and the Presbyterian ministers, exercised the same power. He dispensed with the taking of the Oath of Assurance, on the part of the Presbyterian ministers, while it was rigidly enforced on the Episcopal clergy.

1694. Exercise of a dispensing power.

Not long did the man who had usurped, uncanonically, Archbishop Sancroft's Episcopal throne survive him. On the 17th of November 1694, while officiating in the chapel at Whitehall, Tillotson was struck with paralysis, and died, on the 22d, at Lambeth, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Death of Archbishop Tillotson. Nov. 22d.

Tillotson was the favourite prelate of Queen Mary. She soon followed him to the grave. She died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. Tension attended her on her death-bed.

Death of Queen Mary. Dec. 28th.

The proceedings of the first General Assembly of the now Established Presbyterian Church were both tyrannical and ludicrous. Of this, numerous instances might

Proceedings of the first General Assembly.

be given. They deposed clergymen, as guilty of "crimes and scandals," whose conduct, and character, were perfectly pure. The non-necessity of baptism was strongly inculcated. A Mr. Kirkton—a flaming preacher of the day—addressed some persons who brought a child to him thus:—"You think it necessary to have your children baptized; but I tell you I knew a goodly, godly minister, who lived till he was fourscore, and was never baptized in all his life." (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 570).

Evil state of Scotland.

To Scotland, the Revolution was not the blessing which it is popularly believed to have been. Order, both in Church and state, had taken its departure. The first principles of a hereditary monarchy had been set at nought. Not only had an undoubted sovereign been deposed, but his innocent offspring had been made to suffer with him. The consciences of good and pious men had been violated. The foundation of the National Debt had been laid. The kingdom was traversed by sturdy beggars—by men who had no source of subsistence but that of plunder—and the seeds of Sheriffmuir, Falkirk, Prestonpans, and Culloden were sown.*

1701.
Death of King James.
Sept. 16th.

The term of the human existence of the last Stuart who sat upon the throne of Great Britain was drawing to a close. James, while engaged at his public devotions, was seized with a fainting-fit, and knew that his end was approaching. He called for the *cure* of the parish, received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and expressed himself in language thoroughly befitting his awful position. He prayed for his enemies, and solemnly declared that his object had always been the good of his subjects. (Stephen, Vol. III. p. 631).

James's character.

But for his Popery, James would have been a great and good prince; entitled to take rank with the best, and the most illustrious, of his name. His subjection to the influence of the Jesuits was his great fault, and became, ultimately, his ruin. He was inferior to his gay, and easy, brother in talents and understanding;

* Fletcher of Salton declared that there were no fewer than two hundred thousand "sturdy beggars" in the kingdom!

but, although choleric, and easily provoked, he was familiar, and courteous, with all who had occasion to come into contact with him.

The hand of death is impartial, and lays its grasp upon all. From St. Germain's the eye wanders to Kensington, and there we see the man of "immortal memory," the Deliverer from Popery, and the hero of the Boyne, stretched on a sick-bed, and preparing to die. William had been riding at Hampton Court. His horse fell over a mole-heap, and his collar-bone was broken.* He was removed to Kensington; and, while he was in this state, the oath, called the Oath of Abjuration, which declared the son of James the Seventh to be an impostor, was passed. On the 4th of March he found himself very weak. He lay down on a sofa, and fell asleep. When he awoke, he had a shivering fit. He said, in French, to the Duke of Albemarle, "I approach my end." He received the sacrament from Archbishop Tension, who, with Bishop Burnet, remained with him to the last. William died in the fifty-second year of his age.

1702.
Death of.
William
III.
Feb. 21st.

Oath of Ab-
juration.

March 8th.

Smollett's character of William is brief and decisive. He describes him as a fatalist in religion, as indefatigable in war, as enterprising in politics, as dead to every warm and generous emotion of the heart, as a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign. If such was the real character of William of Orange, surely there are few princes who ever possessed so many unattractive qualities.

William's
character.

After William's death, Anne reigned in his stead. She was strongly attached to the Church of England, and was favourably inclined to the Church in Scotland. So well was this feeling, on the part of Anne, known, that some of the Episcopal clergy addressed her, entreating her protection, and received a favourable reply in return.

Accession
of Queen
Anne.

1703.
March.

The speaking, and writing, against Presbytery had been made high treason. On this account, the Rev.

Rev. Robert
Calder.

* In after-years, the Jacobites were in the habit of giving as a toast "the little gentleman in velvet, who did such good service in the year 1702."

Robert Calder had been imprisoned in the common gaol of Edinburgh. He was tried and acquitted. This remarkable man was the compiler of the "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed;" a work which affords a rare display of the absurdities of the style of preaching of the Presbyterian ministers of the period, and which is now out of print.*

1704.
Death of
the Primate
Ross.
June 13th.

The Primate Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews, died at Edinburgh on the 13th of June 1704; and is supposed to have been buried at Restalrig. He was the last of the line who held the title of archbishop in Scotland. After his death that title was dropt, and the ancient one of *Primus* revived.

Introduc-
tion of the
English
Prayer-
Book into
Scotland.

About this time, the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England was extensively introduced into Scotland. After the abortive attempt of Charles the First to introduce a liturgy, and until the present period, there were, in the Scottish Church, no authorised ritual of any kind, no surplice, and no ceremonies. The Church was essentially Episcopal in her constitution, and her clergy were apostolically ordained priests and deacons. But, as respected the outward services of religion, they were conducted precisely as the Presbyterians were in the habit of conducting theirs. The Presbyterians, and Covenanters, therefore, were utterly inexcusable in desolating the kingdom with bloodshed, and anarchy, on this account; for nothing can be more untrue than the assertion of Presbyterian writers, that the Episcopal Church wished to force upon the Scottish nation a mode of faith, and worship, which they conscientiously deemed to be unscriptural. The English Prayer-Book had indeed been used partially in Scotland, by individual clergymen, so early as immediately after the Restoration. It had been used by

* On the conclusion of his trial, one of the judges said to Calder, in an under-tone of voice, "Now, Mr. Calder, do tell me who was the author of the "Presbyterian Eloquence."—"Indeed, my lord," said Calder, "it was just the Presbyterian ministers themselves." In 1706, Calder had published a short treatise "On the Lawfulness, and Expediency, of Set Forms of Prayer;" which, as it was levelled against the Presbyterians, gave them great annoyance. (Lawson, p. 191).

Burnet in the parish church of Salton, in Haddingtonshire, which was his first pastoral charge. It was used, also, at Dumfries ; where the Cameronians burst in upon the clergyman while he was reading it, tore it out of his hands, and burnt it. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 606).

In the early part of this year a horrible act of sacrilege occurred in Edinburgh, such as has never, so far as we are aware, been perpetrated in any other Christian land. By order of her Majesty's Privy Council, a picture of our blessed Saviour was carried through the streets. The hangman and his assistant walked behind it, both arrayed in priests' vestments. They had crucifixes on their foreheads. When they came to the Cross, our Lord's picture, the vestments, and the crucifixes, together with some consecrated wafers, the vulgar Latin Bible, and other religious books, were thrown into a fire. (Stephen, Vol. IV. pp. 4, 5).

Thirteen bishops had been ejected from their sees at the Revolution. Death had been busy among them ; and of these venerable men only five were now alive. These five were resolved to keep up the succession ; and, accordingly, they proceeded to consecrate others as their successors in the office which they held as rulers of the Christian Church. Among those consecrated was Sage, the celebrated author of the "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," and whose name is one of the most distinguished in the annals of Scottish ecclesiastical literature. On the publication of this book, the rage of the Presbyterians was extreme. The author having visited Edinburgh, a Privy Councillor recognised him on the street, and had him arrested. He was admitted to bail, but ordered to leave the city. He retired to Kinross House, the seat of his friend Sir William Bruce. There he wrote his "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," a work which exasperated the Presbyterians still more ; and such were the sentiments regarding toleration in those days, that he found his life in danger ! *

Sacrilege.

1705.

Consecra-
tions by the
ejected
bishops.
Jan.

* Sage's *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined* was printed in the year 1695.

Hostility of the people, generally, to Presbyterianism. While the persecution of Episcopacy went on, the hostility of the people of Scotland to Presbyterianism evinced itself more and more. In the west of Scotland, Presbyterianism was in the ascendant: in the north of Scotland, the situation of affairs was quite different. Not only were the nobility and gentry, but also the bulk of the people, fondly attached to the Episcopal incumbents. Wherever these incumbents were thrown out, it was with the utmost difficulty that the people were prevailed upon to accept of their Presbyterian successors. (Lawson, pp. 138, 139).

Political character of the Scottish Episcopalians, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. We know little of the measures adopted by the bishops and clergy, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to perpetuate the succession in the Church. The ejected, and impoverished pastors officiated in cities, towns, and villages, to congregations large or small, according to the circumstances, and religious principles, of the inhabitants, and the accommodation they were able to obtain. Kings, and parliaments, might deprive them of their temporalities; but no earthly power could take from them that spiritual authority which Christ had given them. Nothing is more common than to hear Presbyterians speak of Prelacy, as they choose to call it, as identified with arbitrary power, and akin to Popery; as if arbitrary power could not be found where prelacy did not exist, and as if the fundamentals of religion were to be rejected because they have been overloaded with the puerilities of Popish error.

The accession of Anne was hailed by the Jacobites with joy. They saw that she had no children; and they believed that natural affection would lead her to incline to the rights, and interests, of her brother the Chevalier St. George. Viewing her as Regent for him, they submitted to her authority. In the estimate which they had formed of her they were not mistaken. Anne was conscious of her own false position. She felt that she was occupying her brother's throne. She even consulted some of her ministers on the subject of her resigning it in his favour; and it was only in consequence of their representations of the hazard of the step that she refrained from doing so.

The Queen's inclinations, in this respect, were well known to the Presbyterians; and, according to the author of the "Lockhart Papers," first published in 1817, they were "struck with terror, and looked upon themselves as undone."

Queen Anne's leaning towards the Scottish Episcopal Church, and towards the Jacobites, was very apparent; and it was pre-eminently shewn in her conferring on Dr. Rose, the deprived Bishop of Edinburgh, a pension out of the Episcopal revenues, or Bishops' Rents, which he enjoyed till the year 1716. So well satisfied were the adherents of the Stuart cause of her attachment to her brother's interests, that many of the laity took the oaths of allegiance to her, while not a few of the clergy, in their places of worship, prayed for her by name. (Russell, Vol. II. p. 390).

Liberality
of Queen
Anne to
Bishop
Rose.

In 1703, the Earl of Strathmore had, in the Scottish parliament, moved for an act which should confer toleration on all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship. His Lordship's motion met with a most violent remonstrance on the part of the General Assembly; and, in consequence thereof, he was compelled to abandon it. Such was the conduct of men, whose historians have had, and continue, to the present moment, to have, the audacity to state, and to complain, that in the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Seventh they were refused permission to worship God as their consciences might direct.

The General
Assembly
remon-
strates
against
toleration.

CHAPTER XXI.

Proposal for a union between the two kingdoms—The union concluded—Continued persecution of the Episcopal clergy—Case of Mr. Greenshields—Presbyterian abhorrence of the English Liturgy—Death of Bishop Sage—College of Bishops—Act of Toleration—Death of Queen Anne—Accession of the House of Hanover—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Failure of the Enterprise—Continued persecution of the Episcopal clergy—Abatement of the persecution—Act of 1719—Death of Bishop Rose—College of Bishops—Novelty of this plan—Dissension as to the Eucharist—The Usages—Project of a union between the Eastern Greek Church and the Nonjuring Churches of Scotland and England—The Scottish Bishops continue their connection with the Chevalier St. George—This a mistake—Bishop Rattray—Death of George the First—Flourishing state of the Scottish Church—A Concordat—Arrival of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland—Culloden—Persecution of the Episcopal clergy.

1706.
Proposed
union of
the two
kingdoms.

A PROPOSAL had been made for a union between Scotland and England. The people of Scotland were driven to fury by the very idea of it. They looked upon the project as nothing but a scheme to place them under the rule of the more populous kingdom—to deprive them of their nationality—and to reduce them to the condition of being an English province. Lockhart says, that, on this account, the interest in the distressed Royal family, in exile, increased to such a degree that four parts of five of the nobility, and gentry, and above half of the commons, over the whole kingdom, expressed, on every occasion, their inclination, and readiness, to assist in restoring them. (*Memoirs*, p. 178).

1707.
The Union
concluded.
Mar. 25th.

Amid the furious opposition of an exasperated population, the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England, was concluded. After certain negotiations, the Articles of Union were ratified by the Scottish parliament on the 25th of March 1707; and on the 22d of April, the Duke of Queensberry, the High Commissioner, nominally adjourned, but in reality dissolved,

for ever, that ancient assembly. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Art. Hist. of Scotland*). So turbulent and fierce was the bearing of the Scottish populace, on the occasion, that the articles were signed in secret, in a summer-house at the back of the Canongate. The cry was, that Scotland had been sold for English gold; and that the independence of the kingdom, for which Wallace shed his heart's blood, had been bartered to the Southron as a slave is bartered on the streets of Algiers, or in the bazaars of Istamboul.*

We are not among those who believe that the Union has been a source of great advantage to the Scottish nation. Even had it never been accomplished, the intelligence, the strength, and the energy of Scotsmen, would have gone forth into all lands. Not Scotland, but England, has chiefly profited by it. At the present moment, England boasts a population of eighteen millions: the narrow, and mountainous territory of Scotland, contains but three. Nevertheless, Scotland sends forth as many warriors, to protect the British Empire as does her more populous sister. Who has, lately, ruled, and consolidated, our Empire in India?—a Ramsay. Who has quelled the mutiny which threatened that empire with overthrow?—a Campbell.—Who has brought the stubborn, and conceited, and hitherto intractable, Chinese to reason, and has compelled them to open their ports to European commerce?—a Bruce. England boasts of her golden coin: Scotland boasts of the intellect, the acquirements, and the enterprise, which enables her sons to acquire wealth, to raise themselves to honour, to stand in the presence of kings, and to rule and control the destinies of nations.

In consequence of a threatened invasion of the king- Persecution
of Episco-
pal clergy.

*“There’s an end to an auld sang,” said the Duke of Queensberry, as he touched, with the sceptre, the act which ratified the articles. A Forfarshire laird, named Powrie of Powrie, happening to dine with a nobleman who had been one of the commissioners, and who was supposed to have been deeply bribed, was offered some English cheese. Powrie passed it by. “I see ye dinna like English cheese, Powrie?” said his Lordship. “Na,” replied Powrie, “an’ gin a’ body had liket English’gowd as ill as I like English cheese, there wad hae been mair honest folk at the table the day.”

dom, by the Chevalier St. George, and at the earnest request of the Presbyterian ministers, an order came down from Court, commanding all the Episcopal churches, or chapels—or, as the Presbyterians styled them, “meeting-houses”—to be shut up. Had such a step been taken, with regard to the Covenanters, in the days of Charles and James, the hills and the valleys would have rung with the clamours of oppression; and the vengeance of the Almighty would have been called down upon the government, as the persecutors of God’s people.

1700.
Case of
Green-
shields.

An instance of the grossest oppression appeared in the case of the Rev. James Greenshields, a native of Scotland, who opened a place of worship, in Edinburgh, where he used the English Book of Common Prayer—where he refrained from politics—and where he did nothing but guide the devotions of those who were connected with him as a Christian minister. He, at first, officiated in the Canongate, till he was “routed” out. He then took up his position in a house, on the High Street, nearly opposite the Cross. The Presbytery of Edinburgh applied to the magistrates to put him down. Mr. Greenshields claimed the protection of the Lord Provost. His Lordship replied to him that he had nothing in his power. The Dean of Guild granted a warrant to demolish the desks and benches, which Mr. Greenshields had erected at his private expense. Mr. Greenshields prayed for redress. He was summoned, by the Presbytery, to appear at their bar, “to give an account of himself.” It was demanded of him, whether he would give a promise to cease preaching; to which he gave the decided answer, “No.” The end of the business was, that, after a good deal of farther persecution, Mr. Greenshields appealed to the House of Lords, who ordered the city of Edinburgh to pay large costs for the proceedings against him. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 61).

1710.
Presby-
terian ab-
horrence of
English
Liturgy.

The general use of the English Prayer-Book, in Scotland, was a source of the greatest alarm to the Presbyterians. The decision of the House of Lords, however, in the case of Mr. Greenshields, had shewn them that a British parliament would not allow them

to ride roughshod over the prostrate Scottish Church. Their indignation at the decision was great ; but the stern fiat of the law compelled them to be submissive to it. This opportunity of justice, it must be allowed, was one good resulting from the union of the two kingdoms.

The Church in Scotland sustained, at this time, a great loss in the death of Bishop Sage, who, besides the "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," and the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," was the author of other works evincing that he was a man of great genius, of elaborate erudition, of sound Church principles, of sincere and unassuming piety, and of wit and sarcasm which made his adversaries tremble whenever he lifted his pen. An interesting sketch of his life will be found in Mr. Robert Chambers's "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen."

Death of
Bishop
Sage.
June 7th.

The Scottish bishops had taken a step which was somewhat irregular ; but which, in the circumstances, was, perhaps, excusable. They had created a College of Bishops ; that is, a body of bishops, who were to rule the Church, in their corporate capacity, without any of them exercising a particular diocesan jurisdiction. Sage was the first of these. John Falconer, Henry Christie, the Hon. Archibald Campbell, and James Gadderar, were also consecrated ; and continued to hold their positions, as rulers in Christ's Church, during the rest of their lives.

College of
Bishops.

The ancient Scottish Church continued to suffer much persecution. It may be noticed to his honour, that a Presbyterian writer, of the end of the eighteenth century, who was a minister of the Presbyterian Establishment, has the candour to acknowledge the persecution, generally, of the Scottish Episcopal clergy, and, particularly, that of Mr. Greenshields. (See *History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*, by Thomas Sommerville, D.D., Minister of Jedburgh, 4to, London, 1798).

While matters were in this state, the grace of female compassion spread itself over the ruined fortunes of the Scottish Church ; and Queen Anne, whose heart yearned towards it, and towards the desolation of her

1712.
Act of
Toleration.
March 3d.

father's house, passed an act, which permitted the Scottish bishops, and clergy, on certain conditions, to worship, publicly, the God of their fathers. This act is usually called the Act of Toleration ; and was passed in the 10th of Queen Anne's reign. By this act, a fine of one hundred pounds was inflicted upon every one who should disturb an Episcopal congregation during divine service ; and the penalty was to be repeated for every offence. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 75).

1714.
Death of
Queen
Anne.
Aug. 1st.

During the remainder of the life of Queen Anne, the Church in Scotland enjoyed what, comparatively speaking, may be called halcyon days. There were few clouds on the sky above her. Soon, however, the sunshine departed ; and the storm, and the darkness, shewed themselves on the distant horizon. On the 1st of August 1714, Queen Anne died. The Lords present when she expired knew not what to do. Some were for proclaiming the Elector of Hanover : others were for her brother the Chevalier St. George. Compton, Bishop of London, true to his ancient character, as a captain of dragoons, offered to ride, in his Episcopal vestments, to Charing-Cross, and to cry, "God save King James !"—The other Lords were palsified with fear. After considerable hesitation, they opened the windows, and exclaimed, "God save King George !"

Thus passed away the last descendant of the illustrious, and, far-descended, line of Stuart ; which, whatever may have been its faults, or its failings, will certainly bear comparison with any other royal house in Europe.*

Accession
of House of
Hanover.

1715.
Battle of
Sheriff-
muir.
Nov. 13th.

The House of Hanover swept through the stately apartments of Whitehall and St. James's. The legitimate princes of England, and Scotland, wandered as exiles in a foreign land. On the 6th of September 1715, the Earl of Mar set up his standard at Braemar in Aberdeenshire ; and, marching southwards, towards Perth, fought, with the Duke of Argyle, the battle of Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane. The question as to who

* The word *Stuart*, instead of *Stewart*, was adopted by the French because they have not the letter *w* in their language.

gained the victory at Sheriffmuir is a doubtful one. Each party claimed it. . On Christmas-day, the Chevalier St. George landed at Peterhead ; but, in the end, his forces were thoroughly routed.

In whichever direction lay the victory at Sheriffmuir, it, together with a defeat sustained by the English Jacobites, on the same day, at Preston, in Lancashire, where General Willis, utterly dissipated their forces, levelled the hopes of the Chevalier St. George—otherwise, James the Eighth—in the dust.

On the 4th of January 1716, the Stuart Prince, who had not reached Scotland till his friends had been scattered, the Earl of Mar, and others, sailed from Montrose, and got safely to France. There the Chevalier remained, without any farther attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. This landing of the son of James the Seventh in Scotland usually goes under the name of the Enterprise. The failure of it was followed by confiscations, attainders, and executions, disgraceful to the government of a man who had usurped the position, and power, of an ancient race of kings.

1716.
Failure of
the Enter-
prise.
Jan. 4th.

The persecution of the Episcopal clergy of Scotland continued without intermission. They were arrested, and committed to jail, without any other offence charged against them than that of their having worshipped God according to the form of the English Prayer-Book. They were seized in all directions. Their houses were broken open ; their wives, and families, were treated with a rudeness and wantonness of insult of which it is difficult to find a parallel in history ; while they themselves were dragged, like common culprits, along the roads, and thrust into filthy dungeons, where they were generally subjected to six months' confinement. Such was the fate which the clergy of the ancient Church of Scotland received at the hands of the House of Hanover. Had they been the greatest felons, they could not have been treated with greater cruelty. For instances of the persecution to which they were exposed, see Stephen, Vol. IV. pp. 121-129, and Arnott's *Criminal Trials*, pp. 343-346.

Persecution
of Episco-
pal clergy.

1719.
Abatement
of the per-
secution.

The year 1719 saw an abatement of the persecution against the Episcopal clergy. They read prayers, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and preached for some time without molestation. But this abatement did not long endure. In the month of April 1719, an act passed the British parliament, declaring that every Episcopal clergyman, performing divine service in any meeting-house, or chapel, in Scotland, without having taken the oaths in terms of Queen Anne's Toleration Act, and praying for King George by name, and for the royal family, was to suffer six months' imprisonment, and to have his meeting-house shut up for six months. Every dwelling-house where *nine* or more persons, besides the family, were present during divine service, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the act. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 153).

Act of
1719.
April.

1720.
Death of
Bishop
Rose.
Mar. 20th.

On the 20th of March 1720, Dr. Rose, the deprived Bishop of Edinburgh, died in the 74th year of his age. He was buried at Restalrig; and Bishop Keith, who was one of his presbyters, describes him as "a sweet-natured man, and of a venerable aspect." It was also said of him, that, "for all the virtues which adorn the gentleman or the scholar, the Christian or the bishop, he was scarcely equalled, and could not be excelled." (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 622).

College of
Bishops.
Mar. 22d.

Bishop Rose was scarcely laid in his grave, when dissensions arose in the Scottish Church. On the 22d of March, the presbyters of Edinburgh, and its vicinity, held a meeting to deliberate on the peculiar circumstances in which the Church was placed. It was proposed, that Bishops Fullarton, Falconar, Miller, and Irvine, should be acknowledged as an Episcopal college, to whom canonical obedience was due. Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, who were then resident in London, were not mentioned in this arrangement.

Novelty of
this plan.

The plan of a college of bishops was entirely new. In all ages, the Church had been governed by diocesan jurisdiction; and the idea of an Episcopal college was one which it was left for the eighteenth century to invent. Bishops Campbell, and Gadderar, were hostile to the college plan, and were strenuous advocates of

the primitive diocesan practice, as sanctioned by the eighth canon of the Council of Nice; and this seems to have been the reason why these two prelates were treated with neglect. (Lawson, p. 228).

Dissension had arisen, in England, among the non-juring bishops, and clergy, on the subject of the Eucharist, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This dissension found its way into Scotland. There were three opinions on this subject. The first was that held by the most eminent, and most learned, divines of the Church of England since the Reformation, that the holy communion was a commemorative sacrifice; the second was, that it was a feast on the one sacrifice of Christ once offered by himself for the sins of the whole world; and the third was that set forth by Bishop Hoadley, and which is, at present, adopted by the Presbyterians of Scotland, and by the dissenters generally, both of Scotland and England, that it is a mere commemoration of our Saviour's death—simply a rite, without any particular benefits resulting from it to the devout participator. (Ibid. p. 229).

Dissension
as to the
Eucharist.

In England, the nonjuring Church being no longer connected with the state, its bishops and clergy considered themselves entitled to revive certain primitive usages, which also spread to Scotland; and which, at the very moment when peace, and quietness, were most desirable, were the cause of breaking the bonds of Christian harmony, and of rendering the field of Scottish Episcopacy a scene of discord and strife. These usages were;—first, the mixing of water with the wine, at the Lord's Supper, as indicative of the blood and water which came from Christ's body, when he hung upon the cross; secondly, the commemoration of the faithful departed at the altar; thirdly, the consecrating of the elements by an express invocation; and, fourthly, the using a prayer of oblation, before distribution, such as is used in the present Scottish form. (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 623).

The Usages.

At the same time, a project of union between the Eastern Greek Church and the Nonjuring Churches of Scotland and England was entertained. This project, which was one of the most fantastic description,

1721. Projected Union of Eastern Greek and Nonjuring Churches of Great Britain. utterly failed ; and the practice of the Eastern Church, as to the worshipping the Virgin Mary, the praying to saints and angels, offering religious veneration to images, and worshipping the host in the Eucharistic sacrifice, were sufficient to deter the Scottish Church from the proposed assimilation. In this matter, the Scottish Church behaved with prudence ; and preserved itself from charges, approaching to idolatry, which might have, otherwise, been brought against it. (Skinner, Vol. II. pp. 634-640).

1724. The Scottish bishops continue their connection with the Chevalier St. George. Mar. 18th. The only two diocesan bishops, now, were Fullarton and Gadderar. Fullarton was Bishop of Edinburgh, and Primus : Gadderar was Bishop of Aberdeen. The College bishops were Millar, Irvine, Cant, Duncan, and Norrie. These possessed the Episcopal office ; but they had no individual spiritual authority over any of their fellow-Christians. The College bishops were in close, but secret, correspondence with the Court of St. Germans ; and, on the 18th of March 1724, the Chevalier St. George addressed a letter to them, in which he lamented the want of union in their body, and exhorted them to harmony of action.

This a mistake. This practice of consulting the exiled Chevalier was a mistake. As Falconer, Bishop of Edinburgh, afterwards, in a letter, remarked, "when the Church is under destitution of secular encouragement, whether voluntary or involuntary, she may, and should, betake herself to her own intrinsic powers." (Skinner, Vol. II. p. 641).

1727. Bishop Rattray. June 4th. Dr. Thomas Rattray, proprietor of the estate of Craighall, in Perthshire, was, in 1727, consecrated a bishop of the Scottish Church. He was a man of great learning, and sound judgment. He was the author of many works of distinction, such as might have done honour to any man, whether bishop or presbyter, connected with the Christian Church.

Death of George I. 1731. Flourishing state of the Scottish Church. In June 1727, George the First died, and was succeeded by his son, George the Second. At the period of his accession, the Scottish Church was in tolerable peace and quiet. For a short time afterwards its prosperity continued to advance. The interference of the Chevalier St. George with the appointment of

her bishops ceased. The absurd and useless scheme of bishops at large was fast giving place to the regular, and primitive, plan of diocesan Episcopacy. Unity was beginning to establish itself within the walls of the Scottish Zion. Her clergy were numerous and respectable. She was strengthening her stakes, and extending her tents throughout the land.

On the 20th of December, the bishops met, and agreed upon the following Concordat. First, that only the Scottish or English liturgy should be used in divine service, and that none of the ancient usages, which had lately so much disturbed the peace of the Church, should be introduced;—secondly, that no man should, hereafter, be consecrated a bishop of the Scottish Church without the consent, and approbation, of a majority of the other bishops;—thirdly, that, on the death, or translation, of a bishop, the presbyters of the district, or diocese, should not elect another bishop without a mandate from the Primus, by consent of the other bishops;—and, fourthly, that the Primus should be chosen by the bishops, by a majority of voices, and simply for the purpose of convocating and presiding. Two other articles were added, relating to the general government of the Church. (Stephen, Vol IV. pp. 262, 263).

A Concor-
dat.

Dec. 20th.

There was a dark cloud gathering which was soon to overshadow the Scottish Church. Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the undoubted heir to the British throne, arrived in Scotland. He set his foot on Scottish soil with seven attendants. On the 22d of August, he hoisted his standard—published his father's manifesto—and called upon all the sons of loyalty to come in, and join his cause. The Hanoverian government was taken by surprise. Sir John Cope, who had the supreme military command in Scotland, and who is celebrated, in Scottish song, as "Johnny Cope," after various movements, fought the battle of Prestonpans, and, being utterly routed, fled into England.

1745.
Arrival of
Prince
Charles
Edward
Stuart in
Scotland.
July.

Sept. 21st.

The forces of the Prince, consisting chiefly of the Highland clans, at last, after various vicissitudes, met the opposing army, under the Duke of Cumberland, on the field of Colloden, and there, after a bloody struggle, were

1746.
Culloden.
April 16th.

Barbarity
of the Duke
of Cumber-
land.

completely defeated. The conquerors behaved with the most savage cruelty; refusing quarter even to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless. After the battle of Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland strode, like a pestilence, over the land. He made war upon the Church everywhere. He burned the Scottish clergy's churches; he destroyed their Prayer-books; and he even consumed their Bibles. The stamp of villainy is on the brow of Cumberland; and no length of time can ever efface it. (*Jacobite Memoirs*, by Bishop Forbes).

Persecution
of Episco-
pal clergy.

As if they alone had been concerned in the insurrection against the House of Hanover, the persecution of the Episcopal clergy knew no relaxation. They were hunted in all directions. They were often houseless, and without food. They knew not where to sleep. They had the heavens above them, and the earth beneath them; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they could contrive to exist. Cowardice is ever cruel. No sooner were the gallant, and high-minded, laid low at Culloden, than the vengeance of the Hanoverian government burst forth. Thirty thousand pounds were offered, as a reward, for Prince Charles Edward's head. His captured followers were treated as felons of the deepest dye. Many were hanged: the brave Balmerino, and the gentle Kilmarnock, were beheaded on Tower-Hill. Never did a government so disgrace itself, as did the government of George the Second, in connection with the events of the Forty-Five; and the Duke of Cumberland's name is still remembered, in the north, with hatred and detestation,

CHAPTER XXII.

Escape of Charles Edward to France—Reverend John Skinner—Act against the Scottish Church—Persecution of the Scottish Episcopal laity—Appeal to the nobility and gentry of Scotland—The cases of Mr. Greig, Mr. Petrie, and Mr. Troup—Bishop Keith—Desolation of the Scottish Church—Immorality in Scotland—Accession of George the Third—Relaxation of the persecution—Building of places of worship—Qualified chapels—The Communion Office—Objections to a revival of it—The Revival—Bishop Horsley's opinion of the revised office—History of the Scottish Communion Office—Death of the Chevalier St. George—Consecration of Dr. Seabury—Bishop Horsley—Death of Prince Charles Edward Stuart—An Episcopal Synod held at Aberdeen—George the Third acknowledged—Discontent among the laity—The acknowledgment forwarded to the King—His Majesty's answer—Bishop Skinner Primus—Illness of George the Third—Three bishops proceed to London—Arrival of the bishops in London, and their interview with the Lord Advocate.

In the midst of the atrocities of Cumberland, Charles Edward, after having wandered, in disguise, among the mountains and isles of the western coast of Scotland, got on board a French ship of war, with a few of his followers, and, on the 9th of October, in a lamentable condition, arrived safely in France.

Escape of Charles Edward to France. Sept. 20th.

Oct. 9th.

Among those who were sufferers, in consequence of the insurrection of 1745, was the Reverend John Skinner, the author of what Burns has declared to be the best of Scottish songs, "Tullochgorum," and the father of Bishop John Skinner, and grandfather of Bishop William Skinner, each of whom occupied the office of Primus of the Scottish Church. In a work such as the present, it would be unparadonable to pass over, without some notice, this unobtrusive but distinguished man. He held the pastoral charge of Longside in Aberdeenshire. He was eminent for his learning and piety; and yet his wit, and humour, were as rich, and rare, as those of Ben

Rev. John Skinner.

Jonson. He was an accomplished Hebrew scholar, and wrote Latin, both in prose and verse, with remarkable purity. Among his various works, of a theological character, the best known is an *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*. Never was there a man more uninfluenced by the soarings of ambition. When offered, by a wealthy private friend, to have his income increased, he courteously declined the offer. In his latter days he suffered six months' imprisonment simply in consequence of his officiating according to the English Prayer-Book, and preaching the Word of God.

Act against
the Scottish
Church.
April.

The same year, and the same month, which witnessed the bloody day of Culloden, witnessed, also, the passing of a bill by the British Parliament, unequalled for its tyranny in the records of any Christian nation. In April, an act was passed, declaring that "from and after the 1st of September 1746, every person exercising the function of a pastor, or minister, in any Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George, and the royal family, by name, shall, for the first offence, suffer six months imprisonment, and for the second be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations for life." Every house in which five or more persons, besides the family, or five persons, if the house were not inhabited, should meet for public worship, performed by a pastor, or minister, of the Episcopal communion, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the act; and no letters of orders, except such as had been given by some bishop of the Church of England, or of Ireland, were allowed to be registered after the 1st of September. (Russell, Vol. II. pp. 401, 402).

Persecution
of Scottish
Episcopal
laity.

Not only were the clergy of the Scottish Church persecuted, but the laity also. By the same act it was declared, that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected a peer of Parliament, or of voting at such election, and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of Parliament for any shire or borough, or of voting at such election, who should, within the compass of a year, have been twice present

at any Episcopal meeting, in Scotland, not held according to law. (Ibid. pp. 402, 403). This act was notoriously seen to be an act levelled, not merely against the political principles of the clergy, and members of the Scottish Church, but against their religion. It struck at the first principles of Christian liberty. In this light it was viewed by the English bishops; not one of whom would support the bill.

Awake, ye nobles of Scotland! Awake, ye gentry of a land, which, though not possessing the rich soil and extent of England, and, though stern in its general aspect, yet has its occasional spots of verdure, and shew, not merely by your words, but by your deeds, that the truth of Christ is in your hearts. You are in possession of your splendid mansions, and your broad domains. You are members of that branch of the universal Church of Christ—the Scottish Episcopal Church—which has, for upwards of a century and a half, lain in ruins; and which is now only arising from her state of prostration, to carry her influence, and her blessings, throughout the land of your forefathers. It is to you that her bishops, and clergy, look for the means of disseminating her principles, and of shewing that, whatever may be said to the contrary, these principles are such as may take root in any soil.

Appeal to the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

The fury of persecution against the Church knew no remission. The cases of Mr. Greig of Stonehaven, Mr. Petrie of Drumlithie, and Mr. Troup of Muchalls, are remarkable instances of it. They were accused before Sheriff Young, at Stonehaven, of having conducted the worship of God in the presence of more than four persons at one time. It may not be uninteresting to give a specimen of the evidence brought against them. Richard Shaw, a corporal in General Blakeney's regiment, deponed that, on a certain Sunday, he went into a house at Stonehaven—that there were about forty persons present, assembled for divine service—that he saw Mr. Greig standing, in an Episcopal habit, with a book in his hand, from which he was reading—and that he heard him, several times, make mention of St. Paul the Apostle. Several soldiers gave similar testimony. On such grounds

The cases of Mr Greig, Mr. Petrie, and Mr. Troup. Dec. 5th.

were three respectable clergymen shut up for six months in a common jail. Did the plan of this work permit, we could tell many an interesting tale, exhibiting the extreme hardships, and cruelty, to which the Episcopal clergy of those days were subjected from the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the government, and which were such as would hardly be credited in this age of religious toleration and political freedom. But we must forbear; and pass on with the thread of our history.

1757.
Bishop
Keith.
Jan. 20th.

At this time the Scottish Church lost the aid of a valuable servant by the death of Bishop Keith, who was Primus. He died, on the 20th of January 1757, at his pleasant village of Bonnyhaugh, on the banks of the Water of Leith, in his seventy-sixth year, and was buried in the Canongate churchyard. On his tombstone are merely the words, "BISHOP KEITH." He left behind him two valuable works, namely, the "History of the Affairs of Church and State of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, in the reign of King James the Fifth, to the retreat of Queen Mary into England;" and "A Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, down to the year 1688." Both these books are well known to the historian, and the antiquary, as works of great value and research; and the value of the latter has been much enhanced by the ingenious labours of the late Bishop Russell.

Desolation
of Scottish
Church.

The Scottish Church was now utterly in ruins. To use the language of the poet of the Seasons, "Winter held her unrejoicing Court" within her pale. From one end of the kingdom to the other, all was desolation. Her altars were demolished. Her priests were prescribed; sentenced to a felon's fate; and driven from the land of their fathers. The virulence of her persecutors was unrestrained; and wherever she attempted to rear her head she was put down.

Immorality
in Scot-
land.

While such was the state of matters, with regard to the Church, the morals of Scotland had not improved under the Presbyterian *regime*. The ministers took such a rigorous cognizance of every infringement of the seventh commandment, that many females were driven to the crime of child-murder. Within the space of

seven years, no fewer than twenty-one wretched creatures were tried before the Lords of Justiciary, and executed for this crime. (*Criminal Trials*, pp. 310, 311).

On the 25th of October 1760, George the Second died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and he was succeeded by his grandson, George the Third. By the accession of the latter to the throne, there was held out the prospect of better days for the persecuted Scottish Church. The clemency of his disposition, and the mildness of his government, contrasted strongly with what had gone before him. He was the first sovereign of the House of Hanover who could be strictly called English. The tastes, manners, and predilections of his grandfather, and great-grandfather, had been intensely German. It is a remarkable fact, that, throughout the whole course of his reign, George the Third never was above a hundred miles from London. The impartiality of his character, the benevolence and religious principle, which ruled all his actions, and his domestic virtues, are matter of history.

1760.
Accession
of George
III.

Relaxation
of the per-
secution.

When the darkness is greatest, the dawn is at hand. Such was the case with regard to the Scottish Church. The bishops, and clergy, sent up no address to George the Third on his accession; but the King respected their principles, and trusted to the lapse of time to the change of their sentiments towards the family, of which he was the head. The penal laws were still in force, but his Majesty would not allow them to be rigorously executed. Encouraged by this paternal lenity on the part of the new sovereign, the clergy ventured to have separate houses of worship again erected, in some small towns, and country places, as unobtrusively as possible. (*Skinner*, Vol. II. p. 681).

Building of
places of
worship.

For years past, qualified chapels had, in many large towns, and in villages, been on the increase. These chapels were buildings occupied by clergymen ordained either by English or Irish bishops; and who were, therefore, qualified, as far as law was concerned, to use the English service, to preach, and to administer the other rites, and ordinances, of religion. They declined the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops; and,

Qualified
Chapels.

consequently, being under no *Episcopus*, or overseer, they could not properly, claim to be Episcopalians. They were men in holy orders; but they were, to all intents and purposes, Independents.

1763.

The Com-
munion
Office.

In the course of the year 1763, a proposal was set on foot for a revival of the Communion Office. As great excitement prevails, in the present day, on this subject, it deserves particular notice.

Objections
to a revival
of it.

The proposal to revise the office was not universal. Towards the beginning of the year, in a private letter, of date February the 23d, the Rev. George Innes wrote to Bishop Alexander as follows:—"Bishop Gerard bids me tell you, that, with regard to what Bishop Falconer proposes, about altering, or mending, the Communion Office, he is not fond of any farther alterations, as we have everything essential, and our enemies are so apt to make a bad use of anything of this kind."—(Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 380).

1764.

The Re-
vival.

The object of revising the office was to bring it into as close a conformity with the ancient standards of Eucharistic service as possible. The revival was undertaken by two of the Scottish bishops, who were well versed in such matters; and, by some few alterations of expression, and a judicious arrangement of the several parts—especially by restoring the Invocation to its original position after the Oblation, instead of its being allowed to stand before the words of Institution—they put the office into such a form as was most agreeable to the nature, and design, of the divine institution itself; while, at the same time, it was better calculated to fence against what Skinner terms "THE NOVEL DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION."—(Skinner, Vol. II. p. 682).

Bishop
Horsley's
opinion of
the revised
Office.

On the subject of the Scottish Communion Office, as it now stands, the opinion of Bishop Horsley—a member of the English hierarchy, and a man second to none in vastness of intellect, and in depth of theological learning—is of great importance. In a letter to the late Very Rev. John Skinner, Dean of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Fife, his Lordship thus expresses himself:—"With respect to the comparative merit of the two offices for England and Scotland, I have no scruple

in declaring to you, what, some years since, I declared to Bishop Abernethy Drummond, that I think the Scottish office *more conformable to the primitive models*, and, in my private judgment, *more edifying*, than that which we now use; insomuch, that, were I at liberty to follow my own private judgment, *I would myself use the Scotch Office in preference.*" The evidence of so high an authority as that of Bishop Horsley ought to silence, at once, the clamour raised that the Scottish Communion Office is of Popish tendency. The simple origin of this clamour is ignorance, Puritanism, and malice. No one acquainted with the ancient models, would ever dream of bringing such a charge against it.

The Communion Office thus amended was not a new office, but a revision of the old office, that had been used in the Church, almost from the time that the liturgy came into general use, immediately after the Revolution. The office subjected to revision was neither the English one, nor that compiled for the Church of Scotland in 1636; but another office still nearer in form to the present, which seems to have been its immediate basis. In 1755, there appeared the "Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the administration of that Holy Sacrament. Authorised by King Charles I., 1636." The present office is merely a revision, and that a very slight one, of this of 1755. In the year 1764, the actual revision, here spoken of, took place. It did so under the inspection of Falconar, Bishop of Moray and Primus; and it was published with the following title:—"The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministrations of that Holy Sacrament. Edinburgh: Printed for Drummond, 1764." In every particular, it corresponds with the office now in use. A second edition followed next year, (1765,) brought out under the inspection of Forbes, Bishop of Caithness and Orkney, which was printed at Leith; but no alteration was made on the first edition. To these two bishops, then, we owe the Scotch Communion Office, which is, at present, in common use. (See Cheyne's *Authority and Use of the*

History of
Scottish
communion
office.

Scottish Communion Office, p. 22). The Scottish office does not attempt to explain the mystery of the presence of our Saviour in the Lord's Supper. It receives it on faith; while the Romanist, on the one hand, and the Zuinglian, or Ultra-Protestant on the other, offer explanations, each equally destitute of authority or proof.

Nature of
Eucharist.

A few words here, on the subject of the Eucharist—that is, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—may not be out of place. For many centuries, from the commencement of Christianity, there never was a word of controversy with respect to it. The doctrine on which it rests was regarded as a profound mystery; and the rite itself was piously observed from a principle of reverence to the authority of HIM, who instituted it. Till the eighth century, the doctrine of transubstantiation was never so much as heard of. In 831, Paschasius published his book on the "Body and Blood of the Lord;" maintaining that "there is no difference between the body of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, and the body of Jesus Christ as it was on earth, and is now in heaven." This monstrous doctrine immediately led to a theological war. From that day to this, there has been no peace in the Christian world on the subject of the Eucharist. Bertram asserted that the elements were mere signs; and it took one hundred years, of useless and discreditable controversy, before the Church sanctioned the doctrine of transubstantiation. (Russell, Vol. I. pp. 170, 171).

That Christ is present in the *ordinance* of the Lord's Supper, all are agreed. That he is hypostatically, personally, and substantially present in, or under, the *elements*—that he is so present as to be *adored*—that he is personally *sacrificed* on the altar—the Scottish Church, and the Church of England, do not teach.

Both these Churches teach, with the Primitive Church, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a commemorative sacrifice;—that, in it, the bread and wine, and the prayers and praises, and the alms, of the communicants, are solemnly presented, and *offered*, as it were, in *sacrifice* to Almighty God. There can be no doubt, that, in all the teaching of the Primitive Church, the notion of

a *sacrifice*, in the Eucharist, holds a very prominent place ; and it is equally certain that this notion is based upon the authority of Holy Scripture, and upon the practice of the Apostles themselves. It is sufficient to refer to that single passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (xiii. 10,) "We have an *altar* ;" and we may compare it with the prophecy of Malachi, (i. 11). "My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered in my name, and a *pure offering*."—(Bishop Wordsworth's *Plain Tract on the Scotch Communion Office*, pp. 10, 11). *

An important event now occurred ; the death of the Chevalier St. George, the son of James the Seventh, the father of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and the undoubted heir to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. This prince died at Rome, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. During the last six years of his life, he had been confined to his chamber by ill health. The vicissitudes of his life are well known. Born in a palace, with every prospect of regal power, and regal splendour, he expired a sojourner, dependent on the bounty of others, in a clime far removed from the land which gave him birth. Personally, he was not popular with the Jacobites ; and their adherence was more to his hereditary claims than to his person.

1776.
Death of
Chevalier
St. George.

The ways of God are wonderful to all. A circumstance unexpectedly took place, which, after the long depression of the Scottish Church, led to very important results. This was the consecration of Dr. Seabury, the first bishop of America. The war of independence had separated the American

1784.
Consecra-
tion of Dr.
Seabury.
Nov. 14th.

* The word here rendered *offering* is used almost invariably, in the Old Testament, to denote an *unbloody sacrifice*, or meal-offering of fine flour, in opposition to another word by which animal and blood-sacrifices are distinguished. When used by itself, it includes the *drink-offering*, with which such sacrifices were usually accompanied.

There is nothing which the Scottish Church more strongly repudiates than the doctrine of transubstantiation. "Our belief," says Bishop Jolly, "is *diametrically opposite* to the corrupt sacrifice of the Mass, which, *with all other errors of the Church of Rome, none more heartily renounce, and detest*, than we in Scotland do."

Colonies from Great Britain ; and, as a natural consequence, the connection between the American clergy and the Church of England was broken. The clergy of Connecticut elected Dr. Seabury to be their bishop ; and sent him over to England, with testimonials of the highest description, for consecration. The oath of allegiance stood as a barrier in the way. As an American, Dr. Seabury could not take that oath ; and, therefore, the English bishops could not consecrate him. In the circumstances, it suddenly occurred to Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the ancient Church of Scotland still existed. After some correspondence, between the Archbishop and the Primus of the Scottish Church, Dr. Seabury went down to Scotland, and was consecrated at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, the Primus, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner.

1786.
Bishop
Horsley.

The consecration of Bishop Seabury was the means of attracting the attention of the English bishops, peculiarly, to the Scottish Church, as a Church having the same orders, liturgy, and government with their own. Among those who took a warm interest in her, was Samuel Horsley, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, and subsequently, in succession, Bishop of St. David's, Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop of St. Asaph. Full as the Church of England is of great names, she can boast of few which stand higher than that of Horsley. As a divine, a man of science, a philologist, and a parliamentary orator, the splendour of his genius eclipsed that of all around him, and threw a distinguished lustre over the period in which he lived. Rich, and rare, were the gifts which heaven had bestowed on him. He immediately set to work to devise how he could be of service to the depressed, and impoverished, Scottish branch of the Church Universal ; and we shall presently see how successful he was in his exertions in her behalf.*

* Among those who took a deep interest in the Scottish Church, was Dr. Horne, Bishop of Norwich. While walking, one day, with the Rev. William Jones, of Nayland, on the hill above Canterbury—of which he was Dean—he said to Mr. Jones :—“ If St. Paul were alive, I believe he would join the Scottish Episcopal Church, as the one most like to that to which he had been accustomed.”

In the beginning of the year 1788, an event occurred which had an important bearing upon the future fortunes of the Scottish Church. This was the death, at Rome, on the 31st of January, of Prince Charles Edward Stuart; who had assumed the title of Count of Albany. No sooner was the death of Charles Edward known, than the Primus summoned a synod of the Scottish bishops to meet at Aberdeen, on the 24th of April, to consider what was to be done. The result was, that, seeing that Henry, Charles's brother, Cardinal York, had become a subject of the Pope, and seeing that to the Hanoverian line alone could they look for legal protection, they resolved to acknowledge George the Third as their sovereign, and to send in their allegiance to him. This they did; issuing, at the same time, an explanatory mandate, to be read by the clergy to their respective congregations. Similar resolutions were adopted in the diocesan synods, with the greatest unanimity. Discontent, among a great portion of the laity, was very prevalent. On the first Sunday, when the name of GEORGE was read in the Morning Service, for the first time, there was blowing of noses—significant hums—half-suppressed sighs—smothered groans, and universal confusion, of the most extraordinary kind. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 414).*

1788.
Death of
Prince
Charles
Edward
Stuart.
Jan. 31st.

An Episco-
pal Synod
held at
Aberdeen.
April 24th.

George III.
acknow-
ledged.

Discontent
among the
laity.

On the 26th of April, a letter was addressed by the Scottish bishops to Lord Sydney, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, communicating to him the determination of their Synod, and requesting his Lordship to lay their submission at the foot of the throne. Letters were also addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury

The ac-
knowledg-
ment for-
warded to
the King.
April 26th.

* The dislike of the laity to the recognition of the Hanoverian line was of long continuance. A Jacobite laird, in the neighbourhood of Perth, in the reign of George the Third, had a gardener whom no persuasions could induce to acknowledge the "Elector of Hanover" as King. An officer, from the barracks at Perth, wagered that he would get him to drink King George's health. After dinner, the gardener was called in. When the wine, and the whisky-toddy, had freely flowed, the officer proposed the health of King George. The gardener lifted his glass, and drank to "our lawful King." "Sir," said the officer, with an oath, "that is not King George." "Sir," replied the gardener, "I am glad that you and I are of the same way of thinking."

and York ; in which the Scottish bishops express their confidence, that, upon "their Graces recommending to the bishops of their respective provinces the measure of repeal of those penal laws under which the Episcopal Church, in Scotland, have so long groaned, they cannot doubt but that, by such powerful assistance, they shall obtain the desirable end they have in view."—(Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 415).

His Majesty's answer.

Through Lord Sydney, his Majesty replied, that he received, with great satisfaction, this proof of their attachment to his person, and family. There is no evidence that the two archbishops returned any answer at all.

1789.
Bishop Skinner
Primus.

Bishop Kilgour having, on account of old age and infirmity, resigned the office of Primus, Bishop Skinner was chosen in his stead. This was a most judicious choice ; and the future government of the Church, over which Bishop John Skinner was called to preside, shewed that it was so. With the exception of a few individuals, the whole of the Scottish clergy were unanimous in yielding their allegiance to George the Third.

Illness of George III.

When George the Third succumbed to the illness which, for a time, deprived him of reason, none were more forward to evince loyalty than the Scottish Episcopalians. They testified that loyalty by public prayers, and by a thanksgiving for his Majesty's recovery. The Scottish bishops also drew up a congratulatory address to the sovereign ; which address was graciously received. (*Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 90, 91).

Three Bishops proceed to London.

After certain negotiations, three bishops were authorised to proceed to London, to take steps for the introduction, into the House of Commons, of a bill for the repeal of the penal laws. These bishops were Skinner of Aberdeen, the Primus, Abernethy Drummond of Edinburgh, and Strachan of Brechin. They were furnished with the most ample recommendations, from all and sundry in the different districts of Scotland, who had friends, or relatives, in the British legislature. Even many Presbyterians, forgetful of their old animosities, and of their ancient feuds, did what they could to favour the measure. Among these were two

distinguished names ; those of Dr. Campbell, Principal of King's College, and Dr. Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Marischal College, Aberdeen.

On their arrival in London, the three Scottish Bishops lost no time in seeking an interview with the Lord Advocate of Scotland. His Lordship informed them, that he believed the Establishment of Scotland would not oppose their claims for relief. The only opposition to these claims came from the ministers of the Independent Episcopalian congregations in Scotland, whose incumbents had been ordained by English, or Irish, bishops, but who, having declined the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops, were under no Episcopal jurisdiction whatever. It is satisfactory to state, that their endeavours were of no avail ; and that the claims of the Scottish Church were recognized, by the legislature, in every point of view.

Arrival of the Bishops in London, and their interview with the Lord Advocate. April.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The first bill for the repeal of the Penal Laws introduced into Parliament—The bill passes in the House of Commons, and is carried up to the House of Lords—Opposition of Thurlow—The bill lost—Lord Gardenston—The bill again in Parliament—The bill passed—Objectionable clause in the bill—Flattering prospects—Return of Bishop Skinner to Scotland—The Widows' and Childrens' Fund—Number of communicants in Aberdeenshire—A new century—Consecrations—Rev. Jonathan Boucher—Bishop Skinner's "Laymen's Account of his Faith and Practice"—Episcopal Address to the laity, and to the throne—Principal Campbell's lectures—Bishop Skinner's "Primitive Truth and Order" vindicated—Synod at Laurencekirk—The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England signed—Adhesion of Dr. Sandford, and others—Dr. Sandford's "Reasons for uniting with the Scottish Episcopal Communion"—Dr. Grant—Resignation of Bishop Abernethy Drummond—Election, and consecration, of Dr. Sandford—Unfounded alarm—Circular-letter to the English and Irish prelates—Scottish Episcopal Fund for the Bishops and Clergy—Death of the Rev. John Skinner of Longside—Lord Gardenston's endowment of Laurencekirk—The Scottish Communion Office.

First bill
for Repeal
of Penal
Laws.
June 15th.

ON Monday, the 15th of June, Mr. Dundas, the treasurer of the navy, moved, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the penal laws against the Scottish Church; which motion was seconded by Mr. George Dempster, member for the Forfar burghs. So great was the satisfaction of the House, at the introduction of this bill, that, when Sir Harry Houghton was voted into the chair, he said, "that he had never taken it with greater pleasure than on this occasion."

Bill passes
in House of
Commons,
is carried
to House of
Lords.
June 29th.

The bill passed its second and third reading in the House of Commons, and was carried up to the House of Lords, where, on the motion of the Earl of Hope-ton, it was read the first time. It experienced an unexpected and formidable opposition from the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, which made the cause of the bill, for the present, hopeless.

The Primus, therefore, and his colleagues, returned, in July, to their native land ; where, in all the synodical meetings of the Church, their conduct was highly approved of. A Convocation was held, on the 11th of November, at Laurencekirk ; where the same approbation of their conduct was expressed. The Bill lost.

Francis Garden, Esq., called, as one of the judges of the Court of Session, Lord Gardenston, was the proprietor of Laurencekirk. He was a Presbyterian. Nevertheless, he wrote a letter to Lord Thurlow, in favour of the measure, and said :—" Though bred a Presbyterian, I have ever revered the order, and decency, of the Episcopal Church. In doctrine, they are soundly Protestant. Their principles, in regard to government, are now reformed, and not less loyal than ours." These remarks, however, had no effect on the stern and overbearing statesman to whom they were addressed. (Skinner's *Annals*, p. 147). Lord Gardenston.

Again was the bill for the Repeal of the Penal Laws introduced into parliament. Again did the mighty Chancellor exert his influence against it ; but, by this time, the principles of toleration had expanded so far, that the general sense of the House of Lords was evidently in its favour. On the 2d of May, the Earl of Elgin, in a short but sensible speech, moved the second reading of the bill. He was supported by the Earls of Kinnoul, Kellie, and Fife. But the most powerful voice, which was raised on the occasion, was that of Bishop Horsley. This great man threw his whole soul into the debate ; and, in reference to Thurlow's suggestion of the continuance of a schismatical Episcopal communion in Scotland, by means of ordinations from England, and Ireland, he said :—" With respect to the interests of Episcopacy in Scotland, my opinion is, unfortunately, the very reverse of that of the noble and learned lord. The credit of Episcopacy will never be advanced by the scheme of supplying the Episcopalian congregations in Scotland with pastors of our ordination ; for this reason, my Lords, that it would be an *imperfect, crippled* Episcopacy, that would be upheld thus in Scotland. When a clergyman, ordained by one of us, settles as a pastor

1792.
The Bill again in parliament.
May 2d.

of a congregation in Scotland, *he is out of the reach of our authority. We have no authority there; we can have no authority there; the legislature can give us no authority there. The attempt to introduce anything of an authorised political Episcopacy into Scotland would be a direct infringement of the Union.*"—(*Annals*, p. 203).

The bill passed.
June 15th.

The bill was at length passed, and received the Royal assent on Friday, the 15th of June. (*Annals*, p. 220).

Objectionable clause.

To one objectionable clause in it, the Scottish bishops, and their clergy, were compelled to submit. By this clause, they were prohibited from holding any benefice, curacy, or other spiritual promotion, and even from officiating, in England. This clause was not meant to reflect upon the validity of Scottish orders; but was said to be intended for the purpose of protecting the civil rights, and revenues, of the Church of England. It was the work of Lord Chancellor Thurlow; whose knowledge of law was thoroughly equalled by his ignorance of the principles of the Church of Christ.

Flattering prospects.

The Scottish Churchman was now free from the toils of the law. He could stand upright. The shackles had fallen from his limbs, and the chains from his hands, and he could worship God without fear of persecution;—without fear of being consigned to a dungeon—without fear of having his home made desolate, and his wife, and his little ones, being turned out to the winter's blast—without fear of his being transported to the plantations for life, where he was to live the life of a felon, and to die the death of a slave.

Return of Bishop Skinner to Scotland.
July 4th.

After the passing of the Relief Bill, Bishop Skinner returned to Scotland. As Primus, he summoned a Convention of the whole clergy, to be holden at Laurencekirk, on the 22d day of August. At this Convention was originated the scheme for the support of the widows, and children, of Episcopal clergymen in Scotland. This scheme which, in November 1793, became known as the Scottish Episcopal Friendly Society, has, hitherto, been progressive; and has been of the greatest advantage to many, who would, otherwise, have been left exposed to all the horrors of penury and want.

Widows' and children's Fund.

The persecution against the Scottish Church being

withdrawn, her numbers were immediately on the increase. In every part of the kingdom, many, who had shrunk from acknowledging their principles as Episcopalians, now avowed them. In Aberdeenshire alone, there were five thousand communicants, in connection with that branch of the Church Catholic which had, for so many years, been proscribed and trodden under foot, by military tyranny, and by the powers of the world. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 439).

Number of communicants in Aberdeenshire.

The opening of the nineteenth century found the Scottish Church in a very different position from that which she had occupied at the commencement of the one which had just expired. Then, she had been hurled from her high estate, and lay prostrate in the dust. Her rites, and ceremonies, were under the ban of the civil power; and the persons of her ministers were exposed to insult and outrage. Now, a mild and benignant sovereign—the first of the House of Hanover who had been born in England—was on the British throne; and she enjoyed the same general legal privileges which were enjoyed by the other denizens of the land. There was but one remnant of persecution, against her, left. That was Lord Thurlow's clause, in the Relief Bill, which prevented her clergy from holding livings, or even from officiating in England.

1800.
A new century.

Before the expiry of the eighteenth century, certain alterations had taken place in the Episcopate, by the death of some bishops, and the consecration of others. Bishop Rose, of Dunblane, had died, at a very advanced age, in 1791. On the 20th of September 1792, the Rev. Jonathan Watson, presbyter at Laurencekirk, was consecrated at Stonehaven, in the county of Kincardine, by Bishops Skinner, Macfarlane, Abernethy Drummond, and Strachan. Bishop Watson was made Bishop of Dunkeld and Dunblane. In 1796, it was found necessary that a coadjutor should be appointed to Bishop Macfarlane. The Rev. Alexander Jolly was selected for the purpose. He was consecrated, at Dundee, on the 24th of June, by Bishops Abernethy Drummond, Strachan, and Macfarlane; and, without having ever acted as coadjutor to Bishop Macfarlane, he was appointed Bishop of Moray.

Consecrations.

The purest ages of the Christian Church can produce nothing to excel the learning, the piety, and the strictly clerical deportment, of the venerated Bishop Jolly. This holy, and humble-minded, man was a pattern for the bishops, and clergy, of all ages ; and never, while respect for Christian principle, and Christian practice, and for those Christian graces which are intended to beautify and embellish, the soul of man, exists, will his memory be forgotten.

Rev. Jonathan Boucher.

One of the dearest objects which the Primus had at heart was, to put an end to the schism which had so long existed in Scotland, in consequence of the introduction, into it, of clergymen ordained by English and Irish bishops, but who were under no Episcopal jurisdiction. So long as the Scottish bishops, and their clergy, adhered to the Stuart family, and refused to take the oaths of allegiance to the family which had supplanted them, there might have been some excuse for this anomalous state of things in the Church. But now, there was no excuse for it. Every political obstacle to union was removed ; and, therefore, Bishop Skinner, with his usual ability, and prudence, set to work to accomplish the end which he had in view. He began with the independent clergy of Edinburgh ; and, with the concurrence of Bishop Watson, proposed to Bishop Abernethy Drummond to resign his diocese of Edinburgh in favour of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who was then Vicar of Epsom, in Surrey. This proposal met with the warm approbation, not only of the clergy of the diocese of Edinburgh, but of Bishop Abernethy Drummond himself ; who, on this occasion, behaved, says Mr. Skinner, "with a zeal, and humbleness of mind, which would have done honour to any prelate of any age." Mr. Boucher accepted the offer made to him, and came to Edinburgh, for the purpose of being consecrated ; but a senseless clamour having arisen, that it was the intention to introduce bishops into Scotland with the sanction of the government, and to arm them with legal powers, he was so disgusted, that the plan was abandoned, and he returned to his vicarage, where he soon after died. (*Annals*, pp. 265-271).

Notwithstanding Bishop Skinner's numerous avocations, and extensive correspondence, he found time, in 1801, to publish his "Layman's Account of his Faith and Practice, as a Member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland;"—an admirable little volume, which ought to be in the hands of every Churchman, and Churchwoman, young or old, throughout the British dominions.

1801.
Bishop Skinner's
"Layman's
Account of
his Faith
and Prac-
tice."

The renewed cry to arms, for the defence of the liberties of Britain against the efforts of a foreign despot, found the Scottish Primus, and his brethren, at the post of duty. They issued an address to the laity; and they forwarded in their own and their clergy's names, a humble profession of loyalty to the sovereign.

1803.
Episcopal
Address.

A painful sensation was created by the publication, in the course of the year 1803, of the "Lectures, on Ecclesiastical History, of Dr. Campbell, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen." Dr. Campbell was an individual personally estimable. He had been warm in his approbation of the removal of the Penal Laws; and had even written to London, in favour of the Scottish Episcopalians as an unjustly persecuted body. How astonished was that body, when, on Dr. Campbell's death, they, through the publication of his lectures, by his executors, found that he had, for a series of years, been holding up their principles to the ridicule, and derision, of the young men whom it was his duty to train as ministers of the Presbyterian Establishment!

Principal
Campbell's
Lectures.

It was felt that an elaborate reply to Principal Campbell's calumnies was necessary; and there was no fitter man, in Scotland, to whom the task could be committed than Bishop Skinner. His "Primitive Truth and Order vindicated from Modern Misrepresentation" appeared. It elicited congratulatory letters from all quarters. Even Dr. Hill, the Presbyterian Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's, declared, that "it was the best defence of Episcopacy in the English language;" and that it was "more than a sufficient refutation of Dr. Campbell."—(Lawson, p. 354).

Bishop
Skinner's
"Primitive
Truth and
Order vin-
dicated."

A synod, of the whole Scottish Church, was

1804.
Synod at
Laurence-
kirk.
Oct. 24th.

summoned, by the Primus, to be held, on the 24th of October 1804, at Laurencekirk. At that synod, there were present the Primus; Bishop Macfarlane, of Ross and Argyle; Bishop Watson, of Dunkeld; and Bishop Jolly, of Moray. Bishops Abernethy Drummond and Strachan were absent, owing to the infirmities of old age. There were, also, present, thirty-eight priests, and two deacons. Before the synod separated, the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England were signed by all present; the union between the Scottish Church, and the Church of England, was rendered both legally and ecclesiastically complete. (Lawson, p. 355).

The Thirty-
nine Ar-
ticles
signed.

Adhesion of
Dr Sand-
ford and
others.

This signing of the Thirty-nine Articles by the Scottish bishops, and clergy, was followed by the adhesion of several incumbents of Independent Episcopal chapels, to the Scottish Church. The highly respected names of Sandford, Alison, and Morehead, were added to the Scottish ministry; and, as many of the indigenious clergy used the Scottish Communion Office, permission was granted to such of the clergy of English, and Irish, ordination as chose to do so, to use that contained in the English Prayer Book.

Dr. Sand-
ford.
Nov. 7th.

Not satisfied with a silent adhesion to the Scottish Church, Dr Sandford announced his resolution to his congregation in an interesting address, in which he laid before them his reasons for the course which he intended to pursue, and pointed out to them the benefits of diocesan jurisdiction. He told them, that the Episcopal Church of Scotland is a "a true Church, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are administered *according to Christ's ordinance*;" (Article XXIII.)—that the doctrines of this Church are the same with those of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church of Scotland subscribing the same Articles of Religion;—and that the Scottish bishops are true bishops of the Church of Christ, seeing that "their Apostolical Succession is the same with that of the bishops of the Church of England."

In this document, too, Dr. Sandford informed his congregation, that a continuance of separation from the Scottish Episcopal Church was "wholly causeless, in

every point of view ;” and that “ *causeless separation from a pure Church is the sin of SCHISM, an offence of which it is impossible that any pious, and enlightened, Christian can think lightly.*”—(*Annals*, pp. 550-553).

Previously to his taking the final step, Mr. Alison ^{1805.} betrayed a somewhat selfish fear, lest a union, on his ^{Mr. Alison.} part, with the Scottish Church, might, in any way, affect the possession of his preferments in England. On this account, Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo, one of a family who have always taken the deepest interest in the welfare of Scottish Episcopacy, wrote to Sir William Scott—afterwards Lord Stowell—for infor- ^{Sept.} mation, and received a most satisfactory reply. This eminent lawyer said :—“ You may be assured, that the new Archbishop (Dr. Charles Manners Sutton) feels all the sentiments of affection, and respect, for the Episcopal Church in Scotland which you know his lamented predecessor entertained, and will be ready to express it on all occasions. * * * * His opinion concurs with mine, that a minister of the Church of England *can incur no disability*, in England, by communicating with the sister Church ; if that can be called a sister, which, by the late acts of your respectable community, *is become almost identically the same.* It is quite impossible that any impropriety, either legal, or (as far as I may be allowed to judge) theological, can attach to an entire conformity to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, during a clergyman’s residence in that country. It is surprising how such a notion could have found its way into the minds of men, in your country, as that the English bishops aspired to any authority there.”—(*Annals*, p. 389).

A Dr. Grant, of Dundee, continued to adhere ^{Dr. Grant.} stoutly to his state of schism. He addressed Bishop Horsley ; who gave him the following brief, and blunt, answer :—“ It has long been my opinion, and very well known, I believe, to be my opinion, that the laity, in Scotland, of the Episcopal persuasion, *if they understand the genuine principles of Episcopacy which they profess*, ought, in the present state of things, to resort to the ministry of their indigenious pastors. And the

clergymen of English or Irish ordination, exercising their functions in Scotland, without uniting with the Scottish bishops, are, in my judgment, doing nothing better than keeping alive a schism. I find nothing in your tract to alter my mind upon these points.”—(*Annals*, p. 391.)

1806.
Resignation of Bishop Abernethy Drummond.
Election, and consecration, of Dr. Sandford.

Bishop Abernethy Drummond was nearly ninety years old; he, therefore, sent in to the Primus his resignation of his high dignity of Bishop of Edinburgh, retaining the two dioceses of Glasgow and Galloway. The learning and piety of Dr. Sandford pointed him out as a fit successor in the see of Edinburgh, to the venerable, and accomplished, proprietor of “classic Hawthornden.” He was, accordingly, elected, by the clergy of the diocese, to be their spiritual ruler; and was consecrated, at Dundee, in Bishop Strachan’s place of worship, on Sexagesima Sunday, the 9th of February 1806, by Bishops Skinner, Watson, and Jolly. The sermon was preached by Bishop Sandford’s successor in the see of Edinburgh, Dr. Watson; and, at the close of the solemn service, an eloquent and affecting address was delivered to Bishop Sandford by Bishop Skinner.—(*Annals*, p. 404).

Feb. 9th.

Unfounded alarm.

This was the first case of the elevation of an English presbyter to the Scottish Episcopal Bench. It was, naturally, a subject of conversation; and the appointment was regarded, in some high quarters, with suspicion. The Bishop of Bangor—with whom Bishop Sandford was personally acquainted—did not hesitate to affirm, that it was both uncanonical and inexpedient. He thought, that the step taken would lead to questions of great difficulty, and delicacy; and that it would excite jealousy, on the part of the Scottish Presbyterian Establishment. In both respects, his Lordship turned out to be mistaken. No questions of difficulty, and delicacy, arose; and Bishop Sandford, while he never compromised his own opinions, lived on terms of kindness and charity with the leading Presbyterian ministers of Edinburgh. (*Remains of Bishop Sandford*, Vol. I. pp. 50, 51).

Acting on the advice of Bishop Horsley, the Primus issued a circular-letter to the English archbishops, and

bishops, and to the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, informing them of the progress of National Episcopacy in Scotland, and of the advancement of Dr. Sandford to the Episcopate. This letter contained a good deal of statistical information as to the Scottish Church; mentioning, among other things, that it consisted of about sixty congregations, of whom about fifty were supplied by clergymen of Scottish ordination. (*Annals*, pp. 419-421).

Circular-letter to English and Irish prelates.

Though poverty had laid her iron grasp upon the bishops and clergy of the Scottish Church, not a murmur escaped them; but their friends saw that they were in a sore strait, and took steps for their relief. A fund was established, chiefly under the influence of Sir William Forbes, and his son-in-law, Colin Mackenzie, Esq., of Portmore, by means of which the sum of £100 per annum was given to the Bishop of Edinburgh, £60 to the Primus, and £50 to each of the other bishops; also £15 per annum to a very few, and £10 to some others, of the most necessitous clergy. The subscription to this fund was of a strictly private nature. A committee was formed, in London, for the purpose of promoting its object; and the original members of the committee were Sir James Allan Park, chairman; the Rev. George Andrews, Dean of Canterbury; the Rev. Dr. Gaskin, the Rev. Robert Hodgson, Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, William Stevens, Esq., John Bowrdler, Esq.; and Sir John Richardson. Mr. Stevens was the first subscriber of £100. (*Lawson*, pp. 366, 367).

Scottish Episcopal Fund for bishops and clergy.

The friends and worthies of the Scottish Church began to fall fast. Scarcely had Sir William Forbes, and the illustrious HORSLEY, that devoted friend of Episcopacy in Scotland, been taken away, when the Rev. John Skinner of Longside, the father of the Primus, also went to his rest in the fulness of years. Mr. Skinner—of whom we have already noted some particulars—was one of the most remarkable men of his day. Distinguished for learning and piety, he could, at the same time, descend “from grave to gay,” and engage in poetical sallies of the liveliest wit, and humour. He had been for sixty-four years, pastor of Longside. He never was a decided partizan of the

1807.
Death of
Rev. John
Skinner.
June 4th.

Stuart family ; and yet he had been treated as severely, by the Hanoverian government, as if he had been so. He died on the 16th of June 1807, in the 86th year of his age.

It will perhaps astonish our readers of this more luxurious age to hear, that Mr. Skinner's dwelling, as we have been informed by one who knew it well, was a lowly thatched cottage, which contained a parlour, kitchen, and two small bedrooms. In this humble abode this distinguished man lived so contentedly, that he refused a better house, when it was offered by his landlord ; and there, in his little parlour, with its peat-fire burning on the hearth, did he compose many a learned theological treatise, wrote Latin, both in prose and verse, of classical purity, relax his leisure hours in Scottish verse that excited the envy of Burns, and exercise a genial hospitality, towards his friends both lay and clerical, that puts to shame the pampered selfishness of the present day.

1808.
Lord Gardenston's
endowment
of Laurencekirk.

The following year died Jonathan Watson, Bishop of Dunkeld. We mention this event chiefly with the view of noting that he held the pastoral charge of Laurencekirk, which is remarkable as being the first endowment possessed by the Scottish Church in modern times ; and still the more remarkable that the endowment was made by Lord Gardenston, a Presbyterian. It consists of forty pounds per annum in money, with forty bolls of oatmeal, a comfortable parsonage, a garden, and three acres of the best land in the vicinity. (*Annals*, p. 469).

The Scotch
Communion
Office.

In the course of the preceding year, the Primus, in a note to his Charge, delivered to his clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, had announced it to be the intention of his son, the Rev. John Skinner, of Forfar, to publish "a new edition of the Scotch Communion Office, with a Prefatory Discourse on the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, laid down in that Office." This announcement created some unnecessary uneasiness in the minds of the English ordained clergy. No controversy ensued ; but a good deal of correspondence took place on the subject ; and the Primus was alarmed lest the Scottish Office, the accredited formulary of the

Church, should be entirely laid aside. He, therefore, October. thought it prudent to ascertain what were the sentiments of the Bishop-elect of Brechin, Dr. Gleig, with regard to the matter.

Bishop Torry had voluntarily made the following declaration :—“ I, the undersigned, being now about to be promoted, by the mercy of God, to a seat in the Episcopal College of the Church of Scotland, do hereby voluntarily, and *ex animo*, declare, that, when promoted to the Episcopate, I will co-operate with my colleagues in supporting a steady adherence to the truths, and doctrines, by which our Church has been so happily distinguished ; and, particularly, to the doctrine of the holy Eucharist, as laid down in our excellent Communion Office—the use of which I will strenuously recommend, by my own practice, and by every other means in my power. In testimony whereof, I have signed this declaration, at Aberdeen on the 12th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1808 ; as witness my hand (Signed) PAT. TORRY.” A copy of this document was forwarded to Dr. Gleig, for his signature : with the following remark by the Primus :—“ Having now such a plain rule before us, and so satisfactory a precedent for our future proceedings, I am determined with God’s help, to abide by it, in any future promotion, at least for a Scottish ordained presbyter, that may take place in our Church.” The Bishop-elect of Brechin’s answer was promptly given : “ The condition,” says he, “ which you propose, binds me to nothing but what I have uniformly practised ever since I was a clergyman, and which I should be strongly inclined to practice were my excellent diocesan [Bishop Sandford] to forbid me to do so. For, I am as much attached to the Scottish Communion Office as you, Right Rev. Sir, can be ; and, I have reason to think, on the very same principles. * * * I am, therefore, perfectly ready to subscribe, and deliver to you, a declaration similar to that which has been delivered to you by Bishop Torry.”

CHAPTER XXIV.

General Synod at Aberdeen—Death of Bishop Skinner—Bishop Gleig chosen Primus—The Rev. William Skinner, D.D., chosen Bishop of Aberdeen—Consecration—Death of Bishop Macfarlane—Consecration of Dr. Low—His character—Death of George the Third—George the Third's character—George the Fourth visits Scotland—The Scottish bishops address the King—Dr. Luscombe—His consecration as a missionary bishop—Death and character, of the Duke of York—Synod at Laurencekirk for the revision of the Canons—Synod in Edinburgh—Death of Bishop Sandford—Consecration of Dr. Walker—Constitution of the Scottish Church—Diocesan synods—General synods—The Church in Scotland, and the Church of England, the same in doctrine—The Gaelic Episcopal Society—Revived Church principles—The "Tracts for the Times"—Scottish Friendly Society—The resignation of the Primus—Election of Bishop Walker—Death of King William—Addresses by the Scottish bishops—Edinburgh separated from Fife, and from Glasgow—Consecrations of Dr. Russell and Dr. Moir—Death of Bishop Jolly—His character—Bishop Jolly's library—A General Synod—The Scottish Episcopal Church Society—The Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh—An annual Episcopal synod enjoined—The Queen's marriage—Death of Bishop Gleig—New act of parliament with regard to the Scottish Church—Death of Bishop Walker—Election, and consecration, of Dr. Terrot—Bishop Skinner Primus—The Snell Exhibitions—Trinity College, Glenalmond.

1811.
General
Synod at
at Aber-
deen.
June 19th
and 20th.

THE 19th and 20th of June 1811, witnessed a General Synod at Aberdeen. This Synod was composed of bishops, deans, and a representative from each diocese. At the commencement of it, Bishop Skinner offered to resign the Primacy; but this offer was rejected. Hitherto, the only Code of Canons which the Scottish Church possessed was that which was commonly called "Bishop Rattray's Canons;" which, being chiefly drawn up by him, were enacted at a

synod of bishops, held at Edinburgh in 1743. They were sixteen in number; but not having been passed by a general synod, they could not be said to have a proper ecclesiastical authority. The Aberdeen Synod, therefore, now gave its sanction to a revised code, containing twenty-six canons. The 16th canon had reference to a controversy which had originated the synod, and it set that controversy at rest by declaring, that, in the performance of divine service, "the words of the English liturgy shall be strictly adhered to," and no alterations, or insertions, allowed. The 15th canon declared the Scotch Communion Office to be "the authorised service" in the administration of the Holy Communion, and required it to be "used in all consecrations of bishops." It is remarkable that this Canon, of which we have, of late years, heard so much, was proposed by two dignitaries of the Church of England, the Rev. Archibald Alison, Prebendary of Sarum, and the Rev. Heneage Horsley, Prebendary of St. Asaph. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 487). It may here be noticed, that the Scottish Church has always maintained the primary authority of her own Eucharistic Office; and has merely granted *permission* to English ordained clergymen to use the English office. In so doing, the Scottish Church has simply asserted her own rights as a national Church.

Well has it been said, that we know not what a day may bring forth. The 12th of July 1816, saw Bishop Skinner, the Primus of the Scottish Church, posting, with his own hand, a congratulatory address to the Prince Regent, on the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with Leopold of Belgium; the next day saw him stretched an inanimate corpse, silently awaiting the transference of his mortal remains to the place where human feeling, and human passion, are equally unknown.

Of the character of Bishop John Skinner it is hardly necessary to speak. Wisely had he guided the helm of the Scottish Church, when rocks were in prospect; when stormy waves dashed over her. Bishop Skinner died in his seventy-first year; and, during the twenty-six years of his Episcopate, he never attempted to

conceal the powerful support, counsel, and advice, which he derived from his father, the Rev. John Skinner of Longside.

Bishop
Gleig
chosen
Primus.
Aug.

The man who, after Bishop Skinner, occupied the chair, as Primus, was Dr. Gleig, Bishop of Brechin. Bishop Jolly, as the senior bishop, called a meeting of his colleagues, at Aberdeen, in August, and Bishop Gleig was unanimously raised to the post; an honour justly conferred on a man, who was one of the most learned theologians, and most acute metaphysicians, of his day. (Lawson, p. 381).

Rev. Wm.
Skinner
chosen
Bishop of
Aberdeen.
Sept. 11th.

For a short time it remained doubtful whether the Rev. William Skinner, D.D., of St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, second son of the late Primus, or the Rev. Heneage Horsley, of Dundee, was to be the new Bishop of Aberdeen. Both were proposed. The clergy of the diocese were convoked at Ellon, on the 11th of September; and, on that day, by a large majority, Dr. Skinner was elected, and notice of the election forwarded to the Primus. The Primus sent a severe reproof to the Dean and clergy of Aberdeen, for electing, as their diocesan, *the son* of their late bishop; it being, he said, contrary to a clause in the Apostolical Constitutions, which forbade the election of the son of a preceding prelate. Nevertheless, Dr. Skinner was consecrated, at Stirling, on the 27th of October, by Bishops Gleig, Jolly, Sandford, and Torry. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 495).

Consecra-
tion.
Oct. 27th.

1819.
Death of
Bishop
Macfar-
lane.

The death of the venerable Bishop Macfarlane, of Ross and Argyle, at a ripe old age, and in the thirty-second year of his Episcopate, at Inverness, in 1819, created another vacancy in the Episcopal College. Owing to the peculiar nature of the districts included within the united diocese of Ross and Argyle, which comprehended the wildest, and most sequestered, parts of the Western Highlands, it was necessary, that, in the selection of a new bishop, peculiar regard should be had to his being in possession of qualities, which, in an ordinary case, might not have been so requisite.

Consecra-
tion of Dr.
Low.
Nov. 14th.

These qualities were found in the Rev. David Low, LL.D., incumbent of Pittenweem, in Fifeshire; a man who was then in the vigour of life, active, zealous, and

possessed of an ardour of temperament which rendered it morally certain that he would be indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, among the glens, and fastnesses, in the heart of which these duties would lie. He was consecrated by Bishops Gleig, Jolly, and Torry, at Stirling, on the 14th of November 1819.

Without being a man of extensive learning, Bishop Low proved, eventually, one of the greatest friends which the Scottish Church has, in modern times, seen. Throughout life, Bishop Low had the appearance of being very penurious. His economy was of the most strict, and searching kind. In the end, however, it was found that his economy, and seeming penuriousness, were for a noble purpose.

His character.

On the 29th of January, George the Third expired, at Windsor Castle, in the eighty-second year of his age, and in the sixtieth of his reign. His rule had been the longest of those of the monarchs of Britain ; and the events, under that rule, had been surpassed, in importance, by none known in the history of the world.

1820.
Death of
George III.
Jan. 29th.

George the Third mounted the throne, in the prime, and brilliancy, of youth. He was the first native prince of his House. He was firm in character, correct in conduct, conciliating in his manners, constitutional in his government, and equally beloved and respected in every period of his reign. The glories, and the blessings, of that reign were almost unexampled. His religious, and moral, character were unimpeached, and unimpeachable. For a series of years his intellect was under a cloud ; but, even when the darkness of insanity covered him, his reverence for the truths of Christianity, and his regard for the welfare of that branch of the Church Catholic of which he was the temporal head, were never by him forgotten.

George III.'s character.

In August 1822, George the Fourth visited Scotland. The joy of all classes was supreme. Lowlander and Highlander united in giving him a cordial, and a loyal, welcome. The Scottish bishops took the opportunity of presenting an address to the King. His Majesty agreed to receive it in the Royal closet ; an honour peculiarly reserved for them. The deputation consisted

1822.
George IV.
visits Scot-
land.
Aug.

Scottish
bishops
address
the King.

1825.
Dr. Lus-
combe.

of the six bishops, and of six presbyters. The King was peculiarly struck with the venerable and primitive, appearance of Bishop Jolly ; whose reverential deportment, in the Royal closet, was very remarkable.

It was reckoned, that, in the year 1825, there were not fewer than fifty thousand members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, actually resident in France. The great laxity which prevailed among these persons, chiefly owing to the want of regular Episcopal superintendence, attracted the attention of Dr Luscombe, who, for five years, had been chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris. By law, the Bishop of London has diocesan authority over all British chaplains, and factories, on the continent ; but this jurisdiction did not, in the least, correct the deficiencies which Dr Luscombe found to exist. It was plain that the Bishop of London could not, regularly, hold confirmations, or ordinations, or otherwise exercise his Episcopal functions, over so large a space as is embraced by the French soil. These circumstances being duly, and seriously, considered, Dr Luscombe came to Scotland, and was, by Bishops Gleig, Sandford, Skinner, and Low, consecrated at Stirling, on the 22d of March, as a missionary-bishop to the continent of Europe.

His conse-
cration as a
missionary-
bishop.
March 22d.

The consecration of Dr Luscombe led to much controversy, and to no little acrimony of feeling, especially in England. The government had refused to give any direct sanction to it, lest it might involve them in difficulties with France ; but Mr Canning spoke kindly to Dr Luscombe on the subject, and, after the consecration, the government countenanced the mission, and appointed Bishop Luscombe permanent Chaplain to the Parisian British Embassy. On his arrival in the French capital, he was received, by the Ambassador, with the highest tokens of respect ; and met with the hearty, and cordial co-operation of all ranks, and orders, of British residents there. The Bishop was, also, constituted the Bishop of London's Commissary on the continent, with the superintendence of the chaplaincies, and factories, and authority to report to his Lordship at stated periods. (Lawson, p. 383).

Bishop Luscombe had no jurisdiction on the continent; but merely acted as a clergyman in Episcopal orders, for the spiritual benefit of those congregations who might choose to place themselves under his control. The English bishops did not require his official signature to the testimonials of clergymen living in France; and he was, in his letters of collation, expressly and solemnly enjoined, by those who consecrated him, "not to disturb the peace of any Christian society, established as the National Church, in whatever nation he may chance to sojourn, but to confine his ministrations to British subjects, and to such other Christians as may profess themselves to be of a Protestant Episcopal Church.

On the death of Bishop Luscombe—which took place somewhat suddenly—the Scottish bishops, feeling the rather anomalous nature of the appointment, did not think it expedient to fill it up.

In 1828, Bishop Gleig, as Primus, summoned an Ecclesiastical Synod, to meet at Laurencekirk, on the 18th of June, for the revising, and consolidating, the canons of the Synod of Aberdeen, held in 1811. This Synod was, like the former one, constituted of all the bishops, and all the deans of dioceses, and one representative of the clergy from each diocese. The Primus, with Bishops Torry, Sandford, and Skinner, were present; but Bishops Jolly, and Low, declined to attend, because they disapproved of the holding of any synod at that time. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 509).

1828.
Synod at
Laurence-
kirk, for
the revision
of the
Canons.
June 18th.

The canons were amended. Copies of them, in their amended state, were printed, and circulated among the clergy; and the Primus communicated the proceedings of the Synod to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In July, 1829, another synod was held in Edinburgh; at which Bishops Jolly, and Low, attended. Here, the revision of the canons, for the internal regulations, and discipline, of the Scottish Church, was finished.

1829.
Synod in
Edinburgh.
July.

After a short illness, Bishop Sandford, of Edinburgh, died, in 1830, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had been Bishop of Edinburgh since 1806. His successor, in the see of Edinburgh, was Dr Walker; who had

1830.
Death of
Bishop
Sandford.

Consecra-
tion of Dr.
Walker.
March 7th.

been, formerly, minister of St Peter's Church, in the Scottish metropolis. He was consecrated at Stirling, on Sunday the 7th of March, by Bishops Gleig, Jolly, Skimmer, and Low. The consecration sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr Michael Russell, incumbent of St James's Church, Leith. It was, afterwards, given to the world, under the title of "The Historical Evidence for the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy;" a highly valuable production, and which we strongly recommend to any who are in search of Church principles.

Bishop Walker was a man of great learning, and of much energy of character. When young, he had travelled on the continent, under high auspices—he had had an interview with Napoleon, when First Consul of France—and he had gathered together the Protestant Episcopal wanderers in the city of Rome, with the benignant, though tacit, approval of the Pope. Before his elevation to the Episcopate, Dr. Walker was appointed Pantonian Professor of Divinity, being the first to occupy a Professorship, which had recently been founded by Dr. Panton, and which he retained till his death.

Constitu-
tion of the
Scottish
Church.

Since the settlement of the constitution of the Scottish Church, by the Synods of Laurencekirk and Edinburgh, held in 1828 and 1829, the manner in which the affairs of that Church are conducted may be briefly stated.

Diocesan
synods.

The bishops hold their ordinations when necessity requires; and their annual, and occasional confirmations of the young in the respective congregations within their dioceses. They deliver charges to the clergy at their triennial visitations. The usual diocesan synods, in which the deans preside in absence of the bishops, are held every year. At these diocesan synods, the dean, or, in his absence, the senior presbyter present, calls upon every incumbent to lodge with the diocesan clerk his yearly report of the congregation under his charge; the number of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, with their dates, within it; together with the number of communicants, at the several festivals, and other times of communion. All these are duly entered into the minute-book of every diocese. Any change

suggested, as to the mode of discipline, or the form of public worship, throughout the diocese, is first discussed ; and then—if he is not present—transmitted to the bishop, for his approval, or rejection.

In conformity with the custom of the Primitive Church, the bishops, at general synods, form one chamber, and the deans, and delegates—one from each diocese—constitute the second chamber ; of which the Professor of Divinity, if a presbyter, is, *ex officio*, a member, and by which a Preses, or Prolocutor, is elected, who has, at all times, free admission to the first chamber, when communication on either side is required. (See Canon xxxii.). No layman is permitted to act as a representative, or to take any part in the deliberations, of either general or diocesan synods ; but of late years, a good deal of discussion has taken place, as to the propriety, and expediency, of admitting the lay element within the synods of the Church.

General
synods.

As an ecclesiastical body, the Scottish bishops, and clergy, never interfere in public matters, political or civil, beyond transmitting loyal addresses of congratulation, or condolence, to the sovereign. They confine themselves to the discharge of their clerical duties. The only difference between the Church of England and the Church in Scotland is, that the latter is not connected with the state—that none of its prelates sit in the House of Lords—and that neither the bishops, nor their clergy, draw tithes. They are essentially the same in doctrine ; for they both use the same liturgy, and subscribe the same articles. They are in full communion ; and they enjoy a mutual interchange of official duties, both Episcopal and ordinary. The circumstance of the Scottish Church using the Scotch Communion Office, in some congregations, as well as the office in the Prayer Book, is no bar to this completeness of communion ; for the doctrine of both the offices we consider to be, when rightly interpreted, if not logically identical, altogether uncontradictory.

The Church
in Scotland
and Eng-
land the
same in
doctrine.

Far away, among the lofty mountains, the heathy districts, and the lonely towns of the north and north-west of Scotland, Bishop Low found an outlet for his active and pious zeal. As the population knew little

Gaelic
Episcopal
Society.

else than the Gaelic language, it was extremely difficult for those who were ignorant of it to instruct them. Bishop Low supported some schools, for a considerable time, at his own expense, with the assistance of a few of his immediate friends, and an occasional collection in his own congregation. The demand for education becoming greater than the supply, he projected a society, through whose exertions the poor of his diocese might be benefited. The Gaelic Episcopal Society was formed, under the superintendence of the bishops; and a committee was, also, established in London, to collect funds there, in aid of its objects, which were fourfold:—to provide means for the due education of Gaelic students for the ministry—to send, into the more scattered portions of the Church, catechists, who might visit from house to house, in those places where the clergyman could not frequently appear—to assist in the erection of school-houses, and in the repair, and improvement, of places of worship—and more extensively to circulate the Gaelic Book of Common Prayer. This Society does not now exist, having merged in the Scottish Episcopal Church Society, of which we shall speak hereafter. (Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 523). As a proof of the now flourishing condition of the Scottish Church, and especially in the diocese of Aberdeen, it may be mentioned that Bishop Skinner, in the course of his visits last year, confirmed no fewer than four hundred and sixty-two persons.

Revived
Church
principles.

The tendency of public political measures having for some years back been to sap the foundations of the United Church of England and Ireland—to refuse to declare that Church a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ—to consider it, simply, a tool of the state, and its bishops, and clergy, mere state-pensioners, in the same sense of the word with that in which members of the army, and navy, are so—a revulsion of national feeling took place, and both clergy and laity began to study the principles on which the Spiritual Society, called the Church of Christ, is founded, more closely than they had been accustomed to do.

“Tracts
for the
Times.”

Hence arose the “Tracts for the Times.” Many of these tracts are admirable and most valuable: they

did much good, by infusing a spirit of inquiry, and rousing a spirit of devotion, in a Church pervaded with much lifelessness and worldliness ; and had the authors of the tracts confined themselves to the development, and the establishment, of the first principles of Church government and discipline, and of the undoubted teaching of the Church of England in matters of doctrine, the Tracts might have been a means of unmingled good ; but, unfortunately, the writers plunged into speculations and matters of "doubtful disputation," which landed them in a maze of bewilderment, and, in some respects, did much evil.

We have spoken of the Scottish Episcopal Friendly Society. One of its rules is, that it shall meet triennially. At the triennial meeting which took place, at Aberdeen, on the 13th of July 1836, so flourishing was the state of the funds of the Society found to be, that the annuity for widows was raised to £25, and the provision for orphans to £250 ; and they have since been increased respectively to £30 and £300.

Bishop Gleig, the Primus, was now in the eighty-fifth year of his age. At so advanced a period of life, he felt the burden of the primacy too great for him. He, accordingly, resigned it. Bishop Jolly, as the senior prelate, summoned a meeting of the bishops, at Aberdeen, for the election of a new Primus. They met on the 24th of May 1837 ; and Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, was installed in Bishop Gleig's place.

The high and the low, the rich and the poor, the mighty and the mean, drop as the leaves drop in October, and descend into the grave. On the 20th of June, William the Fourth—the Sailor King—drew his last breath at Windsor Castle ; and his niece, Queen Victoria, became his successor. William died in the seventy-second year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign. He can scarcely be said to have left a prominent character, either for good or for evil, behind him. He, certainly, was beloved by his people ; and was characterised by the possession of manly virtues.

The death of King William elicited two addresses from the Scottish bishops ;—one of mingled condolence, and congratulation, to Queen Victoria, and the other

1836.

July 13th.

1837.

Resignation of the Primus.

May.

Election of Bishop Walker.

May 24th.

Death of King William.

June 20th.

Addresses.

one of unqualified condolence to her Majesty the Queen-Dowager.

Edinburgh separated from Fife, and from Glasgow.

The illness of Bishop Walker, not from the infirmities of age, but from other causes, rendered it necessary that his Episcopal labours should be lightened. Fife was disjoined from Edinburgh, and incorporated with the dioceses of Dunkeld and Dunblane, under Bishop Torry ; who afterwards, with the sanction of the other bishops, assumed the title of Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. The district of Glasgow was also separated from Edinburgh ; and Dr. Michael Russell, the Dean of Edinburgh, a man eminent both in the theological and the literary world, having been raised to the Episcopate, it was, in conjunction with Galloway, put under his superintendence. The declining health of Bishop Gleig requiring aid in his Episcopal duties, Dr. Moir of Brechin was elected and consecrated as his coadjutor.

Consecrations of Dr. Russell and Dr. Moir. Oct. 8th.

1838. Death of Bishop Jolly. June 29th.

The death of such a man as Bishop Jolly cannot be slightly passed over. He went to his reward in the eighty-third year of his age, and in the forty-second of his Episcopate. He was found dead, with his arms quietly folded, cross-like, over his breast. In the last moments of his mortal existence, he peculiarly exemplified the saying of Pascal, or of Fenelon :—"We may live with others ; but we must die alone."

His character.

The character of this venerable man is a theme worthy of a pen far superior to that which now attempts to delineate it. It is hardly possible to do justice to such a character. Bishop Jolly's reputation for profound and varied learning was of the most extensive kind. The most eminent divines of the Church of England sought his acquaintance—presented him with their works—and requested his opinion of their merits. His theology was entirely Catholic ;—a theology not drawn from the narrow and distorted views of modern systems, but from the pure sources of Divine truth in the Holy Scriptures, and from the writings of the primitive fathers, and succeeding doctors, who have handed down to us "the faith once delivered to the saints." Had Bishop Jolly been called upon, on his death-bed, to make a public declaration of his faith, he

would, probably, have adopted the dying words of Bishop Ken, when he said, "As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by the whole Church before the disunion of the East and West; more particularly, I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."*

A few days before he died, Bishop Jolly remarked to a friend, that "he was waiting his call, not impatiently, yet longing for it." The last book which he had in his hand, the evening before his death, was Christopher Sutton's treatise, "Disce Mori—Learn to Die." This was a lesson which the aged man of God had not only been learning, but had, also, been teaching others, throughout the long period of nearly two generations of men.†

At Bishop Jolly's death, the diocese of Moray was placed under the Episcopal jurisdiction of Bishop Low; who thus became Bishop of the united diocese of Moray, Ross, and Argyle. Bishop Jolly had, many years before, left his valuable library to the Church; only reserving the use of it during his lifetime. It was now removed to Edinburgh, and placed under the immediate superintendence of the Professor of Divinity. Bishop Jolly's library.

In the month of August, a General Synod was held in Edinburgh, for the purpose of revising the canons, with a view to the benefit of the Church at large. A General Synod.

The whole number of the canons, as revised, and enacted, at this Synod, is forty-one. A very important

* In 1831, Bishop Jolly published a valuable work on the Eucharist, of which one of the most learned divines of the age remarked, that "it reminded him so forcibly of the writings of the ancient fathers, that he could often have imagined that they were still speaking."

† In connection with this good man's early piety, we may here be permitted to relate an anecdote, which we have never seen in print, and which we give on the authority of the late Bishop Torry, his intimate companion and friend. Before he was twenty years of age he was admitted to the order of deacons. On the night before his ordination he had a companion in his bedroom, who complained, that he could get no sleep from the young man's constantly getting up from time to time, and kneeling down to pray.

Scottish
Episcopal
Church
Society.

one, No. 40, was introduced, "for establishing, and founding, a society in aid of the Church," called "THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOCIETY;" the objects of which shall be—1st, to provide a fund for aged or infirm clergymen, or salaries for their assistants, and general aid for congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties; 2dly, to assist candidates for the ministry in completing their theological studies; 3dly, to provide Episcopal schoolmasters, with books, and tracts, for the poor; 4thly, to assist in the formation, or enlargement, of diocesan libraries.

The Very
Rev. E. B.
Ramsay.

To no one has the Scottish Episcopal Church Society been so much indebted as to the Rev.—now the Very Rev.—E. B. Ramsay. From the commencement, he has been its secretary; and, for twenty-one years, he has devoted his talents, his influence, and his services, with the most unwearied and unabated ardour, towards the promotion of its interests.

An Annual
Episcopal
Synod
enjoined.

By the thirty-fourth canon, it was enjoined that an Episcopal synod should meet, annually, at such time, and place as a majority of the bishops should appoint. It may be remarked, that the bishops, as trustees of the Pantonian, and other funds, hold a meeting in Edinburgh, every year, on the first Wednesday of September; at which they generally hold the annual Episcopal Synod.

One of the first results of the institution of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society was, the merging of the Gaelic Episcopal Society within it.

1840.
Queen's
marriage.
Feb. 10th.

The Queen's marriage, with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, on the 10th of February 1840, called forth a loyal, and dutiful, address to her Majesty, from the bishops, and clergy, of the Scottish Church.

Death of
Bishop
Gleig.
March 9th.

Bishop Gleig died, at Stirling, on the 9th of March. We have already spoken of him as a man of great powers. He was ordained in 1773; and, when he died, was in the thirty-second year of his Episcopate. As a scholar, a theologian, a metaphysician, and a critic, he had no superiors, and few equals, either in England or in Scotland. His edition of Stackhouse's "History of the Bible" is, of itself, a monument of his extensive reading, profound research, and just

discrimination of historical and theological details. His name is further distinguished as the editor of the third edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," of some of the most elaborate articles in which he was the author, and several of which have been retained through the four succeeding editions.

Hitherto, by the act of 1792, repealing the Penal Laws, Scottish bishops, and clergy, had not been permitted even to officiate in England. A bill now passed the legislature which ameliorated this act; and which, on certain conditions, allowed the prelates, and presbyters, of the Scottish Church to occupy their proper spiritual position south of the Tweed. This bill is usually termed that of the 3d and 4th of Queen Victoria (c. 33). It placed the Scottish and English Churches in *legal* communion, as they had, formerly, been in ecclesiastical communion. It was introduced into the House of Lords, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 18th of June; and received the Royal assent on the 23d of July 1840. (See Stephen, Vol. IV. pp. 575, 576; and Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 223-226).

New Act of Parliament with regard to Scottish Church.

Bishop Walker very soon followed Bishop Gleig to the grave. He died on the 5th of March 1841. He had been long in bad health. He had, as we have formerly mentioned, been much on the continent; and the article, on the system of Kant, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, was the fruit of his researches while resident at Weimar.

1841.
Death of Bishop Walker.
March 5th.

Dr. Terrot, Dean of Edinburgh, was elected, and consecrated, bishop of that see. His consecration took place, at Aberdeen, on the 2d of June; and his consecrators were Bishops Skinner, Torry, Low, Russell, and Moir. Of all these five, at the distance of eighteen years, not one is in the land of living men. After the consecration, Bishop Terrot was made interim Professor of Divinity; and Bishop Skinner was constituted Primus.

Election, and consecration, of Dr. Terrot.
June 2d.

Bishop Skinner Primus.

On the high character of Bishop Terrot, it would be superfluous to dilate. He is distinguished as a scholar, a biblical critic, and a theologian.

On so wide, and extensive, and intricate a subject as

The Snell
Exhibi-
tions.

that of the Snell Bequest, or Snell Exhibitions, we must decline, in this place, to enter. The reader, who wishes for information with regard to it, will find that information in Lawson, pp. 450-461, and in Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 250-255. We may just notice that they are certain exhibitions in the gift of the University of Glasgow, which were established in 1679 by Mr John Snell of Uffeton, Warwickshire, and which admit to Baliol College, Oxford. The distinguished man, who now holds the see of London, Dr. Tait, and, also, the present Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland (the Right Hon. John Inglis) were Snell Exhibitioners.

Trinity
College,
Glenal-
mond.

This year set on foot the scheme of an Episcopal College in Scotland. The idea of it originated with two distinguished men, both of Scottish blood, though English bred. These men were the eminent statesman, Mr. William E. Gladstone, and Mr. James R. Hope, Barrister-at-Law. It is somewhat singular that both these men were pupils at Christ Church, Oxford, of the distinguished scholar, who afterwards was appointed the Warden of this College.

CHAPTER XXV.

Union of St. Paul's, Aberdeen, with the Scottish Church—Dissensions of the Presbyterian Establishment—Site of Trinity College—Subscriptions—Visit of her Majesty to Scotland—The Drummond schism—Clyde Street Hall—The Bishop of Edinburgh writes to Mr. Drummond—Mr. Drummond's reply—Resignation of Mr. Drummond—Sir William Dunbar's case—Disruption of the Scottish Religious Establishment—Continued dissensions in the Scottish Church—Spread of the schismatic spirit—Painful disingenuousness of Mr. Drummond—General prosperity of the Scottish Church—State of that Church—English clergy in Scotland—Unsoundness of the idea of Mr. Drummond, as to the liberty of exposition enjoyed in the Church of England—Supposed case of a Scottish schism in England—Opening of Trinity College—Council of the College, and Masters—First Warden, the Rev. Charles Wordsworth—The Chapel—Progress of Scottish Episcopacy—Erection, and endowment, of the see of Argyle and the Isles—Death of Bishop Moir—Consecration of Bishops Ewing and Forbes—Testimonies of English Prelates against Mr. Drummond and his followers—Death of Bishop Russell—Consecration of Bishop Trower—Union of the Independent congregation at Perth with the Scottish Church—Episcopal Synod of Dundee—St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth—Lord Forbes—Consecration of the Cathedral—Training Institution—Bishop Low resigns, and Bishop Eden succeeds him—Death of Bishop Torry—Interment in Perth Cathedral.

THE schism, which had so long existed between St. Paul's, Aberdeen, and the Scottish Church, came—as it was then fondly hoped—to an end. The minister and congregation of St. Paul's acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Aberdeen—recognised his spiritual jurisdiction over them—and requested him to officiate in their place of worship.

Union of
St. Paul's,
Aberdeen.

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian religious Establishment, which, in 1689, had, amid civil convulsions, usurped the place, and the power, and the property, of the Scottish Church, was in a state of imminent peril. To use a Scottish expression, it did not, practically, homologate the principles of the Covenanters; and, yet, it

Dissensions
of the Pres-
byterian
Establish-
ment.

absurdly enough claimed to advocate the cause for which the Covenanters bled. This temporising course did not suit the notions of many fierce, and uncompromising spirits, within the Presbyterian pale. Internecine war was declared. The government of the day were involved in the contest. The battle of "Moderatism" and "Non-intrusionism" was fought in the General Assembly, and in the civil courts of the country; and it ended in the total rout, and overthrow, of the Non-intrusionists, and their expulsion from the Establishment, to the advantages of which, on true Presbyterian principles, they had a better claim than those whom they left behind them.

1842.
Site of
Trinity
College.

Various places were pointed out, as proper sites for the intended Episcopal College. Sir William Drysdale, of Pitteuchar, Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, proposed to the Town Council that they should endeavour to have the plan incorporated, under Episcopal superintendence, with the University of Edinburgh. Mr. Campbell, near Lochgilphead, in Argyleshire, offered a subscription of £3000, if the projectors would erect the College in that neighbourhood. This offer, like the proposition of Sir William Drysdale, was respectfully declined. The vicinity of Perth was the district ultimately decided on; and there, on the property of George Paton, Esq., of Cairnies, in Glenalmond, the sacred turrets of Trinity College lifted their pointed eminences to the skies.

Subscrip-
tions.

Subscriptions, towards the erection of the College, came rapidly in; and in a short time, it presented itself as one of the first seminaries of education in the land. This institution was set on foot, in order to supply a sound and religious education for the sons of the middle and upper classes of society in communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and more especially to furnish the means of religious training and preparation for such students, of more advanced age, as should propose to become candidates for holy orders. The College was not opened until 1846; of which something will be said, when we come to that period.

In the autumn of 1842, her Majesty, Queen Victoria,

accompanied by Prince Albert, paid a visit to Scotland; and took up her abode at Dalkeith Palace, the principal seat of the Duke of Buccleuch. Never was monarch more loyally, and affectionately, welcomed to any part of his dominions than she was to her ancient kingdom. Lowlander and Highlander united in giving utterance to their voice of fealty. Addresses, from all quarters, poured in upon her; and among these addresses was one from the Scottish bishops.

Visit of her Majesty to Scotland. Sept.

Since the repeal of the Penal Laws, in 1792, every friend of peace and order, and of the purity of gospel truth, had been rejoicing in the gradual diminution of those waters of strife, which, owing, originally, to political causes, connected with Jacobitism, had created two Episcopal religious bodies, in Scotland, separate from each other. What Bishop Horsley, in his place in the House of Lords, and in his letters to clergymen in English and Irish orders, who continued to officiate, on the north of the Tweed, without acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops, characterized as AN UNNECESSARY SCHISM, was fast dying away, when circumstances occurred, which caused that schism to break out with greater violence than ever.

The Drummond Schism. Oct.

The twenty-eighth canon of the Scottish Church, which is entitled, "On the Uniformity to be observed in Public Worship," is as follows:—"As, in all the ordinary parts of divine service, it is necessary to fix, by authority, the precise form, from which no bishop, presbyter, or deacon, shall be at liberty to depart, by his own alterations or insertions, lest such liberty should produce consequences destructive of 'decency and order,' it is hereby enacted, that, in the performance of Morning and Evening service, the words, and rubrical directions, of the English liturgy shall be strictly adhered to. And it is further decreed, that, if any clergyman shall officiate, or preach, in any place, publicly, *without using the liturgy at all*, he shall, for the first offence, be admonished by his bishop, and, if he persevere, in this uncanonical practice, shall be suspended, until, after due contrition, he be restored to the exercise of his clerical functions. In publicly reading prayers, and administering the sacraments, the

surplice shall be used as the proper sacerdotal vestment."

There can be no doubt as to the plain meaning of this canon. The clergy of the Scottish Church are not to "officiate, or preach, publicly," without using, at least, some portion of the liturgy while so doing. For a number of years back, the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, one of the ministers of Trinity Church, Dean Bridge, Edinburgh, and who belonged to that class of men, who both in England and in Scotland, arrogate to themselves the claim of being peculiarly "Evangelical," had been violating the canon regularly and systematically.

ClydeStreet
Hall.

During the lifetime of Bishop Walker, Mr Drummond had taken a hall, in Edinburgh, called Clyde Street Hall, for the purpose of holding what he termed "prayer-meetings;" meetings composed partly of members of his own congregation, and partly—perhaps, chiefly—of persons belonging to each, and all, of the multitudinous forms of Presbyterian dissent in Scotland. At these meetings, he, as "officiating" minister, occupied a pulpit, praying extempore, and "preaching," and expounding Scripture, but without any part of the liturgy of the Church within whose pale he was, and whose canons he had solemnly promised to obey, being introduced.

The infirmities of Bishop Walker, and his anxious desire for the preservation of peace, prevented his checking these manifest irregularities, any farther than by privately remonstrating with Mr Drummond. The Bishop's remonstrances were of no avail; and, when Dr Terrot became Bishop of Edinburgh, he found Mr Drummond in the full pursuit of his erratic career. Mr Drummond seemed to be under the impression, that he had been ordained as a missionary *at large*, irresponsible to any ecclesiastical superior for what he might choose to say, or do; whereas, the Ordination Service limits him, and all other priests, to "the congregation where they shall be lawfully appointed."

If the Scottish Church intended to preserve the slightest appearance of "decency and order," it was impossible that Mr Drummond's conduct could be

permanently overlooked. After much forbearance, the Bishop of Edinburgh found himself compelled to admonish him ; and, in a letter to him, pointed out, in a clear and dispassionate manner, his decided infraction of the Act of Uniformity, and of the canons of the Scottish Church, which he had subscribed, and sworn to obey. The Bishop concluded his letter in the following emphatic words :—" I beg, then, Rev. and dear sir, that you will consider this as 'an admonition, in terms of the canon ; and I hope you will find it possible to preach the gospel without violating the law of the Church."—(Stephen, Vol. IV. p. 601).

The Bishop of Edinburgh writes to Mr. Drummond. Oct. 3d.

Mr Drummond neither respected the admonition of his Bishop, nor did he acknowledge that the course which he had been pursuing was a wrong one. He dragged his ecclesiastical superior into a correspondence, which the latter would have gladly avoided ; and, after doing so, he had the bad taste to publish that correspondence.

Mr. Drummond's reply.

The correspondence between Mr Drummond and the Bishop of Edinburgh ended in the former's resigning his charge—in his severing himself from the Scottish Church—and in his setting up an Independent chapel, in the metropolis. In taking this step, Mr Drummond acted precisely as a military, or naval, officer would act, who, after a charge had been brought against him, which he must meet before a court-martial, and which might end in his expulsion from the army, or navy, sent in his resignation.

Resignation of Mr. Drummond.

Another unfortunate case, similar to that of Mr. Drummond, occurred in the spring of the year 1843. When the Rev. Sir William Dunbar accepted the charge of St. Paul's, Aberdeen, that congregation was in full communion with the Scottish Church, and the use of the English Communion Office had been guaranteed to it. At an ordination held by Bishop Skinner in his own church, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, not only was Sir William Dunbar present, but he had been appointed to preach the ordination sermon. In the vestry, before divine service commenced, he informed his bishop that he could not partake of the Communion, according to the Scottish form ; and, accordingly,

1843. Sir William Dunbar's case.

when he had finished his sermon, he left the church. This act led to a correspondence between him and the Bishop. In the course of the correspondence, Sir William sent in, to his Ordinary, a renunciation of all connection with the Scottish Church. (Stephen, Vol. IV. pp. 607, 608). This act, on the part of Sir William Dunbar, called forth, from the Bishop of Aberdeen, a sentence of excommunication against the Rev. Baronet, which he ordered to be read in every church within his diocese, on Sunday the 13th of August.

Aug. 13th.

The impartiality of a historian compels us to declare our opinion on this matter. We cannot help thinking that Bishop Skinner here exceeded his powers. If the sentence had been issued before the secession of Sir William, or if it had been confined to the words prescribed by the 41st Canon, it would, we think, have been all right; but the course which the Bishop pursued laid him open to an action in the civil courts, in which considerable damages were given against him.*

The Presbyterian disruption.

In the month of May 1843, the Presbyterian religious Establishment had been rent in twain. No fewer than about four hundred and fifty ministers, headed by the great Dr. Chalmers, forsook that Establishment, and formed themselves into what has been since called the Free Kirk. The relics of Presbyterianism continue to occupy the parochial churches, and manse, of Scotland; but the time is fast approaching, when, in our opinion, according as education, and civilization, and refinement advance, Scottish Episcopacy will progress, and Scottish Presbyterianism will decline.

Continued dissensions.

Henceforward—from the day of Mr Drummond's act of schism—the tranquillity, which had been one of the leading characteristics of the Scottish Church, was at an end. Most truly has the wise man said:—"The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water." Had Mr Drummond possessed less of the spirit of self-complacency than he did—had he relied less on his own judgment, and more on the judgment of the

* Sir William, afterwards, when in England, found it necessary to express regret for the course which he had pursued, and to apply to Bishop Skinner for a revocation of the sentence issued against him.

Prelate who was his chief ruler—had he acted on the precept of the prophet, to “seek peace, and pursue it”—a fearful responsibility would not, as at present, have been resting on his shoulders, and the Scottish Church would, probably, in this point, have been at unity in itself.

The schismatic spirit, raised up by Mr Drummond, spread. A Mr Popham Miles, at Glasgow, a Mr Hull, at Huntly, and some others, fraternized with him, and with Sir William Dunbar; and, in imitation of them, they, in the course of a short time, flung their ordination vows to the winds—carried on quibbling, and disrespectful, correspondence with their ecclesiastical superiors—set the authority of their respective bishops at defiance—and proclaimed themselves determined, in future, to be, like the Arab of the desert, a law unto themselves, and, in everything relating to Church matters, to do, each, what might seem “right in his own eyes.”

1844.
Spread of
the schis-
matic
spirit.

Perhaps the schism of Mr Drummond would not have spread as it did, but for his painfully disingenuous conduct, after his renunciation of his allegiance to Bishop Terrot, as his ecclesiastical superior. No sooner had he renounced the government, and discipline, of the Church of which he was a minister, than he turned round upon that Church, and attacked its faith. For about twelve years, Mr Drummond had officiated at the altar of the Scottish Church. He had signed her canons. He had sworn that her belief was a true one. To the astonishment of all who were thoroughly conversant with her principles, and who knew her abhorrence of Romish error, he now charged her with *Popery*. Her Communion Office, which, according to Skinner, had been drawn up “to fence against the novel doctrine of transubstantiation,” was declared, by Mr Drummond, to be Popish in the extreme. In the hue and cry, which he raised against one of the purest branches of the Church Catholic in Christendom, he was joined by a motley crew, connected with what is pharisaically called the “religious world.” One of the most amusing parts of the business was, that, of every hundred who wrote, or spoke, against the Scottish

Painful dis-
ingenuous-
ness of
Mr. Drum-
mond.

Communion Office, perhaps not more than one had read it. Mr Drummond himself acknowledged, that, after having subscribed to the truth and purity of its contents, he had never perused a word of it!

General
prosperity
of the
Scottish
Church.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mr Drummond, and others, to damage the Scottish Church, the general prosperity of that Church, as the true vine which God had planted in Caledonia, was not restrained. The number of her ministers increased. Since the year 1827, they have been augmented more than twofold. In the beginning of the year 1828, when the writer was admitted to deacon's orders, there were only *five* clergy belonging to what was then known as the United Diocese of Dunkeld and Dunblane. There are now, in 1859, *twenty-three*. Of these, six belong to the diocese of Fife, now St Andrews. In 1828, there were not more than *seventy* clergymen belonging to the Scottish Church. There are now upwards of *one hundred and sixty-six*. These are symptoms of progress, which justify us in anticipating, at a future period, if wise and prudent counsels are followed, under the blessing of God, a great, and glorious, triumph for the Scottish Church. For the information of the present generation, we may mention, that, about the year 1822, there was hardly a single *surplice* to be seen on the north of the River Tay. The clerical vestment always worn was the *black gown*. Churches, in the proper sense of the word, there were hardly any. The most respectable places of public worship were built in the barn style. There are now numerous churches throughout Scotland, built in a pure and appropriate style of architecture.

State of
that
Church.

For the last sixty years, the strength of the Scottish Church has been, literally, to sit still. Amid all the warrings of political contention around her, and while every other religious body, in the nation, was struggling for wealth and for power, her voice has not, till lately, been heard. It is true, that during the time referred to, the principles of the Scottish Church have been gradually, silently, and extensively propagating themselves, throughout the community at large. Men, women, and children, have flocked to take refuge under

her wings. The places, in which she worships God, are among the principal ornaments of the land. Intellectual strangers, from all quarters of the habitable globe, when visiting Scotland, are seldom contented to regard the objects of their curiosity gratified, without their procuring access to the friendship of her learned men. Her cause is evidently taking rapid strides; and, if the better educated of the middle classes, in Scotland, are following the example of those above them, by dropping off from the Establishment, and by merging into her communion, the triumph connected with this fact is not one of which she has reason to be ashamed. It is a triumph which has been attained by no undue or unworthy means. It is, simply, the triumph of truth over error;—the triumph of that pure, and holy, faith which the Redeemer meant should animate the hearts of his followers of all ages, and which has been corrupted by the *additions* of aspiring Romanism, on the one hand, and by the *subtractions* of well-meant Presbyterianism on the other.

In connection with the schism of Mr Drummond, Sir William Dunbar, Mr Miles, and others, it is right that it should be known, that all the schismatics are English clergymen; and that not one of them is in what is called Scottish orders. English clergy in Scotland.

We may here remark that we are compelled, most reluctantly, in order to be understood, to use this expression. Nevertheless, we have always considered it a most objectionable, and even an absurd one. Whoever heard of Colonial orders?—of Australian orders? Who ever heard of English baptism, Irish baptism, and Scottish baptism? If a man is “in orders,” it is of no consequence in what country, or in what clime, the bishop lived, and exercised authority, who conferred upon him the right to act as a presbyter in Christ’s Church. The young, of the present generation, ought to remember this; seeing that their doing so is likely to make them better acquainted with Church principles, and more consistent adherents of the Church Catholic, than were many of those who have gone before them.

We do not slander the men to whom we have

alluded, when we say that they came to Scotland from England with a view to procure clerical employment, simply because, for one reason or another, they could not procure that employment in their own country. They passed themselves off upon the Scottish bishops as Churchmen;—as men holding sound Church principles, according as these principles are laid down and developed, in the formularies of the Scottish Church. They signed these formularies; declaring them, in the most solemn terms, to be true. On this footing, they entered their reading-desks and pulpits. No sooner were they there, than, in defiance of all their obligations to the contrary, after collecting congregations, of a mixed kind, from the numerous Presbyterian sects with which Scotland is overrun, they, like Jeshurun, “kicked”—laughed contemptuously at the idea of their being subject to the authority of Scottish bishops, who did not happen to have seats in the House of Lords—and pretended, for conscience’ sake, to resign their charges, while, in point of fact, they retained these charges, and all the pecuniary emoluments, exceeding, in some cases, those of many English rectories and vicarages appertaining thereto.

Unsoundness of Mr Drummond on the liberty of exposition in England.

Mr. Drummond has repeatedly published to the world, that he left the Scottish Church because he was restricted, as to a matter of ministerial exposition, in a manner utterly unknown to the Church of England. On this point, we are driven to join issue with him. If Mr. Drummond has spoken honestly—and, as to this, we have no right to doubt—he has spoken ignorantly. He has spoken under such a state of ignorance as no man who has served a cure, in England, for six months, ought to have been guilty of. No English clergyman is, in England, allowed to hold irregular meetings. It is but the other day (1858), that the Lord Bishop of London, himself, and other dignitaries of the Church of England, were inhibited from holding Sunday evening services, in Exeter Hall, by the Rev. A. G. Edouart, Incumbent of St. Michael’s, Burleigh Street, Strand.

If Mr. Drummond, and his friends, are correct as to their idea of schism—that idea being that schism is “a

sin of the *heart*, and of the *mind*," and that it has nothing whatever to do with external actions—let us suppose the following case. Let us suppose that the Scottish Church should send bishops, and presbyters, into England. Let us suppose that it organised a "Scottish Church in England;"—that it created a Scottish bishop of Liverpool, of Manchester, of London, and even archbishops of York and Canterbury. Would the Church of England have no cause to complain?—Would there be no *schism* here?—Decidedly, there would. There would be a rending of the garment of Christ, such as would justify the English Church in upraising her voice, and in demanding a cessation of such schismatical proceedings on the part of her northern sister.

Supposed case of a Scottish schism in England.

There is nothing more worthy of notice, than that in no part of Scotland has the progress of Episcopacy been more marked, or more decisive, than in that district—the west—which was, formerly, the hotbed of Presbyterianism. In and about Glasgow, where the Solemn League and Covenant once displayed itself in triumphant greatness, the principles of the Scottish Church have, for many years, been gradually taking root; and there is every probability, that, in the course of time, the Church will assume her proper place in that great city.

Progress of Scottish Episcopacy.

This year, 1847, saw the opening of that great seminary which was calculated to produce such important benefits to the Scottish Church. The purposes of its establishment were a proper Collegiate training for the divinity students for this Church, and a large public school, after the general model of the older English endowments. The buildings were designed by Mr. John Henderson, architect, Edinburgh. They have cost, exclusively of the Chapel, above £45,000; and among the chief benefactors are the following:—the late Sir John Gladstone, £5000; the Duke of Buccleuch above £4000; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone about £2000, besides books; the late Bishop Low, £1800; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, £1000; the late Marquis of Lothian, £500; the late Lord Douglas, £500; William Smythe, Esq., of

1847. Opening of Trinity College.

Methven, £500; J. W. Russell, Esq., of Ilam Hall, Staffordshire, £500.

Council of
the College
and Mas-
ters.

The Council of Trinity College consists of eighteen members, viz., the seven Scottish bishops with three presbyters; the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Home, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart., Sir P. Murray Threipland, Bart., Sir M. R. Shaw Stewart, Bart., M.P., Wm. Smythe, Esq., of Methven, and Wm. Pitt Dundas, Esq. The resident Society consists of a Warden, Sub-warden, a Tutor in Theology, and four other Masters; who are aided by visiting Masters for special purposes.

First War-
den, the
Rev.
Charles
Words-
worth.

It has been mentioned that the first idea of the College originated with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. James Hope; and it was by them, with the aid of the Very Rev. Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh, that the idea was worked out. When the arrangements were completed for the election of a Warden, the choice of the Council fell on one of the most eminent classical scholars of England, the Rev. Charles Wordsworth (now Bishop of St. Andrews), second son of the late Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Wordsworth, who, before his election to the College in Glenalmond, had been second master of Winchester College, was educated at Harrow School and Christ Church, Oxford, and, besides taking a first class in classics, obtained the University prizes for Latin verse and for Latin prose. His appointment as Warden took place in 1846.

The College was at length opened in the month of May 1847, by Mr. Wordsworth, who began his teaching with fourteen boys. The number, the following half year, amounted to twenty-seven, and now, under the present Warden, it exceeds eighty. The number of students of divinity has varied from time to time, but has never exceeded fourteen.

The
Chapel.

For some years divine service was conducted in what is now one of the class-rooms; but the Warden soon commenced the building of a Chapel. This noble structure, which was erected solely by the munificent generosity of Bishop Wordsworth, while Warden, at a cost of £8500, is in the decorated, or Middle Pointed style of

architecture ; its dimensions being 136 feet long, 52 feet wide, and about 70 high to the ridge of the roof. The tower is not finished.

Some time after Dr. Wordsworth became Bishop of St. Andrews he resigned the Wardenship ; and the man who now ably holds his place is the Rev. John Hannah, D.C.L., an eminent scholar, who was appointed Warden in July 1854. He was formerly a Scholar of Corpus Christi, and Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, where he obtained a first class in classics, and was for some years Rector of the Edinburgh Academy.

Besides the Pantonian, Luscombe, and Jamieson Scholarships for divinity students, Trinity College possesses the Houblon Bursary, founded by Miss Archer Houblon, for a Gaelic divinity student ; and the Skinner Scholarship for a clergyman's son in the junior department, founded in 1859, by a general subscription in commemoration of the late Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, the Primus of the Scottish Church.

Hitherto, Scotland had been under the rule of six bishops ; — those of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Brechin, Glasgow and Galloway, Moray, Ross, and Argyle, and St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.* It was, in 1847, through the munificence of Bishop Low, to receive a seventh one. The Bishop proposed, to the Episcopal College, to endow the new bishopric from his own personal fortune, and to separate it from his own diocese, under the style, and title, of Argyle and the Isles. After some correspondence—partly of a somewhat unpleasant nature—between Bishop Low, on the one hand, and Bishop Russell, and the Primus, on the other, the new bishopric was erected, and endowed, and the Rev. Alexander Ewing was chosen its first prelate. The sum granted, by Bishop Low, for the endowment of the see of Argyle and the Isles was £8000.

The See of
Argyle and
the Isles.

How rapidly would the Church flourish, in Scotland,

* Anciently, the Scottish dioceses were fourteen in number ; and were as follows :—St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Brechin, Galloway, Moray, Ross, Argyle, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles. St Andrews, and Glasgow, were the two archbishoprics.

were laymen, in possession of ample means, to act with similar munificence ! Thus it was, that the Church was strengthened, and the means of her usefulness increased, in the days of their fathers.

Testi-
monies
against Mr.
Drummond
and his
followers.

Mr Drummond, and some of those who thought with him, had gone, as a deputation, into England, with a view to their endeavouring to carry out the preposterous un-ecclesiastical, and illegal, scheme of having Episcopal functions exercised, in Scotland, by English prelates. This deputation was the means of eliciting, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Salisbury, Rochester, Limerick, and Bangor, strong and repeated testimonies against the folly of the schismatics' assumption to be "English Episcopalians in Scotland."—(Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, pp. 327, 328).

Death of
Bishop
Russell.
March or
April.

Another sudden death, among the Scottish prelates, startled men into a momentary consciousness of the uncertainty of human life. Bishop Russell died, without any previous apparent illness, at his residence, near Leith, in the early part of the year 1848. Bishop Russell's death was no ordinary loss. Mild, gentle, and pleasant, in all the relations of life, he was, at the same time, a man distinguished, in the theological and literary world, by numerous publications which evince both patient assiduity and the amplest research. Of all his works that by which his reputation stands highest, and will endure the longest, is his "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," in three volumes.

Consecra-
tion of
Bishop
Trower.

The vacant see of Glasgow and Galloway was filled by the Rev. Walter John Trower, an English clergyman ; who, in the course of the year, was consecrated in Bishop Russell's stead.

1849.
Union of
the Inde-
pendent
congrega-
tion at
Perth with
the Scottish
Church.
Jan.

For many years, a congregation, independent of the Scottish Church, and supported by the Earl of Mansfield, and some of the principal noblemen, and gentlemen, of the district, had existed at Perth. This schism, after much negotiation, came happily to an end. The congregation united itself to the Scottish Church ; and its minister, the Rev. George Wood, M.A., of Lincoln's College, Oxford, was, on the 23d of January 1849, after exhibiting his letters of orders, and making the necessary signatures, regularly instituted to the pastoral charge.

An Episcopal Synod was holden at Dundee, on the 16th of February; and, at that Synod, a sort of explanation of the twenty-first Canon was given, in which it stated, that "the practice has been, to abstain carefully from all attempts to enforce the use of either Office on a reluctant congregation, whether old or new: and," it is added, "the bishops declare that they would consider any attempt of this nature to be no less contrary to the spirit of the canon, than it would be both unjust and impolitic."—(Neale, pp. 340, 341).

Episcopal
Synod of
Dundee.
Feb. 16th.

Since the days of John Knox, and Andrew Melville, the Cathedral service had not been heard on Scottish ground; where it was, once more, to raise its notes. The magnificent idea of a cathedral, to be built at Perth, and to be dedicated to the memory of St. Ninian, originated, it would appear, with Lord Forbes, in the year 1847. It was, immediately, sanctioned by Bishop Torry; and, in a very short time, ample pecuniary subscriptions justified the commencement of its erection. (Neale, p. 307). Bishop Torry did not anticipate that he should survive to see the completion of the Perth Cathedral. In a letter, from him, to Lord Forbes, we find the words:—"The entire completion of the scheme I dare not hope to see; for I am in my eighty-fourth year, and am the oldest prelate in the island of Great Britain, with the exception of the Archbishop of York."—(Neale, p. 308).

St Ninian's
Cathedral,
Perth.

Lord
Forbes.

St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, was consecrated in the month of December 1850, by Bishop Forbes of Brechin, as the representative of Bishop Torry; whose age, and increasing weakness, would not permit of his being present. (Neale, p. 367).

Consecra-
tion of the
Cathedral.

With the view of forwarding the interests of the Church in Scotland, an institution was established for the purpose of training masters for the schools connected with it. At first, that institution was conducted in premises hired at a place called Croft-an-Righ, near Holyrood; but, in 1852, it was removed to a more commodious position, and is now known as holding its occupancy at St. Andrew's Hall.

1851.
Training
Institu-
tion.

Bishop Low had resigned his diocese of Moray and

Resigna-
tion of
Bishop
Low.

Ross ; and the Rev. Robert Eden, from England, was chosen, and consecrated, to succeed him.

1852.
Death of
Bishop
Torry.
Oct. 3d.

On the morning of Sunday, the 3d of October 1852, Dr. Torry, Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, left the world in which he had been a stranger, and a sojourner, for more than eighty-eight years, for his everlasting home. He died at Peterhead. His remains were carried to Perth, and interred in the Cathedral of St. Ninian's.* The pall was borne by the Warden of Trinity College, and seven other clergy of the United Diocese. The Bishops of Brechin, and Moray, were in attendance ; and the deceased prelate was laid on the north side of the choir, with—according to ancient custom—his face towards the west.†

Interment
in Perth
Cathedral.

* Neale, pp. 384, 385. —The writer was Bishop Torry's Chaplain ; and, for many years, he had an opportunity of knowing this venerable man on the most intimate terms. Never was there a prelate, throughout the whole course of Catholic antiquity, more calculated to inspire respect ; and, at the same time, never was there a man, who, in the intercourse of social life, was more remarkable for his powers of agreeable converse. When he went to the grave, he carried with him a greater amount of acquaintance with the history of the past than that which belonged to the great body of those, of his own communion, whom he left behind him.

† Neale, p. 386.—Bishop Torry—reminiscent of the times of the persecution—clung, with great pertinacity, to his black gown. It was long before he would wear his Episcopal robes ; and, although a surplice was presented to him, he would never put it on.—Ibid, p. 387.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Consecration of Bishop Wordsworth—Civil disabilities of the Scottish clergy—Collegiate Church and College of Cumbrae—Hindrances to Scottish Episcopacy—Statistics of the Scottish Church—Bishop Gobat's irregularities—Parliamentary discussion on the Civil Disabilities—Withdrawal of the Regium Donum—The Regium Donum Compensation Fund—Death of Bishop Skinner—Intrusion of the Bishop of Rupert's Land—Election of Bishop Suther—Church schools in Scotland—The upper rooms of Scottish Episcopacy—English ignorance on the subject of Scottish Episcopacy—Unjustifiable indifference of the Scottish laity, with regard to the pecuniary wants of the clergy—The Bishop of Brechin's primary charge—Liturgical tendencies among Presbyterians—Eucharistic controversy—Bishop Jeremy Taylor on the Eucharist—True doctrine of the Scottish Church, on the subject of the Lord's Supper—Sentiments of the Fathers with respect to the Eucharist—The Offertory—Case of the Rev. Patrick Cheyne—Episcopal Synod, connected with the Bishop of Brechin's charge—Mr. Cheyne—Lay memorial—Close of Mr. Cheyne's case—The end.

BISHOP Torry's death was followed by much painful discussion, with regard to the choice of a successor to him in the diocese of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane. This discussion ended in the election of the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, Warden of Trinity College—an election which was immediately confirmed by the College of Bishops—and Mr. Wordsworth was consecrated, at Aberdeen, by the Primus, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, and Glasgow and Galloway, on the 25th of January 1853.

1853.
Consecration of Bishop Wordsworth. Jan. 25th.

The reader is aware, that the Penal Laws, which, for ostensibly political reasons, had been imposed on the Scottish Church, were, in 1792, after the death of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, by an act of the legislature, removed. The reader also knows, that that act of relief was, through the obstinacy, and ecclesiastical ignorance of Lord Thurlow, then Lord High Chancellor of England, clogged with a clause which restricted any Scottish clergyman from holding a living in the Church

Civil disabilities of the Scottish clergy.

of England, and even from officiating in any of the sacred edifices of that Church. The reader, is, moreover, acquainted with the fact, that the restriction here referred to was, to a certain extent, removed by the 3d and 4th of Queen Victoria, c. 33, which permits the Scottish clergy to officiate, in England, for two Sundays at a time, with the written permission of the bishop of the diocese in which they so officiate. Thus, the Scottish Church, and the English Church, are now in full communion with each other, both ecclesiastically and legally.

Collegiate
Church and
College of
Cumbrae.

As indicative of the hold which Episcopacy is, in the nineteenth century, taking upon Scotland, we may mention that the Cathedral system is not likely to be confined to St. Ninian's, Perth. There are rumours, that cathedrals are to be planted within the dioceses of Moray and Brechin; and the probability is, that, at no great distance of time, these rumours will be realized. Meanwhile, within the diocese of Argyle and the Isles, a noble future Cathedral institution has already partially arisen. Amid the waves of the western coast of Scotland, an island, called Cumbrae, exists. There, a Collegiate Church and College are to be seen; and, according to present ecclesiastical arrangements, generations yet to come may be called upon to recognise, in that Church and College, the *Cathedral of the Isles*. On the 21st of August, the Bishop of Argyle and the Isles was installed Provost of this institution.—(*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. III. pp. 184-186).

Aug. 21st.

Hindrances
to Scottish
Episcopacy.

It has been often asked,—What are the hindrances to Scottish Episcopacy?—To this question the answer is plain. In the first place, the Scottish mind has been perverted by false accounts of the past history of the Scottish Church; in the second place, the civil disqualifications, with regard to the Scottish clergy in England, operate against that Church; in the third place, the middle classes of Scotland have, for a long period, been hostile to a liturgical form of worship, which enmity, we are happy to say, is now rapidly dying away; and, in the fourth place, the members of the Scottish Church—who, generally speaking, belong to the upper, and the wealthier part of the middle classes of society

—are, as far as the pecuniary support of the Church is concerned, peculiarly and disgracefully deficient.

So long as the Scottish clergy are kept in a state of poverty, so long will the Scottish Church be crippled in her endeavours to extend the benefits of her mission to the inhabitants of the country, for which St Columba, within the privacy of Iona, thought, and laboured, and prayed.*

The statistics of the Scottish Church, in the year 1856, are worth noting. In the year to which we refer, the Scottish Church possessed 157 churches and chapels. She had 166 clergy, of all orders. Of these clergy, 87 had received their ordination in the Scottish Church; 69 in the Church of England; 3 in the Church of Ireland; 1 in the Colonial, and 2 in the American Church. (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 25).

1856.
Statistics of
the Scottish
Church.

In the month of June, Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem, entered Scotland; and, without licence, or authority, exercised his functions in such a manner as to call forth the interference of the Bishop of Edinburgh. Bishop Gobat officiated for, or with, the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond; and the Bishop of Edinburgh issued an edict, prohibiting his clergy from allowing him to perform divine service in their churches.

Bishop
Gobat's
irregulari-
ties.
June.

* The example of the late Sir James Ramsay, Bart., of Banff, cannot be too soon, or too extensively, imitated. Sir James has, by his will, left £20 a year to the Bishop of St Andrews, £30 a year to the Episcopal School at Alyth, and £50 a year to the incumbent of Alyth. Another instance of great liberality is that of Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Bart., who, some years ago, endowed a church at Greenock to the extent of £300 a year.

The Scottish clergy have not, just now, on an average, more than £100 per annum; while the incomes of the bishops do not exceed £200. And on such sums the Scottish bishops, and clergy, are expected to possess the education, and manners, of gentlemen; to associate, on an equal footing, with the first and best in the realm; to rear families; to exercise hospitality; to dispense charity; to purchase books; and to do many other things which it is utterly impossible for any man to do with an income less than £400, £500, or £800 a year.

Why should clergymen, from poverty, be driven to embarrass themselves with pupils? Why should bishops, in addition to their diocesan labours, be compelled to hold pastoral cures?

Civil disabilities.
July 26th.

The question of the civil disabilities of the Scottish clergy, with regard to the Church of England, came before Parliament. On the 26th of July, Mr Gladstone spoke on the subject; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir G. C. Lewis, strongly expressed his opinion that such disabilities should cease.

Withdrawal of the Regium Donum.

The Scottish Church had, for forty years, been in the habit of receiving, from the state, a pittance of £600 per annum. This was, in 1856, withdrawn; and it is worthy of record, that, while such a pittance was taken away, upwards of £26,000 per annum continued to be paid, out of the public funds, to the Romanists in Ireland, and not less than £40,000 to the Presbyterian dissenting body in the same country. (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. VII. pp. 42, 43).

1857.
The Regium Donum
Compensation Fund.

For the purpose of supplying the deficiency caused by the withdrawal of the Regium Donum, a lay committee was now formed, whose object was, to raise money which should act as an equivalent to that which had, so meanly, been taken away. The operations of this committee have proved successful; and the Scottish Church is now no longer indebted to the government of Great Britain for one particle, or iota, of support.

Death of Bishop Skinner.

Two generations of Skinners had been laid in the tomb. The pastor of Longside, and his son, Bishop John Skinner, Primus of the Scottish Church, awaited the resurrection of the just. In 1857, a third of the name demanded entrance within the sepulchral halls. Bishop William Skinner, leaving behind him an unstained name, passed to the account which all must give. He died in the month of June; and his remains rest in the ancient cemetery of St. Peter's, Old Aberdeen.

Intrusion of Bishop of Rupert's Land.

The irregularity of Bishop Gobat, of Jerusalem, in countenancing, in the summer of 1856, the schismatical clergy in Scotland, we have already noticed. In the early part of 1857, the Bishop of Rupert's Land—Dr. Anderson—followed in his footsteps; and presented the painful spectacle of giving the weight of his authority to those whom the Apostle distinctly commands us "to mark and to avoid." In consequence of the

intrusion of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Scottish bishops issued a spirited "Memorial" to all the Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire, and to all the Faithful, Clergy and Laity, who are in communion with the same.—(*Scot. Eccles. Journal*, Vol. VII. pp. 93, 94).

The death of Bishop Skinner having created a vacancy in the see of Aberdeen, two persons were named as his successor, Dr. Suther and the Rev. Patrick Cheyne; both men of the highest character, and both holding charges in the city from which the see derives its name. By a majority of thirteen against nine, Dr. Suther was chosen; his election was confirmed by the Episcopal College; and in June following, he was consecrated at Edinburgh by the Bishops of Edinburgh, of Argyle and the Isles, and of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane.

The rapid progress of Episcopacy, in Scotland, may be gathered from the glaring truth, that, whereas, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was hardly a Scottish Episcopal school in existence, there were, in 1857, no fewer than eighty-one schools, which comprised nearly ten thousand children.—(*Scot. Eccles. Journal*, Vol. VII. pp. 103, 104).

Seventy years ago, the Scottish Church was in a state of humiliation, such as, in the present day, those who adhere to her communion would find it difficult to believe to have ever existed. The bishops and clergy assembled their flocks in upper rooms—in garrets—and in kitchens. They worshipped God in secret; and, while doing so, they had to contend with the secular powers of the earth. Uniformity, in divine service, was not looked for. The black gown was the robe usually worn. The burial office was, generally, read over the dead in private houses. Matrimony was solemnized by the domestic hearth; and children were received into the Church in the privacy of a bedroom.

Nothing can be more ludicrous than the ignorance of the mass of Englishmen, on the subject of Scottish Episcopacy. Even Henry, Lord Brougham and Vaux—himself a Scotchman—speaks, on a Jury trial, at

Election of
Bishop
Suther.
May 28th.

Church
Schools in
Scotland.

The upper
rooms of
Scottish
Episcopacy.

English
ignorance
of Scottish
Episcopacy.

Durham, in 1822, as follows :—“ His Majesty, almost at the time in which I am speaking, is about to make a progress through the northern provinces of this island, accompanied by certain of his chosen counsellors—and there the Prince will see much loyalty, great learning, some splendour, the remains of an ancient monarchy, and of the institutions which made it flourish. But one thing he will not see, strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me incredible, *from one end of the country to the other he will see no such thing as a bishop.* Not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John O’Groats.” Poor Lord Brougham ! The very day after his delivery of this grand oration, the King arrived in Scotland ; and subsequently received, within the Royal closet, an address from the Scottish bishops, who were honoured with permission to kiss his hand.

Indifference of the Scottish laity to the pecuniary wants of the clergy.

We have adverted to the poverty of the Scottish clergy, as one of the principal hindrances to the progress of Church principles on the north side of the Tweed. This truth is one so glaring, that there is not a religious sect, in Scotland, whose members do not—knowing the wealth of the Scottish Episcopal laity—occasionally speak of it in terms of derision and scorn. Poverty is, certainly, a term somewhat difficult to define. “ He is not the poor man,” says Bishop Horsley, “ whose garb is plain, and whose fare is homely.” He is poor, who has not the pecuniary means of procuring, for himself, and for those dependent on him, a decent and respectable maintenance, according to his station in life ; and he is doubly poor, who, in that station, is compelled to preserve an external appearance, which the internal reality neither warrants, nor justifies. This, then, is the case of the clergy of the Scottish Church.

1857.
Bishop of Brechin’s Primary Charge.
Aug. 5th.

On the 5th of August 1857, the Bishop of Brechin delivered, at Brechin, his celebrated Primary Charge. His Lordship had occupied the see of Brechin for ten years. He now opened his mouth, synodically, as diocesan, for the first time ; and his Charge, which related to the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, set the Church in a flame. The piety, and the gentleness, of this

document are, perhaps, among the most remarkable things to be found in the annals of theological controversy, whatever may be thought as to the correctness of the author's views.

We are historians, and not controversialists. We, therefore, notice the Bishop of Brechin's charge simply as a great fact. We do not attempt to analyze its principles; nor do we wish to act as umpires in a matter which has agitated, and which continues to agitate, the Church of Christ, in Great Britain, from *Ultima Thule* to the Land's End. In his charge, the Bishop of Brechin's leading question is—"Is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the partaking of the living Christ, or merely the memorial of the dead?" Throughout his discussion of the subject, he touches upon the various theories which have been held;—the Roman, the Pantheistic, the Calvinistic, and the Anglican.

"Is Saul among the prophets?"—Are Presbyterians, in numbers, turning themselves towards Episcopacy, with a longing and a hopeful desire? They are. The bareness of the Presbyterian form of worship has, of late years, been forcing itself upon the better educated classes of Presbyterian society in Scotland; and they demand a change, from the manner of publicly worshipping God, which, though perfectly consistent with the rudeness, and the ignorance, of their forefathers, is, it would appear, not in accordance with the civilisation of the times in which the descendants of those who fought at Rullion Green, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Aird's-Moss, live.

Liturgical tendencies among Presbyterians.

We continue to record facts. On the 11th of December, three of the Scottish bishops—the Bishops of Edinburgh, Argyle and the Isles, and Glasgow and Galloway—issued a declaration, on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, in which they declared their united opinion, as to the nature of the mystery, which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper involves; and in which they endeavoured to calm the minds of those who had been alarmed by the strength of the language, in which the Bishop of Brechin's views are embodied. At the same time, a statement, by the Bishop of Moray and Ross,

Eucharistic controversy. Dec. 11th.

and the Bishop of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, appeared. The Dean of Edinburgh, and nineteen other presbyters of the diocese, addressed their diocesan on the subject. The Bishop replied to their address. The Rev. John Keble, the learned, and pious, author of the "Christian Year," by a letter to the Primus, stepped into the arena of conflict; and, in the course of a few months, the whole Scottish Church—including laity, as well as clergy—were engaged in a bitter controversy, as to the manner of our blessed Saviour's presence, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, such as had hardly been known, in Christendom, for a thousand years. (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. VIII. pp. 17-20).

1858.

We now touch the last year of the present ecclesiastical and civil record. We have brought our historical sketch down to the year of grace, 1858. Let us see what is the position which, in that year, the Scottish Church occupies; and let us, if we possibly can, endeavour to anticipate the position which that Church may be expected to occupy in the years that are yet to come.

New churches—an increased staff of clergy—numerous parsonage-houses—schools in abundance—all bear testimony to the circumstance, that the Church in Scotland is making strides in advance, such as will enable her, we hope, a hundred years hence, to exhibit herself as a peculiarly flourishing branch of Christ's Church upon earth.

We do not wish to dwell, unnecessarily, on the Scottish Eucharistic controversy. Facts it is our duty to state: inferences we leave it to others to draw.

Bishop
Taylor on
the Euchar-
ist.

There is no name, in connection with the Church of England, more delightful to English ears than that of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. This divine united, in his own person, the depth of the theologian with the brilliant imagination of the poet. His opinions, on the subject of the Lord's Supper, are worthy of record; and here we set them down.

"If," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, "men would but do reason, there were, in all religion, no article which might more easily excuse us from meddling with

questions about it than this of the Holy Sacrament. For, as the man, in Phædrus, that, being asked what he carried hidden under his cloak, answered *it was hidden under his cloak*—meaning, that he would not have hidden it but that he intended it should be secret—so we may say, in this mystery, to them that curiously ask what, and how, it is, *Mysterium est*; it is a sacrament, and a mystery. By sensible instruments, it consigns spiritual graces. By the creatures, it brings us to God. By the body, it ministers to the spirit." Bishop Taylor adds :—"It was happy, with Christendom, when she, in this article, retained the same simplicity which she always was bound to do in her manners and intercourse; that is, *to believe the thing heartily, and not to inquire curiously.*"—(Taylor's *Discourse on the Real Presence*).

Is there a man, in the nineteenth century, deep in theology, and brilliant in imagination, equal to Bishop Jeremy Taylor? If there is so, let him come forward, and let him assign a reason, sounder than that of the Chrysostom* of his age, for believing that the doctrine of the Eucharist is not a doctrine too deep for the human intellect to fathom.

That there is a presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is, plainly, the doctrine of the Church of England, and of the Scottish Church; but the *mode* of that presence the Church of England has not ventured to define. Neither should we attempt to do it. We should rest contented with the declaration of the twenty-eighth article, "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Lord's Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner;" and, also, with the declaration, at the end of the Communion Office, in the Prayer-Book, "That no adoration ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine, bodily received, [in the Holy Communion], or unto any corporeal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood."

The Scottish Church believes that there is a *real* presence of our Saviour in the Lord's Supper. She

* The golden-mouthed.

True doctrine of the Scottish Church regarding the Lord's Supper.

denies the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is, of a *corporeal*, or bodily, presence of the Redeemer, in his life-giving ordinance. She inquires not into the *manner* of the Lord's presence. She takes the words of the Son of God, in the sense in which he meant them when he said:—"Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me."

Sentiments of the Fathers with respect to the Eucharist.

There cannot be a doubt that the Fathers—that is, the earliest theologians who came next to the apostles, and who lived before the days of the Schoolmen—used very strong language with regard to the Eucharist. They knew it to be an ordinance which ought to be received with reverence, and used with regard; and, accordingly, they spake of it as "venerable," "adorable," "worshipful," in the same sense as that in which they applied these expressions to princes, to laws, to baptism, to Bishops, to priests, to the Cross, to the words of Scripture, and to the feast of Easter. Bishop Jeremy Taylor declares himself to be "wearied" of the wranglings on the subject of the Lord's Supper. It is, certainly, desirable that such wranglings should cease;—that the peace of the Church should not be broken by discussions which cannot tend to edification;—that men, so long as they do not hold doctrines actually opposed to the faith of that branch of the Church Catholic to which they belong, should be allowed to vary in their shades of opinion, and to hold on in the even tenor of their way, provided they do not endeavour to force their sentiments on others.

The Offertory.

Nothing is more remarkable than the change which, during the last quarter of a century, has come over the public mind—both within the pale of the Church and without it—on the subject of the Offertory;—that is, on the subject of man's duty of voluntarily offering a portion of his substance for the maintenance of the worship, and for the support of the ordinances, of the Most High. Twenty-five years ago, it was nicknamed *Puseyism*—in other words, something indescribably approaching to Popery—now, it is lauded to the skies, even by the great lights of the Free Kirk of Scotland, as may be seen by the following extract from a letter, addressed, by the eloquent and large-hearted Dr.

Guthrie of Edinburgh, to a gentleman in Manchester : —“ Were voluntary offerings universal in your English churches, as they should be, you could raise an immense revenue for the glory of God, and the service of the Church. In my congregation alone, where we collect voluntarily at both forenoon and afternoon worship, we receive about £500, annually, of offerings ; and this, besides raising about as much from pew rents, and about £1100 for a fund, out of which all the ministers of the Free Church receive an equal share. That fund, to which congregations give according to their ability, amounts to about £100,000 a year. The income of the Free Church, all voluntary, is about £300,000 annually ; and if we, in our poor country—poor as compared with England—raise such a sum as that, from our share of the population, amounting to about £1,000,000, what might the Church of England do, did she put forth her vast resources ? ”—(*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, pp. 75, 76).

Never did man write more truly than does Dr. Guthrie, in this letter. Were the principle of it applied to the Church in Scotland, the minimum income of each Scottish Episcopal clergyman would be, at least, £300 a year.

A case has occurred, in the Scottish Church, which has nearly rent that Church asunder. The case referred to is that of the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, incumbent of St. John the Evangelist's Church, Aberdeen ; who, on the 23d of April 1858, was “ presented,” by the Rev. Gilbert Rorison, of St. Peter's Church, Peterhead, and others, to the Bishop of Aberdeen, as teaching, in certain sermons, published by him, doctrines opposed to those of the Scottish Church.

The Bishop of Brechin's charge continued to excite the minds of the members of the Church to such an extent, that, in reference to it, a Synod of the bishops was held in Edinburgh, on the 27th of May ; when a pastoral letter, addressed to “ all faithful members of the Church in Scotland ” was issued, signed by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Argyle and the Isles, Glasgow and Galloway, Moray and Ross, St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, and Aberdeen, condemnatory of the

Case of the
Rev.
Patrick
Cheyne.
April 23d.

Episcopal
Synod con-
nected
with the
Bishop of
Brechin's
charge.

Bishop of Brechin's views, with regard to the sense in which our Saviour is said to be present in the Lord's Supper. The Christian tone of this pastoral letter has been a subject of acknowledgment, and admiration, wherever it has been made known. It is due also to the Bishop of Brechin to state, that never was ecclesiastical controversy carried on in a more Christian, and gentlemanly, manner than in his Primary Charge.

Mr Cheyne. The trial of Mr Cheyne's case took place in St
June 14th. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, on the 14th of June. The proceedings, connected with it, were very painful;—the appearance of matters being, that some of the soundest and most excellent men in the Church felt themselves called upon—conscientiously, we have no doubt—to oppose their Diocesan in a manner, and to an extent, which has not recently been witnessed in the Scottish Church. The proceedings to which we have referred are to be found in the public journals of the day.

Mr Cheyne, on technical grounds, refused to plead; and appealed to the College of Bishops. Notwithstanding, on the 5th of August following, the Bishop of Aberdeen, in open Synod, pronounced judgment; suspending Mr Cheyne from the exercise of his functions as a presbyter, throughout the diocese of Aberdeen, till such time as he should renounce, and purge himself, before his Diocesan, of the erroneous teaching of which he had been formally accused. (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Vol. VIII., pp. 108-111. See also pp. 124-129).

Lay Memorial. The feelings of the laity, with regard to the Eucharistic controversy, may be judged of by the fact, that not fewer than from six hundred to seven hundred of them had signed a memorial, to the College of Bishops, in which they expressed alarm at the opinions contained in the charge of the Bishop of Brechin. Some of these memorialists occupied positions belonging to the highest stations in society; and among them were those who sat, to administer justice, as the supreme judges of the land.

Close of Mr. Cheyne's case. Mr Cheyne's case drew rapidly to a close. On the 30th of September, and the 1st of October, the

bishops met in Edinburgh; when much discussion took place. On the 4th of November they again met; and a solemn deliverance of their opinions was given.

On the 2d of December, the Episcopal Synod came, Dec. 2d. once more, together; and the judgment of the Bishop of Aberdeen, suspending Mr Cheyne, conditionally, from his presbyterial functions, was confirmed.

Never, for ages, has so solemn, so dignified, a spectacle been witnessed, in Scotland, as that which displayed itself when the Scottish bishops, on the 4th of November, and on the 2d of December, arrayed in the robes of their office, took their place to pronounce a final judgment, and to pass sentence, in Mr Cheyne's case. If there was a single thing wanting, to add dignity to the occasion, it was the presence of the Primus; who, from indisposition, was unavoidably absent, and whose acute intellect, and matured opinions, would have given additional weight to the sentiments of the body of which he is, virtually, the head.

Our task is done. With a feeble pen, we have endeavoured to trace, generally, the fortunes of the Scottish Church throughout a period of eighteen hundred and fifty-eight years. The value of our labours it is for others to determine. Should these labours be deemed, by competent authority, to have advanced, in however slight a degree, the cause of Christ's truth, and the cause of Christ's rule upon earth, it is possible that, at a future time, we may try to improve upon them. The End.

The truth advances. Not more certain is it, that Moses led the children of Israel through the Red Sea, and amid the deserts of Sinai—not more certain is it, that the sea ebbs and flows—not more certain is it, that the sun of this evening will set, and that the sun of to-morrow will arise—than it is, that the doctrines which God meant to establish upon earth, and that the form of Church-government which God meant his children to embrace, will, in the end, find their full development among all nations, and throughout all the varied and varying tribes, which spread themselves from the southern to the northern ocean—from the

Antarctic to the Arctic Sea. Let us abide God's own time. Let us await, with folded arms, and with heads inclined, the arrival of that happy hour—an hour predicted more than two thousand years ago—when the glory of the Lord shall have covered the earth even as the waters cover the sea.

THE END.

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