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RANKIN, JAMES, 1831-1902  
HANDBOOK OF THE CHURCH OF  
SCOTLAND /











A HANDBOOK  
OF  
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

“That institution which alone bears on its front, without note or comment, the title of ‘The Church of Scotland.’”

—DEAN STANLEY, *see page 401.*

“No institution has ever existed which, at so little cost, has accomplished so much good.”

—*Report of Committee of House of Commons,*  
*see page 394.*

“The practical effect of the Church Establishment in Scotland on the information, the morals, and religious character of the people, equals, if it does not surpass, whatever can be imputed, on the same points, to any other Church in the world.”

—SIR HENRY MONCREIFF, *see page 396.*



JAN 20 1915  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# A HANDBOOK

OF

# THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

BY

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FOURTH EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT, WITH  
ADDITION OF THREE NEW CHAPTERS



WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS  
EDINBURGH AND LONDON  
MDCCCLXXXVIII



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\* \* \* *These Maps are given by kind permission of Dr Skene, and  
Mr David Douglas, Publisher, Edinburgh.*



## PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

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BESIDES many paragraphs inserted here and there to improve the original plan of the Handbook, three entire chapters (I. II. X.) are now added to *extend* the plan, so that the Church of Scotland may be seen and judged in its relation not only to modern Dissent but also to the whole Christian history of our forefathers. It is hoped that an outline of the two forms of earlier ecclesiastical constitution will enable the reader better to appreciate some of the features of the Church of Scotland which come to it by historical continuity. The wider view thus gained of the Church in its real relation to past and present, is fitted to make its members more zealous in its defence, and to lead rivals or enemies (those at least whose minds are open to reason and fact, and who prefer patriotism and unity to party and sect), to reconsider their recent policy of persecution, misrepresentation, and overthrow.

Originally the Handbook was written in 1879 for the purpose of Church defence, to counteract the organised system of attack (for a series of years, and with large expenditure) directed against the Church, chiefly by the "Liberation Society." The Church Interests Committee appointed by the General

Assembly of 1882 (with the late Principal Tulloch and Lord Balfour of Burleigh as joint conveners)—by a series of solidly written and well-timed addresses to the people of Scotland, by organising petitions to Parliament and public meetings of the friends of national religion—has succeeded in awakening the Church itself, gathering for co-operation many thousands of thoughtful and fair-minded men of other Churches, and opening the eyes of members and leaders of Parliament to the true state of the case, and the mighty interests involved. The result has been to demonstrate the real strength and genuine popularity of the old Church, and to suggest to very many outside whether in Scotland some form of union of Churches is not easier, safer, and more likely of lasting good both to religion and society, than madly to begin by destroying the oldest and strongest of our institutions, the nurse of Scottish freedom and nationality.

By a remarkable coincidence the brightening fortune of the Church through the energy of her members and friends in recent years, occurs just when the man whom her enemies idolised as their champion has suffered an exposure and fall such as has overtaken no leading statesman of this century. At the election in July 1886 the hopes of Dissenters in Scotland were deliberately associated with a Separatist policy for Ireland—an unprincipled union, which all loyal men should remember in years to come, as showing the reckless and revengeful character of the attacks made on the old National Church. The best judges of the accuracy of this representation are the Deputies from the Irish Presbyterian Church, who appeared in the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and of the Free Church in May 1886. It was their first visit for forty years to the Church of Scotland, where, notwithstanding, they received an enthusiastic welcome. Their

special errand was in search of sympathy and help in the threatening circumstances in which their Church and country were placed by the Separatist Bill before Parliament. Within six weeks of the Assembly the leading Free Church and United Presbyterian ministers, and all whom they could control, were secretly working in favour of separation, and appeared on Separatist platforms, although they rarely ventured to speak openly on the disloyal side. The *sub rosâ* compact with Mr Gladstone and the Irish Nationalists was in substance: "Help us this time to a majority, and we will repay you by pushing on Disestablishment with the same majority." It was a cruel betrayal, or, at least, disappointment, to the Irish Presbyterian Church, after forty years of supposed friendship on the part of the Free Church.

Having alluded to the way of union or co-operation as the true method for improving Scotland ecclesiastically, the author may here give expression to his own views on the subject, the more so as they are independent alike of Church party and of politics.

The General Assembly of 1886 was remarkable for the bold and wise step of making our vacant charges accessible to ministers of kindred Churches, who may be elected by the congregation, and be willing to subscribe the same doctrinal standards as our own licentiates. If this were done to bribe or inveigle neighbouring ministers it would be mean and culpable. It is done, in fact, to the detriment partly of our own students and licentiates, and mainly to show the friendliness of our attitude toward two daughter Churches. There is no reason why these should not cease from their railing and plots, and make such attitude on our part the basis of frank conference as to better ecclesiastical terms. At the same time, it will do no good for us to press such conference.

The Church of Scotland has for years to come a very great work before her, independent of union, and not new, but the same that she has been busy with since 1843. This work has a negative and a positive side.

Negatively, we have to lay aside or avoid a number of baser elements that have unhappily become mixed with Christianity in Scotland. There is Sabbatarianism, which measures religion formally and physically by hours and outward acts.—Revivalism, where religion is turned into fits and presided over by ignorant neophytes or wandering Jews.—Superstitions, which torture Scripture against “human” hymns and instrumental music.—Superstitious reluctance in north and west Highlands to partake of the Lord’s Supper.—Meetings to declaim against the Pope and the Church of Rome, instead of quietly worshipping God in the way we judge right ourselves.—*Cultus* of “popular” preaching in flowery roaring rhetoric, to the neglect of sensible Christian duties and real devotion.—Preaching for collections and canonising mere givers, to the gross injury of the poor.—*Cultus* of puritanism as to dance, theatre, music, or dress, and narrowing Christian men to an elect and pharisaic few.—*Cultus* of young men flattered and trotted out ecclesiastically, when the poor lads have more need to continue their education and earn their bread by diligence in their worldly calling.—Profanation of churches by the tea, fruit, and buffoon speeches of “swarrys,” or even of “conversaciones,” by the cheers and hisses of political meetings, and by secular lectures, with the tail-piece of votes of thanks to chairman, lecturer, and choir, and the “so glads” in reply.

The positive side of our work lies in steadily promoting a higher Christian intelligence among ministers and people alike—especially a more scholarly and scientific clergy; spreading the theory and practice of true toleration and charity, as dis-



tinct from readiness to seek or start a new Church for paltry reasons ; aiming at a higher ideal of order and taste in the conduct of every part of divine service and in the structure and furniture of the house of God ; uniting the benefit of a prayer-book with the benefit of free prayer in public worship ; *restoration* of a proportion of higher livings and places of authority, experience, and scholarship, to correct the degradation of absolute parity ; instead of limiting our idea of the Church to the period since 1688, to lay more stress on the simpler and better period from 1560 to 1595, or even to 1645, before the old Confession, Liturgy, Catechism, and superintendents were lost in the controversies associated with English Puritans and persecuted Covenanters.

In all this there is no secret bias towards Episcopacy, for in the candid opinion of the writer, modern Scottish Episcopacy is rather a poor concern, having but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 per cent of our population, pluming itself on its hold of an aristocracy that is largely alien to Scotland in feeling, and possessing a body of ministers still more alien ; while underneath all their theories of union with us lies the insulting design of gradually and as speedily as possible swallowing up or blotting out our orders. Had Scottish Episcopacy been of the type of Archbishops Usher and Leighton, of the older school, or of Archbishop Whately and Bishop Ewing, of recent days, there might have been large hope of our approximating and accepting bishops as a matter of convenience (like our old superintendents and commissioners), but avoiding extravagant inequality and pontifical pretensions of special apostolic descent.

Our clear and manly policy is to be true to ourselves and our whole history, making no hasty alliance with Dissent that would alienate us further from Episcopacy, and no concession to Episcopacy that would make reunion of Dissent more diffi-



cult than at present. Time and reason and the mass of genuine Scotsmen are all three with us ; and by holding on steadily in a course of Christian usefulness, alike aloof from priestly superstitions and from every man being his own oracle (which is the tendency of Dissent), we may be substantially Presbyterian without being bishopless, and Protestant without chronic railing at Rome. Such a Church is the most likely to prove a rallying-point for Scottish Christians, and would certainly be nearer to the Church of the New Testament than any Church presently existing among us. .

# HANDBOOK

OF

## THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CELTIC CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, A.D. 400-1100.

THE first planting of Christianity in Scotland has been ascribed to no fewer than each of five apostles, and also to Joseph of Arimathea. Independently of distinctive missionaries, the Gospel might very easily have been, and in all probability was, brought by Roman soldiers or colonists. They occupied Britain from A.D. 43 to 401.

**Period preceding S. Ninian.** — Without attempting connected narrative or criticism, the following list of names and dates furnishes the substance of what is known of the period preceding S. Ninian:—

Tacitus (*Annals*, xiii. 32) records that in 56 A.D. Pomponia Græcina, “wife of Aulus Plautius, who returned from Britain to obtain a triumph, was accused of foreign superstition, and left to be judged by her husband.” From the circumstances of the case it is almost certain that the foreign superstition refers to the Christian faith.

Claudia, mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21 and Martial, xi. 54, the

wife of Pudens, supposed to be formerly called Rufus (Rom. xvi. 13), and daughter of Caractacus or Caradoc the Briton, is regarded as a British Christian of about the same date as Pomponia Græcina.

Pudentiana, sister of Praxides and daughter of Pudens (2 Tim. iv. 21), to whose house in Rome Peter came, has a place, May 19, in the Roman Kalendar, tradition affirming that her son Timotheus was a missionary in Britain.

Bede (Hist. Eccl. 4) says that in 156 A.D. Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to Pope Eleutherus, "entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian." The Welsh Triads ascribe to Lucius the foundation of the church of Llandaff. It is shown in Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, vol. v. p. 354 'Historians of Scotland,' that the story of Lucius originated in Rome 300 years after the date of the alleged event.

Tertullian, writing about 200 A.D., says,—“The several races of the Getæ, the extensive territories of the Moors, all the bounds of Spain, the different nations of Gaul, and those localities of the Britons hitherto inaccessible to the Romans, had become subject to Christ.”

There is a legend of King Donald I. being baptised in Scotland at the beginning of the third century.

In 303, June 22, suffered Alban at Verulam or S. Albans, the protomartyr of Britain during the Diocletian persecution.

In 306, Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, when governor of Britain under Diocletian, protected British Christians from persecution.

In 314, at the Synod of Arles, in the south of France, the Acts of the Council were signed, among others, by Bishop Eborius of York, Bishop Restitutus of London, and Bishop Adelfius of Cæerleon-on-Usk, the residence of King Arthur, near Newport, in Wales.

In 347, at the Council of Sardica, in Mœsia, now Sophia in Bulgaria, there were representatives from Britain.

In 354, at the Council of Ariminum or Rimini in North Italy, were present three British bishops.

At the end of the fourth century, the critical period of the transition of the country from Roman dominion to native self-rule, we escape from fragments and queries into what is at once more connected and Scottish as associated with the venerable name of Ninian, regarding whom the chief points known are as follows :—

S. NINIAN, called Monenn in Ireland, appears in ancient kalendars under title and day as “bishop and confessor, 16th September 432 A.D.” He was a Briton of the Roman province of Bernicia, born, probably near the Solway, about 360, of Christian and princely parents, and early dedicated to the ministry. After home instruction he visited Rome and received ordination from the Pope. He was nephew of S. Martin of Tours, from whom, on return, he got masons who built *Candida Casa* at Whitherne in Galloway, known in Ireland as Futerna, *Magnum Monasterium*, and Rosnat. *Candida Casa* was dedicated to S. Martin, whose death in 397 was heard of while the church was being built. Ninian’s mission was to the Southern Picts, whose king (390-400 A.D.), Tuduvallus or Totail of Strathclyde, he baptised. Bede says, “The Southern Picts, who dwell on this side of those mountains, had long before [the age of Columba], as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth.” In Bishop Forbes’s ‘*Kalendars of Scottish Saints*,’ and again in his edition of Ailred’s ‘*Life of S. Ninian*,’ a list is given of sixty-six Ninian or “Ringan” dedications spread from Galloway to Shetland. Ailred or Ethelred, who wrote the life of Ninian, was priest of Hexham, born in 1109, and Abbot of Rievaulx in 1143. Besides a series of five miracles ascribed to his relics, he attributes these six miracles to the saint in his lifetime: curing of King Tuduvallus’s blindness; clearing an accused priest by causing an infant to name its true father; providing leeks in the monastery garden in a time of want; punishing thieves by death and lunacy for trying to steal cattle blessed by the saint—but the dead leader and lunatic accomplices were subsequently restored; miracle of a shower being kept from his Psalter when in use—but when an evil thought intruded the rain came, which was again held back as soon as the evil thought was expelled; miracle of the bishop’s staff carried off by a scholar and used to fill a hole in a coracle, whereby the scholar’s life was saved, and when on landing the staff was stuck in the sand it grew to a tree. Ninian’s Cave, on

the shore at Physgill in Glasserton of Galloway, is an authentic retreat of the saint. He was buried near the high altar at Whitherne, and his tomb or *feretrum* became a famous place of pilgrimage. In 1506, James IV. gave four shillings "to ane man that bare S. Niniane's bell," which was known as *Clog Rinny*. Further details of King James's pilgrimage are given in 'Life of S. Ninian,' pp. 294-304. Ninian's work coincided with the period of the fall of the Roman empire in Britain, and much of the Christianity which he planted or extended was swept away before the time of Bede, who wrote 300 years later. The best view of S. Ninian's influence is that which is obtained from the list of dedications above alluded to, where the authority for each is also furnished.

*Aberdeenshire*—Andat in Methlic, Invernochthyn or Strathdon, Pitmedden in Oyne, Fetterneir, Chapel in Aberdeen, Altarage in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen. *Argyle*—Island of Sanda, Kilninian [?] in Mull, Lands of S. Ninian in Kintyre. *Ayrshire*—Dundonald, Colmonell, Kincase, Monkton, Kilsanctniniane in Ardmillan, Kildonan. *Banff*—Chapel of Enzie in Rathen, Bellie. *Bute*—S. Ninian's Bay and Point. *Caithness*—Head of Wick. *Dumbarton*—Kirkintilloch. *Dumfries*—Altarage in Parish Church. *Edinburgh*—S. Ninian's lands in Liberton, S. Ninian's Chapel near Leper Hospital, Altarage in S. Giles, Bridge-end, Leith. *Fife*—Prebend of S. Ninian in Ceres, Chapel in Constabulary of Kinghorn, Altarage in Falkland. *Forfarshire*—Well at Arbirlot, Ferne, Benshie, Chapel at Alyth, S. Vigeans, S. Ninian's Croft in Arbroath, Altarage in Brechin, Strathninian in Mains. *Inverness*—Keilsanctrinan in Urquhart. *Kincardine*—S. Ninian's Chapel and Den at Stonehaven, Dunottar. *Kinross*—Chapel at Sauchie. *Lanark*—Well at Lamington, Stonehouse, Wiston, Covington, Hospital in Gorbals of Glasgow. *Linlithgow*—Chapel at Linlithgow, Blackness. *Moray*—Chapel in Diser or Dyke, Altarage in Elgin. *Perth*—Kinnoul, S. Ninian's lands at Coupar, Lany, Altarage in Dunkeld. *Renfrew*—Altarage in Renfrew, Govan. *Ross-shire*—Balconie in Kiltearn, Rosskeen, Fortrose. *Roxburgh*—Bowden. *Shetland*—Dunrossness. *Stirling*—S. Ninians, Well at Stirling, Chapel at Stirling, Campsie. *Sutherland*—Navidale. *Wigtownshire*—Penningham, Cruives of Cree. Ninian was a favourite old Scots baptismal name hereditary in certain families.

**The Four Provinces of Early Scotland.**—The main foundations of the Church of Scotland were laid in the sixth and seventh centuries, and associated with the saintly names of Kentigern and Columba. One part of the work consisted in reviving the scattered little Christian settlements among which Ninian had laboured. But there were certain good men between Ninian + 432, and Kentigern + 603, who, in their working years, were at least a whole century apart. Who these were,



and where they are commemorated, we shall see in the next paragraph. But besides what was thus built on an older and partly Roman foundation, these two centuries had features of their own more local and independent, so that the Church in Scotland was no mere branch of the Church of Rome, as it afterwards became in the twelfth century under Queen and S. Margaret. As, however, neither name nor unity of Scotland had existence in the fifth or sixth century, we require to trace Church affairs in *four* lines correspondent to the civil government.

1. **Pictland**, or Pictavia, embraced the east coast of Scotland from Fife to Buchan, or from Forth to Spey. At an earlier date there were also Picts from Galloway to Glasgow. The direct line of our Church history continues with successors of Ninian among the Picts, and the first distinct names are those of Palladius and his disciple Ternan. Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent in 430 to the Irish Christian Scots as their first bishop. There is controversy as to what is meant here by *first*—whether they had already presbyters only without bishops, or whether he was to be *primus* or archbishop among existing bishops. The *earliest* accounts represent his Irish mission as a comparative failure, and that he was killed there—or, at least, expelled, taking refuge in Scotland, probably about Galloway. As it is only in later histories that he is joined with Fordun in the Mearns, Dr Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 30) suggests not improbably that it was only the *relics* of Palladius that were carried there by Ternan, who had been his disciple. It was immediately after the abortive mission of Palladius in Ireland that S. Patrick's mission began, which had so great and lasting results. At all events, if Palladius reached Fordun alive, he survived a very short time, and the work that led to his fame there was really the work of Ternan, whom we may thus regard as the real successor of Ninian, and the special field of whose work was the Mearns between Esk and Dee. In any case, we would require to add from ten to twenty years to the usual



date—431—assigned for Ternan's death ; because, if Palladius was sent from Rome in 430, and Ternan was his disciple or companion, no time is left for Ternan's own work, which was undoubtedly of some good duration as well as of high quality.

Fife, however, was the main province of this kingdom of Pictavia, which had its first capital ecclesiastically at Abernethy, and civilly at Forteviot. Abernethy was founded by King Nectan, who was acquainted with disciples of S. Patrick in Ireland, especially with S. Bridget, who had grants of land here 100 years before Columba settled in Iona. Nectan reigned from 457 to 481 ; and this date is important as showing Scottish Church connection with Ireland in the earliest form of the Church there under S. Patrick himself, when the clergy were *secular* before they became *monastic* or *eremitical*. They were secular till 534, monastic till 572, and eremitical till 666 ; these being the dates observed in a threefold classification of Irish saints for kalendar purposes. Here, then, around S. Bridget at Abernethy, is a second branch of an Irish mission in Scotland following up the Pictish work of Ninian. The S. Bridget work at Abernethy had two local outposts in Irish saints that have become in a manner Scottish through their success here—viz., Mocholmoc or Colman at Inchmahome in Menteith, and Fillan the Leper in Stratherne, whose church at Dundurn, at the east end of Loch Erne, was at the foot of the hill and fort of Dundurn, once the principal stronghold of Fortrenn, which in 683 was besieged by Fearchar or Fada, king of Kinelvado, north of Loch Linnhe (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 264). Both of these parishes (Port of Menteith and Comrie) of old belonged to that district of Fothric which was attached to the see of Abernethy, and later of St Andrews, before Dunblane was made a see by itself. It is important to note the early date of these two Irish-Scots saints, as separating them entirely from the more numerous later Celtic missionaries, and making them contemporary, or nearly so, with King Nectan and S. Bridget.

St Andrews was an offshoot from Abernethy, and ultimately

became the chief seat of ecclesiastical rule under circumstances to be alluded to further on. Brechin, like Abernethy, was a prominent Pictish seat, both being marked by ancient round towers, which were used as a shelter for clergy and church furniture in time of war, as was also the custom in Ireland, where such towers are more numerous.

There was an ancient sevenfold division of Pictavia. The principal part was Eneagus and Moerne (now Angus and the Mearns or Kincardineshire). The second part was Adtheodle and Gouerin (now Athole and Gowry). The third, Sradeern and Meneted (now Stratherne and Menteith), later known as Fortrenn. The fourth, Fif and Fothreve (now Fife and Kinross). The fifth, Marr and Buchen (now Mar and Buchan). The sixth, Muref and Ros (now Moray and Ross). The seventh, Cathanesia citra montem and ultramontem (now Sutherland and Caithness). Four of these provinces composed the territory of the Southern Picts, and the district of Gowrie forms the central region in which they all meet; and there, on the east bank of the Tay, was Scone, the principal seat for a long time of the kingdom of the Picts.

It was Pictland that was assailed when, on 20th May 685, the Saxon invader Egfrid, from Bernicia, or Northumbria, was defeated and slain at Dunnechtan or Dunnichen. Pictland disappears in 843, when Kenneth became king of Scots and Picts. The chief Church names of Pictavia are—Palladius, Ternan, Brigida, Machar, Cainnech, Regulus, Boniface, Fergus, Servanus.

S. BRIGIDA or BRIDE, abbess of Kildare, February 11, 523 (February 1 in Irish kalendars), was daughter of Dubthacus and Brocca, born at Fochard in Ulster c. 453. There are many lives of Brigida, the earliest being contemporary by Brogan Cloen, and the best known a compilation in 1645 by Colgan, a Franciscan, whose work is called 'Trias Thaumaturga,' the Miracle-working Trio—*i. e.*, Patrick, Brigida, and Columba.

Brigida received the veil from S. Mel, nephew of S. Patrick; she wore a leathern belt over a white kirtle, and had a veil over her shoulders. Her cell was under a large oak, Kildara = cell of the oak, and she founded communities of women. Dying at the age of seventy, she was buried at Dune in Ireland.

Her acts are largely miracles. When sent to collect butter, she gave it all to the poor; at consecration she touched the wooden pillar of the altar, and the wood becoming green, grew into the ground and was famous for cures; to avoid marriage, one of her eyes burst and melted so as to mar her face; from one barrel she supplied beer to eighteen churches, which lasted from Maunday Thursday till after Easter; when once denied some apples, the orchard where they grew dried up. Several of her miracles are generously associated with food for the poor.

When Nectan of Pictavia had been driven into Ireland, he met and asked Brigida to pray for him, which she did, and predicted for him on his return the kingdom of the Picts in peace. Buite, or Boethius, came from Ireland with sixty followers, of whom ten were brothers and ten holy women. He got from Nectan the church of Carbuddo = Castrum Boethii. Relics of Brigida were deposited at Abernethy, where Nectan made grants of land in honour of Brigida, planted a community of holy women, and dedicated the place to her. This ministry of women met in Scotland a sympathy parallel to that in Ireland.

*Dedications.*—S. Bride's convent in Kilmorie in Bute; East Kilbride, near Glasgow; West Kilbride in Cunningham; S. Bride's chapel in Rothesay; Kilbride in Arran; do. in Cromarty; do. in Uist; do. in Lorn; do. near Dunblane; do. at Blasket in Galloway; Spring in Dunsyre in Lanarkshire; do. in Traquair; chapel and burn at Kilbarchan; Kilbryd and S. Bridehill in Keir, Dumfriesshire; chapel and well at Beath, Ayrshire; chapel at Kirkcolm; do. at Kirkmabreck; do. Borne in Lewis; do. Stronsay and Papa, Orkney; Logiebride in Auchtergaven; S. Brigida in Athole, famed for miracles; S. Bride's Ring at Kingenny in Forfarshire; S. Bride's Kirk at Tomintoul; churches at Cushnie, Skene, and Kildrummie; fairs at Forres and Inverness; chapel near Clackmannan; Dunnottar in 1394, a re-dedication; relics at Abernethy; S. Bride's at Kye, Strathaven; S. Bryde of Douglas.

2. **Strathclyde** corresponded to the Roman province of *Valentia*, and embraced the south-west coast between the Clyde and Solway, or rather between the Clyde and the Derwent in Cumberland, having for capital Al-cluith or Dumbarton. It included the territory subsequently covered by the sees of Glasgow, Whitherne, and Carlisle. This was a specially British kingdom, and was known as Terra Cumbro-*rum*, Cumbria or (in Saxon) Cumberland, of which we have a survival in the Cumbrae islands in the Firth of Clyde. Cumbria was closely connected in race, speech, name, and Church with Wales or Cambria. South and north of Cumberland

were joined by the old Roman road from York to Dumbarton, the chief stages of which were,—Luguballium, Luel, or Karleolum—*i.e.*, Carlisle; Castra Exploratorum or Netherby; Blatum Bulgium or Middleby; Uxelum or Castle Over in Eskdalemuir; Colonia or Lanark; Vanduaria, Paisley or Ayr?; Al cluith or Patra Cloith, Dumbarton.

The great churchman of Strathclyde is Kentigern. The secondary names are Cathan, Blane, Molio, Cadoc, Nethan, Machan, Conval, Inan, Machutus, Marnan, Mirren, Wynnin, Medana.

In the reign of Malcolm II. (1003-1032), Strathclyde was absorbed into Scotland, its last king fighting at Carham, near Coldstream, in 1018 as an ally of Malcolm.

S. KENTIGERN or Mungo, November 13, 603. He was born in 514, his mother being S. Thenaw or Tanew, daughter of King Loth of Lothian, and his father Ewen or Owen ap Urien. Thenaw seems to have been a devout woman, harshly treated by her unbelieving father, and deceived, forced, and abandoned by Ewen. Her child's birthplace was Culross, where he was adopted and educated by S. Servanus.<sup>1</sup> On the day he left S. Serf, who from the first had given him the pet name of Mungo, Kentigern was seen at Kernach by a religious recluse called Fregus or Fergus. Kernach is supposed to be Carnock, in the parish of S. Ninians, near Stirling; but some take it for Carnwath. Fergus died just after he had seen Kentigern, and his body was borne on a car drawn by two wild bulls, which travelled of their own accord to an old cemetery of S. Ninian at Cathures, which became the site of S. Mungo's and of Glasgow. This burial-place, near that of S. Mungo himself, is marked, "This is the aisle of car Fergus," which carries back the story to the date of the subsequent cathedral at least. Here Kentigern was chosen bishop, and ordained at the age of twenty-five by a bishop from Ireland.

Political troubles arose, in which Rydderch Hael—*i.e.*, Roderic the bountiful—was driven to Ireland by rebels under Morcant or Mor-

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<sup>1</sup> It is powerfully argued by Skene (Celtic Scotland, ii. 184) that the true S. Serf lived two centuries *later* than Kentigern. Accepting this view, we may still credit the old Life of Kentigern as to his birth and education at Culross, but under some *predecessor* of S. Serf. The life of 185 years attributed to Kentigern shows a *stretching* to cover probably some chronological gap. The *Keledei* at Glasgow were *not* (as Jocelyn says) in the time of Kentigern, but in the time of Sedulius, bishop of the Britons, who conformed to Rome; and this connection with Keledei synchronises with the real S. Serf.



gan Mawr and Eddon Uradog—*i.e.*, treacherous—the former usurping the throne. This Morgan was heathen, and hostile to Kentigern, and in one of the saint's miracles the king's barnyard store was swept by a Clyde spate to the bishop's lands on the Molendinar or mill-burn. Kentigern fled to Wales, but on the way halted for some years at Carlisle, where he started a mission, traces of which appear in *eight* Cumberland churches dedicated to him. He erected a cross at Crossfell, near Penrith, as a centre and sign of his work.

Arrived in Wales, Kentigern met S. Dewi or David at Menevia, and afterwards was guided to a new settlement of his own at Elwy or Llanelwy (S. David's), in which he was succeeded by S. Asaph. This monastery was set up by favour of Malginus or Maelgwyn Gwynedd, son of Caswallawn Lawhir, a prince of very mixed character. The stay in Wales is variously set down as from 543 to 560, and from 553 to 573. During these years the saint probably paid a visit to Rome, but the *seven* visits alleged by Joceline of Furness are beyond belief.

On the restoration of King Rydderch in 573, after the great battle of Ardderyd or Arthuret in Liddesdale, near Carlisle, in which he conquered Gwenddolen and became king of Cumbria at Dumbarton, Kentigern was at once recalled, for Rydderch was so decidedly Christian, that in a Welsh book he is called "the Champion of the Faith." Corresponding to the Crossfell halt and mission on the way to Wales, was another halt and mission on the return at Hoddam, Holdhelm, or Hod-holm, said to have extended over eight years.

When at last resettled at Glasgow, Kentigern had a solemn and famous visit paid by Columba, when the two good men exchanged pastoral staves. His diligence in good works gave rise to the proverb, "It is like S. Mungo's work, it is never done." Three of his miracles are alluded to in the arms of Glasgow. The *salmon and ring* recall the love-pledge of the queen of Cadzow. The *tree* commemorates the frozen hazel with which he kindled the lamp at Culross. The *bird* is S. Serf's tame robin which was restored to life. And the *bell* is S. Mungo's bell from Rome which called men to pray. In the Arbuthnott Missal, S. Mungo's Day is marked as a double festival with nine lessons. A well of the saint survives in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, and Glasgow itself forms a sort of tribute to the good old bishop, especially when we recall the full motto of the city, "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word."

The chronology of Kentigern is perplexed by Joceline giving him a life of 185 years. Bishop Forbes proposes to subtract 100, and then adjust the dates thus: Birth 518 A.D.; consecration as bishop 543, when he began work in Glasgow by overturning idols, building churches, ordaining ministers or monks—say for ten years before his expulsion by Morken; in 553 goes to Wales and founds Llanelwy; in Wales 553-573; on battle of Ardderyd 573 is recalled, and labours eight years in Hoddam. Returns to Glasgow 581; meets Columba *before* 597, when Columba died; visit or visits to Rome when Gregory was Pope, 590-604; in 603 dies.

The chief Life of Kentigern is by Joceline, monk of Furness about 1180, addressed to Bishop Joceline of Glasgow. In the Prologue is a very important statement that the *earlier* Life had things adverse to sound doctrine and opposed to the Catholic faith—*i.e.*, was representative of the *Celtic* as distinct from the Roman Church.

*Dedications.*—*Dumfriesshire*—S. Mungo or Abermelk, Kirkmahon in Nithsdale. *Lanarkshire*—Lanark. *Mid-Lothian*—Borthwick or Lochwerweth, where he is said to have laboured eight years. Penicuik, where is his well; Currie. *Berwickshire*—Polwarth with a fair. *Peeblesshire*—Peebles with a well. *Perthshire*—Auchterarder, the old church on a site a mile north-west. *Inverness-shire*—Inverness with his hill. *Clackmannan*—Alloa. *Aberdeenshire*—Kynor, Glengarden. *Selkirk*—Hassendean.

3. **Dalriada**, or Alba, corresponded to the west coast northward from the Clyde, especially Argyle, which, like Fife, was long a kingdom by itself, and, under the name of North Argyle, included the present county of Ross. Across the narrow sea, only twelve miles from land to land, in North Antrim, was a district called Dalriada, with a dynasty of Dalriads founded in the middle of the third century by Carber Riadha. These Irish Scots passed over into Argyle as colonists. Erc of Ireland had three sons, Fergus, Lorn, and Angus, who emigrated to Scotland, where Loarn More became the first king of the Scots Dalriads in 503. Lorn was succeeded by Fergus More, who is Fergus II., the fortieth king in Buchanan's fabulous list.

Dunstaffnage, three miles north of Oban, was the seat of monarchy of Alban till 842, when "the stone of destiny" of the coronation chair was transferred by Kenneth II. to Scone. Kintyre and Knapdale were also occasional residences of the Dalriad kings. These Ulster Scots were *Christians*. When Columba came in 563 from Ireland to Iona, it was in the reign of Conall, the sixth king from Lorn. Conall's successor, King Aidan, was consecrated by Columba. It was in Aidan's reign that the Scots Dalriads became separate and independent from their kindred and namesakes in Ireland, and also that the Scots Dalriada began to be called Alba or Alban. This was settled at the Conference of Drumceat in Ulster in 575.

For several ages these Scots of Alban, with their religious



centre in Iona, and their court at Dunstaffnage, near Oban, or at Dunadd, in the Moss of Crinan, were the most civilised tribe in the whole of Great Britain as regards literature, artistic taste, and worship. Hence their influence in Northumbria, whose king, Oswald, in early life had been a refugee for seventeen years at Iona, where he was trained as a Christian; and on coming to the throne about 635, sent to his old friends for missionaries, getting first Cormac, who proved a failure, then the great S. Aidan, whose work laid the foundations of the sees of Durham and York. This method of King Oswald in establishing an offshoot of Iona at Lindisfarne, had a striking earlier parallel in what happened under King Nectan, whose experience in his refugee years in Ireland led him to transplant the Christianity of S. Bridget of Kildare to Abernethy for the benefit of the Picts.

While the Celts of Alban were strangely backward in architecture, using small and rude stone churches in stone districts, and elsewhere only wattle and mud, or oak and thatch, they attained to great skill in certain other lines. The ornaments of their sacred MSS., as in the Book of Deer, Book of Kells, and Psalter of Columba, used in its shrine or *cumdach* as a vexillum under the name of Catach or Battler; the shrines or covers of the ancient square bells; brooches in bronze, silver, and gold, like those found at Hunterston, Rogart, and Dunipace; sculptured stones, like the crosses at Aberlemno, Rossie, Dunfallandy, Meigle, St Vigean, Kilmartin, Oronsay; Scottish crosiers like that of S. Fillan of Glendochart, and Irish ones like that of Tedavnet,—all attest the pure taste and deft handiwork of the old Celtic monks and allied artists. Recent times have produced no more interesting and patriotic result of antiquarian research than the two volumes of Mr Joseph Anderson's 'Scotland in Early Christian Times,' in which all these are described in detail with admirable illustrations.

The saints specially associated with Dalriada, and who naturally group themselves around the great name of Columba,

are Adamnan, Brandon, Ciaran, Congan, Congall, Cormac, Donnan, Drostan, Fillan of Glendochart, Melrubha, Moloc, Ronan.

S. COLUMBA or Colum Cille = Colm of the Churches. Abbot, June 9, 597. Born 520 or 521, on December 7, at Gartan, in Donegal, *ortus regibus*, son of Fedlimidh and Eithne, he was taught and ordained as deacon by S. Finnian, bishop of Moville (+ 579). Subsequently he was taught by S. Finnian of Clonard (+ 549), and ordained as priest by Bishop Etchen of Clonfad in Meath. When a monk at Glasnevin, near Dublin, he had as companions three great saints, Comgall, Cainnech, and Ciaran, whom he had already known at Clonard. In 553 he asserted himself by founding the monastery of Durrow or Durrrough, and the other churches which he founded in Ireland were probably done between 546 and 562. It is with reference to this early work that Columba is called one of the twelve apostles of Ireland who proceeded from S. Finnian's school of Clonard.

Becoming involved in feuds, he left the monastery of Durrow in 563, two years after the battle of Culdremhne or Cooldrevny, to make a fresh settlement in Dalriada in Scotland. It is a disputed question whether this change was compulsory or voluntary. Partly it seems a penance for strife and bloodshed, and was done by advice or decision of S. Molaise of Devenish. On the other hand, it could hardly have been a formal or even votive exile, because at least twice afterwards he not only visited Ireland, but took part in important civil and ecclesiastical transactions in the very district which he had left in 563.

Sailing from Derry in a currach or wherry, with twelve disciples, all blood relations, he landed at Iona or Hy, where he founded a monastic school, and spent thirty-four years till his death in 597. He received a donation of Iona with King Connal's approval. As missionary to the *northern* Picts, about 565, in company with Comgall and Cainnech, he visited King Brude MacMeilochan at Loch Ness. In 574, on the death of King Connal of Dalriada, his successor, King Aidan, received from the saint the royal insignia at Iona. Next year both Aidan and Columba attended the Convention at Drumceat, a mound on the river Roe, county Derry, where the claims of the Irish king to the homage of British Dalriada were abandoned, and the independence of that province declared. Another Irish visit was paid by the saint after 585 to Durrow and Clonmacnois. In this later period occurred the visit to Kentigern, when pastoral staves were exchanged on the then sweet banks of the Glasgow Molendinar. Shortly before his end Columba ascended a little hill that overlooked the monastery, and standing there, blessed it with raised hands, and prophesied that small and poor as the place was, kings and peoples and churches of distant lands would hold it in great reverence.

Columba was "tall and of gentle aspect, with a voice so loud

and melodious that it could be heard at a mile's distance." It comes out, from his connection with three battles—Culdeveny 561, Coleraine 579, Clonard 587—that the good man had a pretty stiff temper when he gave it rein; as further appears from the zest and zeal with which he launched curses at plunderers and misers, once wading to the knees in the sea to hurl his winged words after a thief retreating in a boat.

There is a famous Life of Columba written about 680 by his successor S. Adamnan, the ninth abbot—the edition by Bishop Reeves, forming vol. vi. of 'Historians of Scotland,' being one of the great repositories of Celtic lore. Even more than other such biographies, this teems with miracles: Book I., with thirty-five chapters, containing Columba's prophecies; II., with forty-seven chapters, his miracles; and III., with twenty-four chapters, apparitions of angels,—hardly a chapter of the three books being miracleless. His office in the Breviary of Aberdeen has nine lessons. In 1461 Bishop Lauder painted the reredos at Dunkeld with the twenty-four chief miracles of Columba. There survive three Latin hymns ascribed to him, one of which, the *Altus Prosator*, forms the subject of a volume by the Marquis of Bute.

Iona became the burial-place of kings, chiefs, bishops, and monks, rivalling Elyscamps at Arles on the Rhone. Visiting Iona in 1773, Dr Johnson wrote: "We are 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. . . . That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona."

*Dedications.*—There are thirty-seven churches in Ireland which in their dedications represent the earlier work of Columba between 546 and 563. His Scottish work—563-597—is represented by thirty-two dedications in the west, and twenty-six more in Pictland. *Among the Scots*—Soroby in Tiree; Elachnave; Loch Columkille in Kilmuir, Skye; Fladda-Chuain Isle, north-west of Skye; Trodda, off Aird Point; Snizort; Eilean Columcille in Portree Bay; Garien in Stornoway; Ey in north-east of Lewis; St Colm's Isle in Loch Erisort, Lewis; Bernera; Kilcholmkill in Sand, North Uist; Kilcholambkille, in Benbecula; Howmore in South Uist; St Kilda; Canna; Island Columkill in Loch Arkeg; Killchallumkill, opposite Lismore; Kilcolmkill or Kiel in Ardhattan; Kilcolmkill in parish of Morvern; Kilcolmkill in Mull; Columkille in Torosay, Mull; Oransay; Kilcholmkill in Kildalton; Kilcholmkill in Kilarrow; Cove in North Knapdale; Kilcolmkill in Southend; St Colombs in Rothesay; Largs; Kirkcolm; St Columbo in Caerlaverock. *Among the Picts*—Burness, Orkney; Hoy; St Combs, Orick; Dirlet in Halkirk; Island Comb in parish of Tongue; Kilcolmkill in Clyne; Auldearn; Pettie; Kingussie; St Colms in Fordyce; Alvah; Lonmay; Daviot; Belhelvie; Monycabo or New Machar; Cortachy; Tannadice; Dunkeld; Inchcolm; Kincardine-on-Forth; Drymen.

4. **Bernicia** goes back to Roman times, being the name of the province on the east coast extending from the Forth to the Tyne or Tees, with Bamborough for its capital, the more southern part being called *Deira*, the capital of which was York. At the period of Loth, from whom is named Laudonia or Lothian, Bernicia was mainly heathen, the grandfather of Kentigern being described as *paganissimus*. Lothian was neither Scottish nor English, as we now use the words, but was the chief part of the kingdom of Northumbria. Between 545 and 580 the kingdoms of Pictavia, Dalriada, and Northumbria were portioned off.

The great churchmen associated with this intermediate kingdom of Northumbria are Aidan, Eata, Boisil, Baldred, Finnan, Cuthbert, Colman, to whom we may add the abbess S. Ebba. The places where these and others laboured in the Gospel, mainly in monastic methods, but of a very primitive and practical sort, were Lindisfarne, Old Melrose, Coludi or Coldingham, and Abercurnig or Abercorn, from which Bishop Trumuini retired shortly after the decisive battle of Dunnichen on 20th June 685.

S. CUTHBERT, bishop and confessor, March 20, 687. Born in the valley of Leader or Tweed, and brought up as a shepherd by a widow called Kenspid. An Irish Life makes Cuthbert the son of Sabina, daughter of a king of Lainestri or Leinster, and his father a king of Connathe or Connaught. Placing his birth at Kenanus or Kells, it says his mother crossed with him to Galloway, then to Argyle, and successively to Dunkeld, Iona, and Channelkirk.

On the last day of August 651, as S. Aidan died, Cuthbert had a vision which led him at the age of sixteen to go to Mailros, where were a few Celtic monks under Abbot Eata, a disciple of Aidan. To define the exact connection between Iona and Lindisfarne, and between Aidan and Cuthbert, the list of bishops of Lindisfarne, with their dates, may here be inserted—Aidan, 635-651; Finian, 651-661; Colman, 661-664; Tuda, 664-678; Eata, 678-685; Cuthbert, 685-687.

The cell at Melrose was a dependency of Lindisfarne, and had Boisil, from whom is named St Boswells, as prior. Cuthbert was a great visitor and traveller, going from Melrose to Coludi, where Ebba was abbess, and then to the Picts of Galloway, as commemorated in the name Kirkcudbright = Kirk Cuthbert. Bede, in his 'Life of Cuthbert,' iv. 27, says: "He used to frequent most those places, to preach



most in those villages, which lay far in the high and rugged mountains which others feared to visit, and which, by their poverty and barbarism, repelled the approach of teachers. These he cultivated and instructed so industriously, and so earnestly bestowed himself on that pious labour, that he was often absent from his monastery for weeks, or even an entire month, without returning; and dwelling in the hill country, was continually calling the rude people to the things of heaven."

Cuthbert next became Prior of Lindisfarne under Eata, as abbot there, by appointment of King Oswin—both prior and abbot *accepting* the rules of the Council of Whitby, and *abandoning* the Iona peculiarities. Here he continued his travelling ministry. In 670, according to a custom of the age and Church, he became an eremite or anchorite, of which there is a memorial in "Cuddy's Cove," near Lindisfarne.<sup>1</sup> In 676 he shifted his hermitage to an *island* of the Farne group, where he had an oratory and kitchen, and where he spent eight years. In 685, at Easter, he was consecrated at York as Bishop of Lindisfarne, but died 20th March 687. Cuthbert's body remained at Lindisfarne till 875, when the monks fled with it from the Danes. In 995 it was deposited at Durham, and the 4th of September was long celebrated as the day of his translation. The body and its original wrappings are still preserved in the cathedral library. Besides the Life by Bede, there are two recent Lives—1849, by Archbishop Eyre; and 1880, by A. C. Fryer.

*Dedications.*—Ballantrae, Hailes, Glencairn, Denesmor, Kirkcudbright, Glenholm, Ednam, Drummelzier, Maxton, S. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, chapel at Wick, Prestwick, Eccles, Drysdale, Girvan, Ewes in Eskdale, Straiton in Carrick, Mauchline, Maybole, Monkton, Invertig, Weem. Fairs at Langton, Pool in Muckart, and Linlithgow.

**Characteristics of the Celtic Church.**—That there was a distinct and independent development of Christianity common to the Scots in Ireland, the Scots of Alban holding by Iona, and the Saxons of Northumbria holding by Lindisfarne, is a simple historic fact, and one of great importance in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Writers in the interest of the

<sup>1</sup> In notes by Bishop Forbes to 'Life of S. Kentigern,' p. 345, the following list is given of caves occupied by saints:—

Ninian	at Glasserton.	Gernadius	at Kinedor.
Medana	" Kirkmaiden.	Laisren	" Holy Island.
Serf	" Dysart.	Fergus	" Glamis.
Phillan	" Pittenweem.	Margaret	" Dunfermline.
Adrian	" Caipley.	Carraig	" Eilan Mohr.
Constantine	" Fifeness.	Columba	" Cove in Knapdale.
Rule	" St Andrews.	Monan	" S. Monance.
Ciaran	" Cantyre.	Cuthbert	" Weem.

Church of England as an independent branch of Christendom distinct from the Papacy (*e.g.*, Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, 'Theophilus Anglicanus,' pp. 166-192), collect and interpret its more ancient features and laws. A much clearer and stronger case of independence exists in the Celtic Church. The germ of the argument is well stated by Walcott in preface to 'Ancient Church of Scotland': "As an Englishman I could not fail to feel a deep gratitude to that ancient Church of Scotland, the school of our early northern princes, and the nursing-mother from whom S. Oswald prayed for preachers to evangelise his dominions—the Church which even then opposed the claims of alien supremacy, having nothing in common with the Roman Pontiff, and acknowledging no bishops of a foreign see as superiors to the national Episcopate. To her the Church of York was often indebted for the Christian faith and doctrine and the consecration of her bishops."

Much of the old Celtic Church system is recoverable and discernible from a careful study of the geographical nomenclature of Scotland, ecclesiastical dedications which were historical and not merely complimentary, old names of fairs which were nearly all held on local saints' days, holy wells used by the old mission preachers in baptism, and traditional names in old families.

Some names, like Ninian, Mungo, Maurice, Martin, Gilbert, pointed to the *day of birth*, at first as the day of a certain saint, and afterwards were repeated in honour of the previous bearer. Other names marked the origin of certain families as being ecclesiastical—*e.g.*, *Gillies*, servant of Jesus; *Gilchrist*, servant of Christ; *Gilmichael*, servant of Michael; *Gilmory*, servant of Mary; *Malcolm*, servant of Columba; *Gilfillan*, servant of Fillan; *Gillespie*, servant of the bishop; *Maclean*, son of the servant of John; *MacPherson*, son of the parson; *MacVicar*, son of the vicar; *MacNab*, son of the abbot; *MacBriar*, son of the prior; *Buchanan*, son of the canon; *MacTaggart*, son of the priest; *Dewar*, keeper of a bell or crosier.



The following list of holy wells is copied from Anderson, 'Early Christian Scotland,' i. 193 :—

Adamnan	at	Dull.	Mair	at	Beith.
"	"	Forglen.	Irnie	"	Kilrenny.
Aidan	"	Menmuir.	Mungo	"	Penicuik.
"	"	Fearn.	"	"	Peebles.
Baldred	"	Prestonkirk.	Mælrubha	"	Innis Maree.
Bride	"	Dunsyre.	Marnock	"	Aberchirder.
"	"	Beith.	Mirrin	"	Kilsyth.
Comb	"	Menmuir.	Medan	"	Airlie.
Colman	"	Kiltearn.	Modan	"	Ardochattan.
Caran	"	Drumlithie.	Moluag	"	Mortlach.
Columba	"	Eigg.	Muriel	"	Rathmuriel.
"	"	Eilan-na-Naoimk.	Nathalan	"	Old Meldrum.
Fechin	"	Conan, Forfarshire.	Ninian	"	Lamington.
Devenic	"	Methlic.	"	"	Arbroath.
Donan	"	Eigg.	"	"	Stirling.
Ethan	"	Burghead.	Patrick	"	Struthill, Muthill.
Fergus	"	Glammiss.	"	"	Blairnroar, "
Fillan	"	Struan.	Ronan	"	Butt of Lewis.
"	"	Largs.	Serf	"	Monzievaird.
Wallach at Glass, Aberdeenshire.					

“When a saintly pastor died, his grateful flock dedicated a church to his memory. It was built—small perhaps and rude—of such materials as were most readily to be had. The name of the founder, the apostle of the village, attached to his church; to the fountain hallowed by his using it in his baptism; to the stone bed shaped for his penance, or the cleft in the rock which served for that purpose; to some favourite haunt of his meditation or place of his preaching; to the fair of immemorial antiquity held there on *his* day, though forgotten by the descendants of those he baptised,—often furnishes the most interesting and unexpected corroboration of much of those Church legends and traditions which, though alloyed with the fables of a simple age, do not merit the utter contempt they have met with.”<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Forbes in the preface to his 'Kalendars' gives this summary of the labours and localities of Celtic saints: “We find present traces in names, sometimes strangely transformed,

<sup>1</sup> Cosmo Innes, Sketches of Early Scotch History, p. 3.

of the cultus of the ancient saints in every province in Scotland. The earliest of the Christian civilisations of this country is that of S. Ninian of Whithern, and here we find his association with Gaul commemorated in dedications to S. Mathurin and S. Martin of Tours. In the old kingdom of Bernicia, from Edinburgh to Newcastle-on-Tyne, we recognise its existence in the remembrance of S. Cuthbert, S. Boisil, S. Eata, S. Ebba, S. Baldred; and in Strathclyde the recollections of the old Cumbrian kingdom, of which Alclyd was the capital, are still associated with the names of S. Kentigern and S. Inan, S. Cadoc and S. Nethan. All over Scotland we note the close connection of this country with Ireland, although naturally it is in Argyleshire that we find the strongest evidence of the connection of the Dalriadic Scots with their brethren of Erin; and through this province, above all, does our country claim a share in that wonderful Christian civilisation and culture which is the glory of Ireland. The power of Hy is represented by the frequent dedications to S. Columba and S. Adamnan, the latter often under strange modifications. Go to the extreme north, and while you find there also Irish influences in S. Fergus, S. Fymbar, and S. Duthac, you feel also the effect of the Norwegian power; and Cruden and Gress [in Lewis] give shrines to S. Olave, and Kirkwall a temple to S. Magnus, the martyr. Come round into the purely Pictish counties of Banff, Aberdeen, and Kincardineshire, and you find there a more native growth of such saints as S. Talarican of Fordyce, S. Devenick of Banchory, S. Ternan of Banchory, and S. Fumack of Botriphnie. In Angus there is a mixture of influences. Churches consecrated to the purely Irish S. Ferchin and Mochonog exist within a few miles of those who have the Columbite Aidan and Colman for their patrons. Cross the Tay into Fife, and beside a purely native element represented by S. Servanus and S. Monanus, you have indications of the early Irish colony. S. Cainnich at St Andrews, S. Hithernais at Markinch, S. Brigida at Abernethy, occupy the ground afterwards credited with

missions from Patras and martyrs from Pannonia. Even in the centre of Scotland, in the wild districts of upper Perthshire, Ireland is still present in the persons of S. Fillan of Glendochart and S. Adamnan of Dull. Nay, France herself sends back her Celtic visitants in the person of S. Fiacre of Nigg; while the civilisation of Italy touches these distant lands through the medium of S. Bonifacius Quiritinus, who founded five churches in honour of S. Peter, indicating thereby the presence of a certain Roman influence in Scotland; and of S. Palladius, who, sent by Pope S. Celestine to the already Christian Scots of Ireland, ended his days at Fordun in the Mearns."

In similar terms is the summary of a Presbyterian Gaelic scholar. "We thus find" (says Dr M'Lauchlan, 'Early Scottish Church,' p. 226) "that at a period so early as the middle of the seventh century, or about one hundred years after the coming of Columba to Scotland, several large and influential monasteries, or rather mission schools, were in existence. Iona, Abernethy, according to some authorities, and Melrose [Apurcrossan or Applecross also, where S. Mælrubius taught and preached for fifty years], were all in a flourishing condition; while Lindisfarne rose into importance among the Northumbrians of the south, and Glasgow flourished under the successors of Kentigern. It would appear, too, that there was a religious establishment at Abercorn dispensing the benefits of religion and education to the Saxons on the south side of the Firth of Forth, including, as some suppose, a Teutonic population to the north of it; while there is reason to believe that Servanus had his successors at Culross, and that the fruit of Ternan's labours had not perished in Aberdeen and Forfar."

Moreover, the old Celtic Church of these days had a Continental besides an English mission. Speaking of S. Fiacre, who is common to Nigg in Aberdeen and S. Brie in France, the author of 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints' says: "The Scottish clergy grasped the lamp of religion as it fell

from the hands of the worn-out Roman races ; and the austere sanctity of Irish monasticism . . . asserted its footing in the different nations of the Continent, of which many of the patron saints belong to this family. In the Vosges and the Jura, we have S. Fridolin ; at Luxeuil and Bobbio, S. Columbanus ; in Switzerland, S. Gall ; at Salzburg, S. Virgilius ; in Thuringia, S. Kilian ; at Lucca, S. Frigidian ; at Fiesole, S. Donatus ; and at Taranto, S. Cataldus ;” besides that S. Mac-lon of Rouen was a Macleod, and S. Malo of Brittany our S. Machutus.

Such frequent recurrence of the title *saint* as the history of the Celtic Church from 400 to 1100 A.D. involves, is liable to misinterpretation as if it were kindred to modern Ritualism. There could be no greater mistake. These Celtic churchmen by no means revelled in ecclesiastical millinery or furniture, but were simple practical Christians, whose monasteries were a group of huts usually made of willows and mud—“creel-houses”—and whose best churches were of oak logs roofed with thatch of reeds or heather. Huts and church were often or generally enclosed within walls of turf or rough stone, forming a kind of circular or irregular fort, known in Ireland as a *Rath* or *Cashel*, and of which a few stone specimens are still traceable in the west and north of Scotland, as at Elachnave and Deerness.<sup>1</sup>

The smaller communities consisted of twelve brethren under a prior. The larger houses, under an abbot, were divided into three classes of brethren,—viz., *seniors* engaged in the Church services, and in teaching and transcribing the Scriptures ; working brothers (exempt from the Psalter exercise) engaged in agriculture, cattle, cooking, and tool-making ; and *alumni* or pupils. The brethren proper had common prayer *thrice* by day and *other thrice* by night. In each office of the day three psalms were chanted. In the night office from October to February, thirty-six psalms and twelve anthems were used in three divisions ; and from March to September twenty-one

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Early Christian Times, i. 76-105.



psalms and eight anthems. The Saturday and Sunday portion embraced twenty-five psalms and twenty-five anthems; while the communion was celebrated every Sunday and feast-day. The most marvellous of all their usages was a discipline of remaining in cold water till they repeated the whole Psalter. Thus did Kentigern in the Molendinar and Columba in the Western sea.

**Special points of distinctiveness :—**

1. The Celtic Church was isolated and independent in geographical position, government, and ritual as compared with other Churches that recognised Rome.

2. Its bishops were not diocesan, but congregational and tribal.

3. The chief rulers were not bishops of any kind, but *abbots*, and at a latter date *co-arbs*, who presided over a monastery in which active secular labour was joined with religious functions and teaching. Sometimes, as at Kildare, the *co-arb* was a woman.

4. The multitude of those called bishops proves their status to have been practically only that of a district preacher or presbyter. S. Patrick consecrated 360 bishops in Ireland alone.

5. They had a system of ordination by *one* bishop, instead of three, as in the Roman communion. Serf was ordained by Palladius. Kentigern was ordained by one bishop brought from Ireland. Ternan had a similar consecration.

6. Marriage was permitted to Celtic presbyters, S. Patrick himself being the grandson of the presbyter Potitus. Especially were the *co-arbs* married in the later period, when Church lands were often shamefully alienated to their own families.

7. The time of keeping Easter was different in Ireland, Iona, and Lindisfarne from the Roman time and method.

8. The tonsure of Celtic monks differed from that of Roman monks, being semicircular (*i.e.*, from ear to ear over the forehead) instead of coronal.

9. The Celtic Church had no Mariolatry, but in dedication of churches emphasised Christ and the Trinity while paying honour of commemoration to faithful local ministers who were popularly called "saint."

10. Where stone was used in Celtic churches, the style of architecture was different from that of Rome, being roofed in with a small dome of larger stones instead of an arch. The cells of monks were of "beehive" roofing, as still to be seen in a few precious examples.<sup>1</sup> Most cells and churches, however, were of wattles thatched with reeds. The "Roman manner" of building is exceptionally noted in two cases, Candida Casa and Restennet.

11. Celtic churchmen were singularly partial to making their settlements on *islands*, especially small islands, for security and retreat. Iona, Lismore, Oronsay, Tiree, Hinba or Elachnave, Rona, Ailsa Craig, Sanda, Holy Isle at Lamlash, Holy Isle off Northumberland, Cumbrae, Bute, Inchmarnock, Inch Murrin in Lochlomond, Inch Cailleach in Lochlomond, Bass, May, Inchcolm, S. Serf, Lochleven, Inchmahome. Similarly in Ireland there were five island monasteries in Loch Erne alone, and other ten on islets in the river Shannon.

12. Celtic saints were largely if not mostly of royal or noble family, and were not canonised by Pope and Council, but gained their "good degree" by popular consent and reverence so surely and well, that of necessity and prudence it was afterwards recognised by a place in the kalendar of the district. The frequency of good birth in the old saints is worthy of remembrance in modern Scotland, where there is too great trust in the potency of bursaries.

"Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis ;  
Est . . . patrum  
Virtus." <sup>2</sup>

13. The Celtic Church in its method of work emphasised

<sup>1</sup> See "Scotland's Oldest Monastery" in 'Scottish Church,' November 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, Odes, IV. iv.



teaching and preaching, and made special appeal to Scripture for doctrine. This is a feature which still characterises the Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

**The suppression of these characteristics** and tokens of independence, especially as to Easter and tonsure, is clearly traceable in each of the three great parts of this Celtic Church.

As regards Lindisfarne or Northumbria, the Council of Whitby in 664 was the turning-point. In Ireland the turning-point was the bull of Adrian IV., 1156, in the interests of Henry II. of England, giving him the land on the plea of reforming or conforming the Church. The bull of 1156 bore fruit in the Synod of Cashel, 1172, held by command of Henry II., when the Irish clergy submitted to the Pope; so that really it is not so much England as Italy that is the original cause of Ireland's loss of nationality and independence. This historical fact is of fresh importance in these Home Rule days. But in Ireland there was an earlier *partial* change on the subject of Easter and the tonsure about 716, under a Saxon monk Egbert, educated at Rathmeilsige near Melfont. Strangely enough, the same monk persuaded the Iona community to conform on the same two points; but here, too, the conformity was only partial for a time. Egbert, who was thirteen years in Iona, died in 729, on Easter-day, and even then had not succeeded in subduing opposition to the

<sup>1</sup> Columbanus, who went to Gaul in 590 with twelve followers, gives this account of himself and companions in a letter to Pope Boniface IV.: "We are Irish, dwelling at the very ends of the earth. We be men who receive naught beyond the doctrines of the evangelists and apostles. The Catholic faith, as it was first delivered by the successors of the holy apostles, is still maintained among us with unchanged fidelity. For myself I am a Scottish pilgrim, and my speech and actions correspond to my name, which is in Hebrew Jonah, in Greek Peristera, and in Latin Columba, a dove." They were clothed in a garment of coarse texture made of wool, and of the natural colour of the material, under which was a white tunic. Their heads were shaved in front from ear to ear, the anterior half of the head being made bare, while their hair flowed down naturally and unchecked from the back of the head. They had each a pilgrim's staff, a leathern water-bottle and a wallet, and a case containing some relics.—See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 6.

Roman Easter, for there were *rival* abbots in Iona from 704, when Adamnan died, to 772, when Bræsal began his thirty years' abbacy, during which, in 795, Iona was wrecked and burnt by the Danes.

Nectan or Naitan, king of the Picts 710-717, adopted the Roman Easter and tonsure for Pictavia, and in 717 expelled recusant churchmen.

The Strathclyde Britons conformed on the two points only in 768. The Britons of North Wales conformed to the Roman Easter in 768, while those of South Wales held out for nine years later. The slow and gradual progress of the movement is further-seen in the fact that while the Strathclyde Britons conformed only in 768, one of their bishops, Sedulius, in a visit to Rome so early as 721, subscribed canons that imply conformity for himself as an individual. But the general assimilation of the Celtic to the Roman Church on the other points of peculiarity additional to Easter and tonsure began only with S. Margaret, 1068-1093.

Investigation into the early Christianity of Scotland, as regards the exact nature of the ecclesiastical system, is rendered specially difficult by the fact that our chief knowledge comes through writers of *later* date who were professed votaries of the Roman Church, and passed lightly over the Scottish points of divergence and independence; while sometimes they forcibly imposed on early days the features of their own. Adamnan and Bede in this respect are more reliable than Ailred of Rievaulx or Joceline of Furness. "In every effort [says Hill Burton, i. 43] to get at the facts through such sources as these, there is a rather unequal struggle with the powerful and compact literary organisation to carry back into remote times the evidence that the Bishop of Rome exercised supreme authority over all the Christian Church."

Alluding to his book, 'The Cathedral or Abbey Church of Iona,' 1866, in which is an account of the Celtic Church and the mission of Columba, Bishop Ewing, Argyle, says (Life, p. 441): "I have had to read a great deal about the Celtic

Churches in connection with this book I have had in hand on Iona. Some of the books are very little known, but well worth your perusal—such as O'Curry's 'Lectures on Irish History;' Reeves's (Adamnan's) 'Columba;' ditto 'History of the Culdees;' 'Dean of Lismore's Book' (Skene); 'Parochiales Scotiæ' (Innes); and suchlike. And from these it is evident that the Celtic Churches in these islands, and in their large and widespread colonies on the Continent, possessed an organisation very little like 'our platform.' It was, no doubt, as little like the Presbyterian. The bishops had no dioceses, and were exceedingly numerous, acting under the abbots as trainers of youth and ordainers of clergy, and constituting merely the court of assessors of this or that man—S. Patrick, Columba, Kentigern, &c., being everything. This system seems to have been common to Egypt, portions of Asia Minor and Syria, and, as I take it, it is some remnant in the blood which makes the Celt sit loose to any form of Church government as being essential."

**Who and what were the Culdees?**—One needless difficulty has arisen in connection with the name Culdees = recluses, from Cealdach = Keledeus. These have been made the subject of historical disquisition and ecclesiastical controversy as if they were some distinct or new body of religious men who appeared in Scotland between the system of Columba or Kentigern in the sixth century and the Roman system under S. Margaret and her sons in the twelfth century. It is merely the *name* Culdees that is new. Dark though the period be from the ninth to the eleventh century, it is absurd to suppose that the old Columban Church had died out, and that some fresh type of Church had succeeded it, without our having any record of the one event or of the other. No. The old Celtic Church lived and laboured on, substantially the same, but undergoing such a development as every institution, civil or sacred, must experience in the course of four or five centuries. The name Culdee, unknown to Adamnan or Bede, appears first in Scottish history after the expulsion of the Columban

monks from Pictland in 717. At a much later date a fierce and obstinate fight was maintained in several Culdee strongholds, especially St Andrews, Lochleven, and Dunblane. The last mention of Culdees at St Andrews is in 1332.

The name Culdees, as traced by Dr Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 226-277) seems to have reference to two texts of Scripture—"keeping himself unspotted from the world," and "peculiar people, strangers and pilgrims." Led by these texts, certain men became anchorites, hermits, or recluses, people of God, *Deicoli, servi Dei*. In 747, the Bishop of Metz, in a new institution of secular canons, brought together the secular clergy who lived apart each in his own house or manse, and the recluses, who also lived apart, in contrast with monks, in a common life in a monastery with one dormitory, one refectory, and one chapel. The General Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, 816-817, confirmed this arrangement, calling the persons in question *Deicolæ*. In 936, the ministers of the Cathedral of S. Peter's, York, were called Colidei = canon clerics. At Canterbury, in 1006, the same class of men were called [Dei] Cultores clerici. All this was only a wider form of what had for centuries already existed in Scotland and Ireland. The early Irish Church had *clochans* or *carcairs* = carcer or prison, which are the famous beehive cells familiar to antiquaries in the Arran Isles, in Devenish in Loch Earn, and in Eilan-na-naomh in the Garveloch Isles; and in a different form in the *deserts*, of which we have an example in S. Serf's retreat at Dysart. In Ireland, as in Scotland, these religious recluses were called *Ceile De*. In 670 we have a specimen of them at Lindisfarne, in S. Cuthbert, and, even earlier, in Tiree and the Garveloch. Thus the *Ceile De* of Ireland are the *Deicolæ* of the Continent, and both are a special kind of monk, a solitary. A decisive case is that of Angus the Culdee, author of one of the old Kalendars; his retreat is *Disert Ængus*, now Disert Enos, corresponding to our own Dysart of S. Serf. Another case is Comgan, who died in 869. He is called in the Ulster annals "Comgan Fota, *anchorite of Tamlacht*," and



in the Kalendar of Tamlacht, “Comgan *Cele De.*” At Armagh, in Ireland, these Celedei were canons of the Cathedral. In Scotland, Keledei first appear in the territory of the Southern Picts after the expulsion of the Columban monks in 717, in connection with the history of S. Serf in its later form, joined with the cave at Dysart and Tuligbotnan (= Tullibothy, Tullibody), Tuligcultrin (Tillicoultry), Alveth (Alva), Atheren (Airthrey), Cella Dunenensis (Dunning), and Culenros (Culross), where he was buried.

**Origin of the Primacy of St Andrews.** — The transition from the Celtic Church to the Roman in Scotland, besides the change in ritual and government, was also associated with change of the seat of ecclesiastical authority. While Iona remained intact, its abbot was the chief churchman of the land; but in 806 it was destroyed by the Danes. In 807 Kells in Meath was made a temporary substitute for Iona, and the system of Irish co-arbs or heirs of Columba began. In 818 Iona was rebuilt of *stone*, and reoccupied by Abbot Diarmaid. In 825 the Danes again assailed Iona, when S. Blathmac was martyred for refusing to divulge the hiding-place of Columba’s relics. In 850 the Abbey of Dunkeld was founded by King Kenneth MacAlpin in the seventh year of his reign. Already Constantine, king of the Picts, had planted a Church at Dunkeld; but Kenneth’s foundation had a higher aim, equivalent to the transplanting of Iona to a safer and more useful site—*i.e.*, nearer the new seat of government. Thus he transferred the relics of Columba to Dunkeld, intending for it the primacy of the kingdom of the Southern Picts. Kenneth died in 860. In 865 died Tuathal (son of Artguso), Abbot of Dunkeld, and first Bishop of Fortrenn, or the kingdom of the Southern Picts. This combination of ecclesiastical title shows the policy of Kenneth.

The same year when Tuathal died, 865, was the second year of the reign of Constantine (son of Kenneth), who made a further change in transferring the *bishopric* from Dunkeld to Abernethy, leaving the abbacy at Dunkeld, which soon fell



into the hands of *lay* abbots. The round tour of Abernethy had probably been built in 854, and about that time a fresh colony of monks from Ireland had settled, after being driven from home by the desolating Danes. At Abernethy, according to Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, "in that church there had been three elections of bishops when there was but one sole bishop in Scotland, and at that time it was the principal royal and episcopal seat, for some time, of the whole kingdom of the Picts." This was between the first Bishop of Fortrenn, who died in 865, and the first Bishop of St Andrews in 908. (Skene supposes Ethernascus of Lathrisk, or Kettle, to be one of the three bishops made at Abernethy.)

On the Church thus settled at Abernethy a new privilege was conferred by King Giric, or Grig, who reigned 878-889. "This is he who first gave liberty to the Scottish Church, which had been until now under servitude, according to the law and custom of the Picts." It is the first time in history that we meet the name *Scottish Church*, and the privilege conferred by Grig, the Church's "nursing-father," was apparently exemption from exaction of victuals and hospitality by secular persons, and from "hosting" or serving in war, so that now Church lands were to be held for the sole service of God, free from servitude to any temporal chief. Only by slow degrees was this charter made good in fact, for Grig was himself dethroned and succeeded by his male descendants under the new name of kings of Alban (not of the Picts), and the country between the Forth and the Spey was no longer called Pictland or Fortrenn, but Alban. In the sixth year of the reign of Constantine the second king of Alban in 908, took place on the Moot or Justice Hill of Scone a famous meeting, at which King Constantine and Bishop Cellach "solemnly vow to protect the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and of the Gospel, equally with the Scots." Here Cellach is evidently acting as primate; but Cellach had his church at St Andrews and not Abernethy, so that *now* we have reached the first settlement of the bishopric

of St Andrews, of which Cellach appears as *first* bishop, both in the list given by Bower of Inchcolm and by Winton of Lochleven. When the bishopric was thus removed from Abernethy to St Andrews, parishes that had formerly been more immediately associated with Abernethy as a Pictish see, seem a little later to have been rearranged into the two sees of Brechin and Dunblane, Abernethy itself going to the share of the latter.

What may be called the last step in the process of transplanting Iona to St Andrews (with rests at Dunkeld and Abernethy) took place in 921, when a canonical rule of Culdees was *there* introduced by means of Maenach *Cele De*, who came from Ireland to establish "the ordinances of Erin," where this canonical rule had already been in operation for a century—being, in fact, but the adoption of the plan agreed on in 816 at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle above referred to. Fothad, the second Bishop of Alban, made arrangement with the Keledei of Lochleven.

In this way, nearly a century in advance, were the foundations laid for that threefold policy of Queen Margaret which consisted in—1, substituting diocesan episcopacy for monastic jurisdiction of the Celtic type; 2, introducing the religious orders of the Latin or Western Church; and 3, absorbing the Culdees, the survival of the Celtic Church, by converting them from *secular* to *regular* canons.

Not inappropriately, after describing how and when the primacy was settled at St Andrews, may allusion be made to a great extension which the see received after the battle of Carham in 1018, when Eadulf Cudel ceded the province of Lothian to the victor Malcolm II. The Bishop of St Andrews being *then* sole bishop in Scotland, the churches gained with new territory came under that rule ecclesiastically, and so remained as long as the old Church rule subsisted; the bishopric of Edinburgh in 1636, being a posthumous, if not also supposititious, child, added to the old family of Thirteen of which St Andrews was the first-born.

**Seats of Celtic Monasteries.**—Fifty institutions.

- Aberdour, in Buchan. S. Drostan's settlement.
- Abernethy. Long dispute of Culdees there with the monks of Arbroath.
- Applecross, Monastery of S. Maelrubha.
- Aberelliot or Arbirlot, Forfarshire.
- Blair, in Gowrie.
- Brechin. Culdees continued long after it was a bishop's see.
- Cloveth, in parish of Auchindoir or Cabrach, a cell of Mortlach.
- Culross on Forth, said to be founded by S. Serf, but existed earlier.
- Deir. The Book of Deer of ninth century connects it with Columba and Drostan.
- Dull, an Abthane, S. Adamnan. Had "smith" street and "mason" street.
- Dunblane. Lower part of tower of Culdee date. They struggled on to thirteenth century.
- Dunfermline. Had buildings for Culdees under Malcolm III.
- Dunkeld. S. Adamnan's foundation after plunder of Iona.
- Ecclesgrig or S. Cyrus, at Kirkside.
- Edzell, in Glenesk, founded by S. Drostan.
- Falkirk or Varia Capella, centre of S. Modan's work.
- Glasgow, S. Kentigern's foundation.
- Glendochart, S. Fillan's monastery. Bell, crosier, pool.
- Govan, on site of the Parish Church. See S. Constantine.
- Hoddam. Kentigern spent eight years here on return from Wales.
- Iona or Hy, planted by Columba and twelve disciples 563.
- Kettins, in south-west corner of Forfarshire, had six ancient chapels.
- Kilgouerin, Kilgour or Falkland, an old religious seat.
- Kilmuir, in Ross.
- Kilmund. See Mund in list of Celtic Saints.
- Kilspindy, near Aberlady, which belonged to Dunkeld.
- Kineff, in Kincardine, where is S. Arnty or Adamnan's cell.
- Kingarth or Cenn Garad, in Bute. S. Blane.

- Kinghorne, an old Abthanery, implying a monastery.
- Kirkcaldy, old Kyre-aldyn. Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 439.
- Kirkmichael, an Abthanedom under Dunkeld.
- Lesmahago. Culdees settled at Kirkfield on Abbey Green before David I.
- Lismore, a settlement of Molocus which prepared for see of Argyle.
- Lochleven. In 842 King Brude founded on S. Serf's Isle a college of Culdees.
- Madderty, an Abthanedom, site of Inchaffray Abbey.
- Melginch or Megginch, in parish of Errol.
- Monifieth, an Abthanedom, and had Keledei before 1242.
- Monymusk. Twelve Culdees under a prior preceded Church of SS. Mary and John.
- Mortlach, original of see of Aberdeen.
- Muthill. Tower of tenth or eleventh century. Had monastery on Estate "Culdees," and had Keledei from 1178 to 1214.
- Old Dornoch, in earldom of Caithness. Had Culdees till 1222.
- Old Mailros, under Eata, Boisil, and Cuthbert. Had monks from Lindisfarne.
- Old Montrose, Munros, Celurka or Salorky.
- Ratho, S. Mary's, near Edinburgh.
- Rosmarky, Fortrose, S. Boniface, 716. Culdees afterwards.
- Rossin or Rossinclerach, Rossie in Inchturre, north bank of Tay.
- Scone, representing the earldom of Gowrie. Had an earlier monastery.
- Selkirk, a monastery before the Abbey of SS. Mary and John, 1113.
- S. Andrews. Had Celtic monks under S. Cainnech in 598, and at first elected the bishop.
- Turriff, overlooking valley of Dee, founded by S. Congan.



### The Chief Celtic Saints :—

*Adamnan*, abbot, September 23, 704. Many forms of the name, especially Eunan or Ounan, which is diminutive of Adam. Was of the noble race of Cinal, born in Ireland 624, professed at Iona under Abbot Seguin 623-652, the fourth from Columba, chosen Abbot of Iona 679; wrote Life of Columba c. 680, the best basis of our early Church history, notwithstanding superfluous miracles; also wrote, from dictation of Arculphus the traveller, an account of the Holy Land. After a visit to Northumbria, adopted, c. 686, the Roman views on Easter and tonsure, but failed to commend them at Iona. At a synod of Tara, the Cain Adamnan or Canons of Adamnan were enacted as to Easter, and prohibiting women serving as soldiers. Most of his last seven years were spent in Ireland. His canons were renewed in 727. For bell, fair, well, and names of the saint, see Anderson, 'Early Chr. Times,' i. 196 and 176. Churches—Furvie or Slains, Forglen, Aboyne, Insh near Kingussie, Tannadice, Sanda or insula Awyn, Dalmeny, Campsie in S. Martins in Perthshire, Kinneff, Dull, Kileunan in Kilkerran in Kintyre, Grantully a joint dedication. He founded Dunkeld. The names Tennant and MacLennan are forms of Adamnan.

*Adrian* or Odhran, bishop, March 4. Aberdeen Breviary says he came from Pannonia in Hungary in company with Glodianus, Gayus, Monanus, and Stobrandus, and was slain by Danes in the Isle of May, in the time of Constantin, son of Kenneth, 863-876. Skene, ii. 311-316, makes out that Adrian = Macgidrin of Flisk and Lindores, came across from Ireland, bringing in 845 the *relics* of Monenn, when the Danes were ravaging churches there. If so, S. Monan's or Inverry represents not the work of a living missionary, but only a transported Irish saint. Caplawchy in the story is Caiphe, opposite the May.

*Aidan*, bishop and confessor, August 31, 651, laboured from 634 to 651. Started from Iona 635, was very friendly with King Oswald, and settled at Lindisfarne with companions from Iona. Churches—Cambusnethan, Menmuir. Fearn has Aidan's Well. He was succeeded at Lindisfarne by S. Finnian, who defended the Scots Easter against S. Ronan.

*Aidus*, Aidanus, Madoc or Modoc, Abbot of Ferns in Ireland, January 31, 628, better known as Madok or Madocus (by the prefix of *mo*, honorific, and of *oc*, diminutive and endearing). In the same way Lua of Lismore becomes Molocus, and Fiacre or Fitticus of Nigg Mofutachus. Aidus is said to have come from France into the Tay. Churches—S. Madoes, Perth; Kilmadoc, Doune. Like Ninian's psalter and Kentigern's clothes, Aidus was said to be unwetted by rain. See 'Historians of Scotland,' v. 264, 290.

*Aloyne*. Clyne (Caithness).

*Angus* at Balquhiddy, called by tradition disciple of Columba. Traceable in Clach-Aenais or stone of Angus, where marriages and baptisms were celebrated; Oirinn-Aenais, chapel near church; Feil-Aenais, fair of Angus at Kingshouse; Beonach-Aenais or preaching hillock.



*Baithen*, abbot, June 9, 690. Cousin of Columba, and his first successor. Bathans Kirk in Merkis, Abbey St Bathans—see 'New Statistical Account' under Abbey St Bathans; also 'Historians of Scotland,' vi. clvii.

*Baldred*, hermit, March 6, 756. Commonly called Suffragan of S. Kentigern, but lived a century later. Dwelt on the Bass as one of those *querentes eremiam in oceano*, with their oratories and hermitages from Eilan Rona to Ailsa Craig and Sanda. He founded the monastery of Tynninghame about 681. Churches—Aldhame, Tynningham, Preston. A convenient miracle for peace' sake gives a body of the saint to each of the three.

*Barchan* or Berchan, April 6. Called bishop in the Orkneys. Churches—Kilbarchan, Barochan in Houston, also in Inchmahome in Stirlingshire. Fair of S. Barquhan at Tain.

*Barr*, confessor, September 25. Called Finbar or Fymbarrus, Patron of Cork. Churches—Kilbar, in Island of Barra, off South Uist; S. Barre's Island, near Davar, in Kilkerran of Kintyre; Chapel Barre in Tarbat, Ross; Eddleston, near Peebles; Dornoch; Barr in Ayrshire; village Inchbare in Stracathrow.

*Bathulloch* or Mathuluoch. Tarland in Mar.

*Baya* or Vey, in Kilmaurs, joined with S. Maura; chapel in Little Cumbrae.

*Bean* or Beanus, bishop and confessor, October 26, c. 920, was uncle of S. Cadroe, who was taught at Armagh, and laboured in Strathearn and Wales. Churches—Kinkell in Garioch; Kinkell, near Auchterarder; Foulis Wester, near Crieff; Kirkbean, near Dumfries. See Skene, ii. 326.

*Bega*, virgin, September 6, 698. Churches—Kelbucho, Peebles; Kilbagie, near Alloa, now a distillery! and sung by Burns. This is the same saint as S. Bee's at Durham, sometimes associated with cheap theology.

*Blaise*, bishop and martyr, of Sebaste in Armenia, February 3, 316. Was the patron saint of wool-combers. Had chapel in Pladda, Arran; altar in Glasgow Cathedral.

*Blane*, bishop and confessor, August 10, 590, son of Ertha, sister of S. Cathan and daughter of King Aidan of Dalriada, was seven years in Ireland; taught by S. Congall and S. Kenneth. Churches—Kingarth in Bute; Kilblain in Greenock; Dunblane; Strathblane; also a church in Caerlaverock, in Dumfriesshire. Successors of Blain at Kingarth were Bishop Daniel +660, Bishopolan +689, Abbot Ronain +737, Abbot Macleinanach +776, Abbot Noe +790. The circle round the church in Bute resembles a Celtic Rath or Cashel. Anderson, i. 112.

*Boisil*, February 23, 664. Prior of Old Melrose. Closely connected as teacher and predecessor with S. Cuthbert. Died in the great plague. Gave name to St Boswells or Lessudden.

*Boniface*, bishop, March 16, c. 630. Albanus Kiritinus Bonifacius founded a church at the mouth of the river Gobriat, or Gowrie, in Pictavia, after baptising King Nectan. Preached for sixty years to Picts and Scots, and died at Rosmarky, aged eighty. Churches—In-

vergowrie, Tealing, Restennet, Meigle, Abernethie in Mar, Rosemarkie. Boniface was a bishop of that party in the Irish Church which had conformed to Rome. In 697, when Adamnan's canons were promulgated, they were signed, among others, by *Cuiritan Epscop.*—i.e., Bishop Quiritanus; also by *Bruide mac Derili Ri Cruinthintuath*—i.e., King of Pictavia, brother and immediate predecessor of Nectan. In Irish kalendars, on 16th March, we find, *Cuiritan Epscoip. ocus abb Ruis mic bairend*—i.e., Curitan, bishop and abbot of Rosmarkie. Further, the dedications to S. Peter and S. Boniface show his *Roman* leaning, just as dedication of S. Peter by King Nectan show Nectan's policy. The Aberdeen Breviary names as his companions Bonifandus, Benedictus, Servandus, Pensandus, Benevolus, Madius, Præcipuus, bishops, and the abbesses Crescentia and Triduana. Partly confirmatory there is a chapel of S. Benedict of Rosemarkie; Madius is supposed in S. Madoes (?); Pensandus in Kilspindy; Servanus is made a second S. Serf; Triduana at Rescobie.

*Brandon*, or Brengnan, abbot and confessor, May 16, 577. Flourished among the Scots 532. Son of Finlag and Cara. Educated by Bishop Hercus. Father of 3000 monks. Was a great traveller and voyager; had a seven years' voyage in search of the Atlantis of the west, or land of promise of the saints. He baptised and taught S. Machutus. Founded Clonfert, in Ireland, in 559. Died, aged ninety-four, in the monastery of Ailech (Scottish Chronicle, p. 453). Churches—Kilbrannan in Bute (Butemen were called from him Brandanes), Mull, S. Kilda, Kilbrandon in island Seil, Boyndie, Birnie or Brennach, where was his bell; fair at Banff and Kirkcaldy; Cullen, Dunbarney, Kilbirnie, Balbirnie, Eassie, Alyth, Kilbar in Ayrshire, island Calbrandon; Kirk Braddon in Isle of Man=Kirk Brandon. See 'Scottish Historians,' vi. 308.

*Brigida*, or Bride of Kildare, virgin—see p. 7.

*Brioc* or Bruoc, April 30, 500, disciple of S. Germanus of Auxerre. Churches—Dunrod in Desnes; Rothesay, where S. Brock's fair is first Wednesday of May; Inchbrayock at Montrose.

*Cadoc*, abbot, January 24, c. 514. Patron saint of Cambuslang. His baptismal name was Cathmael. Spent seven years about Cambuslang and Carmunnock, the former being *quedam urbs citra montem Mannauc*—i.e., the Kathkin hills, a name which seems to come from the saint's baptismal name. Cadoc is said to have lived 120 years. He was first abbot of the Welsh abbey of Llancarvan, and had twenty-four disciples, of whom one was Finnian of Clonard in Meath, through whom the Irish Church was revived. See 'Scottish Historians,' v. 350.

*Cainnech*, Kenneth, Canicus or Kannechus, October 11, 598. Was of the race of Ciar, born in 517 of poor parents, in Glengiven, County Derry. His abbey was Cill-righmonadh or St Andrews. He was scholar of S. Cadoc of Wales, also of S. Finian of Clonard, and fellow disciple of S. Columba, whom he visited twice at Iona. He laboured in the Western Islands of Scotland, and afterwards in Ireland. Churches—Kennaway in Fife, Inch Kenneth in river of Islay, Kilchenzie in Cantyre, Kilkenneth in Tiree, Kilchainnech in Iona,

Lagankenny at east end of Loch Laggan, Inch Kenneth isle and parish off Mull, Kilchainie in South Uist, Kilchenzie or Maybole, abbey of Cambuskenneth. From him come the names MacKenzie and Kennedy.

*Caran* or Calan, bishop, December 21 or 23, 669. Churches—Rogart, Redgorton, Premnay, Feteresso.

*Carden*. Churches—Golspie, Loth.

*Cathan*, Cattanus, bishop, May 17, 710. Uncle of S. Blane, whom he ordained and consecrated bishop. Cathan is buried in Bute. Churches—Kilcattan in Kilblane, Bute; Kilchattan in Luing Island; Ardchattan or Ballymodan, near Connell Ferry; Kilchattan Bay, Kilchattan Mill, and *Suide Chatain*, all at Kingarth in Bute; Gigha; Aberuthven, or Over-Ruthven, near Auchterarder, where is a very ancient church with a well-preserved eastern end.

*Ciaran*, Kyranus, Queranus, September 9, 548. Was son of a carpenter: hence Mac-ant-saoir, or MacIntyre. Was educated under S. Finnan of Cluain-iraird, and became abbot of Clonmacnois. Greatly esteemed by Columba, and died aged thirty-three. Churches—St Cirans in Strathmore, in Caithness; Kilkerran or Campbellton; Feteresso; Glenberrie and its well; Barvas; Dalkerran, or Dailly; Kilcheran in Lismore; Kilchieran in Kilchoman, in Islay. Same name as Kerron.

*Coan*, Congan, Comgan, abbot, October 13. Brother of S. Kentigerna of Inch Cailloch, in Lochlomond, whose three sons were SS. Fillan, Fursey, and Ultan. Coan was a prince of Leinster who, when defeated in war, went to North Argyle or Ross with his sisters, family, and seven other clerics. After long labour in Lochalsh, Coan was buried in Iona. Churches—Turiff, where is Cowan fair; Kilchowan in Kiltarn; S. Coan in Strath; Kilchoan in Kilbrandon, in Sele; Kilquhoan in Ardnamurchan; S. Congan in Knoydart; S. Congan of Boreraig in Skye; S. Congan in Glendale, in Duirinish; Lochalsh; Kilchoan in Lumlair; Kirkcowan. Name of Cowan.

*Coemgen*, Kevin, or Coivin, abbot, June 3, 618. Founded abbey of Glendalough in Leinster, 549. Churches—Kilchoman (Isles), Glenelg (Morven), Kilkivan (Kintyre).

*Colman*, bishop and confessor, February 18, 676. Left Lindisfarne 664. Tarbat in Ross; Ray in Caithness.

*Colmoc*, Colman, Mocholmog of Dromore, June 6, c. 500. An Irish Pict, disciple of Ailbe of Emly (Skene, ii. 32). Founded the monastery of Dromore before 514. Churches—Inchmahome in Menteith; Capella S. Colmoci, in churchyard at Kirriemuir. Bishop Forbes, in his 'Kalendars,' names several miracles of the usual sort in legends.

*Colmonell*, Colum an Eala, or Conan. Born 555; died 611. Was contemporary and nephew of Columba, son of his sister Nior. Churches—Kilcalmonell in Kintyre, Colmonell in Ayrshire. He is named from Ela, a stream in King's County, Ireland, where he has a church also.

*Columcille*, Columba—see p. 13.

*Conan*, January 26, 648. Bishop of Sodor and tutor of S. Fiacre.



Churches—Kilconan, in Fortingall, on north side of Loch Rannoch; well near Dalmally; fair in Glenorchy, third Wednesday of March.

*Congall*, Comgall, May 12, 602. Abbot of Bangor in county Down, founded in 558, and had 3000 monks when S. Columbanus and his company went to Italy. Congall founded a house in Terra Heth—*i.e.*, Tیره,—and with Columba and Cainnech had part in the conversion of King Brude at Inverness. Churches—Dercongall or Holywood; Durris, where is his fair.

*Constantine*, king and martyr, March 11, 596. Angus the Culdee says in his Kalendar, “Constantine, Abbot of Rathin, King of Alba, left his throne and became a monk in Ireland under Mochuda of the holy monks.” He had a monastery at Govan, where he was abbot; was martyred in Kintyre. Churches—Kirkconstantine or Govan; Kilchousland in Cantyre; Cousland Chapel near Cranston; Dunningen, in Forfarshire, has Cousand’s Fair and Cousand’s Flaw; Kin-noul; S. Cowstan’s well and chapel at Garabost in Lewis; Crawford-john; Edigham, a chapel; Urr; Colmanel.

*Constantine*, king, December 6, c. 943. Quite distinct from the martyr. This king died as a monk among the Culdees at St Andrews, after reigning forty-five years. It was he who with Bishop Kellach formed a Concordat at Scone on the Hill of Belief, or *Collis Credulitatis*. His cave still exists at Fife Ness, marked with pilgrim crosses.

*Convallus*, confessor, September 28. Son of an Irish prince, and disciple of Kentigern. He preached at the coronation of Kenneth I., and at the funeral of King Aidan. Churches—Inchinnan, Cumnock, Ochiltree. The “Argyle Stone at Inchinan, where in 1685 the Marquis of Argyll was taken, formed the base of a cross in memory of Conval” (New Statistical Account—Inchinnan).

*Cormac* or Carraig, June 21, a disciple of Columba, who made three mission voyages. Visiting Orkney, he owed his escape from death to certain words of Columba before King Brude, in the hearing of an Orkney chief. Churches—North Knapdale; Kirk Cormack in Kelton, in Galloway. Muir’s ‘Ecclesiological Notes,’ pp. 198-204; Anderson’s ‘Early Christian Times,’ i. 104, 110.

*Cumine*, February 24, 688, surnamed Fion=albus, monk of Iona, afterwards abbot for twelve or fourteen years; founded Church of Disert-Chiamin in Leinster; famed for letter to Abbot Segenius on the Easter controversy, in which he took the side of Rome against Iona. Fort Augustus, in Boleskine, is called Kilchui-man, and there is a hill called Suidh-Chuiman.

*Cuthbert*, bishop—see p. 15.

*Cyrus*, Ciricus, or Quiricus, a child-martyr, son of Julitta, also a martyr, a noble lady of Iconium. 16th June 304. King Grig, Giric, or Gregory the Great, who reigned 878-889, was named after S. Ciricus, and honoured as a saint for the freedom which he gave to the Church of Scotland. He was killed in battle at Dundurn, in Comrie. Church—S. Cyrus, in the Mearns. See Skene, i. 330-334.

*Dabius* or Davius, July 22. An Irish saint. Patron of Kippen by name of Movean. Churches—Kippen, Weem, Kildavie in Bute, Kildavie in north of Kilninian in Mull.

*Devenic*, confessor, November 13, 887. Laboured in provincia Cathinorum = Caithness, while his friend Mauricius went to the Picts. Buried at Banchory-Devenic. Churches—besides Banchory, Creich, Methlic has S. Denick's Fair, second Tuesday of November; and across the Ythan is S. Devenic's Well.

*Diarmid* or *Dermid*. Chapels in Cardross and Rosneath.

*Donaldus*, July 12, 712. Donevaldus with his nine daughters led a religious life in the Glen of Ogilvie in Forfarshire. Churches—Finhaven, Strathmartin, Tough.

*Donnan*, abbot, April 17, 617. Followed Columba from Ireland, and was martyred with fifty-two monks in the island of Egg. Donnan's staff or crosier was at Auchterless till the Reformation. Donan Fair is held at Kirktown there on the saint's day in April. Churches—*Eleven* Kildonans in Kintyre, Colmonel, Carrick, Arran, Egg, Uist, Lochbroom, Auchterless, Sutherland. See 'Historians of Scotland,' vi. 293-297.

*Drostan*, December 15. Son of Cosgrach, of the royal stock of the Scoti, also nephew and companion of Columba, was connected especially with Aberdour and Deer in Buchan.

"Vir Drostanus, Christianus, fidei constantia  
Vita clarus, Deo carus fuit ab infantia."

Churches—S. Trostan, Halkirk, Canisbay, Lochlee, Newdosk, Edzell, Skirdurstan or Aberlour, Alvie in Inverness, Insh in Inverness, Rothiemay, Brabster, Caningsbay, Deer, Aberdeen, S. Modrustus in Markinch, Kildusklan on Lochgilp in North Knapdale.

*Ebba*, virgin and abbess, August 25, 683. Sister of S. Oswald; and when exiled with her seven brothers was protected by King Donald Brec of Scotland. She received the veil from S. Finan of Lindisfarne. Founded a monastery on St Abb's Head, and was visited by S. Ethelreda of Ely and S. Cuthbert at Coludi or Coldingham, where she was buried.

*Egidius* or *Giles*, abbot, September 1, 714. Was a native of Athens; settled at Nismes, in Provence; honoured in Hungary, Flanders, Germany. Has 146 churches dedicated in England. Churches in Scotland—S. Giles, Edinburgh; Moffat, Elgin, Fintra.

*Englaci*us or *Englat*, November 3. Tarveth in Fife; Tarves in Buchan, where are Tanglan's Well and Ford.

*Ethermanus*, Ipherman, or Eddran, bishop and confessor, December 2, 669. Educated and consecrated in Ireland. Churches—Maderty in Stratherne, Rathen in Buchan, Isle of May, Leuchars, hermitage at S. Eddran's Slack.

*Ethernascus*, December 22, c. 865. Lathrisk or Kettle.

*Ewen* or *Ouen*. Kirkcowen (Denes), Inche (Strathspey), Ulva (Isles), Calder (Strathbolgy).

*Fergus*, bishop and confessor, November 18. Passed from Ireland to Strageath in Muthill, where he lived as a hermit, and dedicated three churches to S. Patrick at Strageath, Struthil, and Blair-roar. Fergus laboured also in Caithness and Buchan, where is the parish of S. Fergus. In Glammis he settled latterly, and died and



was buried. Churches—Wick, Halkirk, S. Fergus or Lungley, Inverugy, S. Fergus at Banff, Dyce. Glamis has S. Fergus' cave and well; chapel of S. Fergus in church of Inchbrayock at Montrose; chapel and well at Ulishaven or Usan. In 721, *Fergustus Episc. Scotie Pictus* signed at Rome canons as to irregular marriages (Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches,' pp. 5, 71). Fergus belonged to the party that conformed to Rome. His head was preserved at Scone in a silver casket (Skene, ii. 233). His arm was kept in a silver case in the Cathedral of Aberdeen, and he had special honour at Dyce (Coll. for Aberd. and Banff., Spalding Club, i. 244, ii. 400). His bacul or staff was still at S. Fergus in time of Bishop Elphinston (Anderson, i. 226).

*Fiacre*, abbot, August 30, 760. Called in Aberdeen Mofutachus = honorific *Mo*, and Fitticus; was patron saint of Brie in France. Nigg was anciently S. Fiacer Kirk.

*Fillan* of Dundurn and of Dunfillan, near east end of Loch Earn in Perthshire, June 22, c. 520. Was nearly two centuries earlier than S. Fillan of Strathfillan, and contemporary with S. Bryde and King Nectan of Abernethy, under whom he laboured. Like Colmoe of Inchmahome, he was a disciple of Ailbe of Emly. He is called *an lobar* or the Leper, and is described in the 'Martyrology of Donegal' as "of Rath Erann (= fort on the Earn) in Albain, and of Cill Thaelin (= Fillan) in Laoghis in Leinster, of the race of Ængus, king of Munster." According to Skene, ii. 33, Aberdour on Forth was also dedicated to him. See Anderson's 'Early Christian Times,' p. 190, and Reeve's 'Columba,' p. 227.

*Fillan*, abbot, January 9, c. 703. Was disciple of and successor to Mund of Kilmun. His father was Feriach, and his mother S. Kentigerna of Inch Cailleach in Lochlomond. There is S. Fillan's Pool at Killin; his arm as a relic was taken from Inchafray to the battle of Bannockburn; his pastoral staff (*coygerach* or *quigrich*) and belt still exist. They had a hereditary keeper or Dewar. His chief seat was Glendochart. Churches—Strathfillan, Glendochart; Kilallan in Renfrewshire has seat, well, and fair of S. Fillan. On estate St Fillans, near Largs, is S. Fillan's Well. See Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches,' p. 389, and Anderson *passim*.

*Fincana* or Findoca, one of the nine daughters of S. Donevald. Churches—Echt in Mar, Kilfinichen (Isles), Findo-Gask near Perth, S. Fink in Bendochy, Inishail in Glenorchy.

*Finnan*, bishop, February 17, 662. Successor of Aidan at Lindisfarne; baptised King Peda at Walton, consecrated Diuna, and placed Cedd or Chad as bishop over the East Saxons, whereby the Iona influence extended temporarily as far south as the Thames.

*Fintan*, confessor, February 17. Killintay (Dunkeld), Killintag (Morven).

*Foscan*. Faskin (Buyn), Faskine in Old Monkland.

*Fothan* or Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, June 2, 177. Chapel of Torrie in Nigg, where S. Fothan and S. Fiacre are joined. Kirk-pottie in Dron.

*Fumac*, May 3. Botriphnie (Strathbolgy). Has a fair at Dinet.

*Fursey*, abbot in Caithness, January 16, 650. Son of S. Kentigerna,

and brother of S. Fillan of Glendochart; founded a monastery at Cnobheresburg in Suffolk in 633, preached to the East Angles, became an anchorite, then crossed to Gaul and founded a monastery at Lagny sur Marne.

*Inan*, confessor, August 18. Lived in ninth century; made pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem; died at Irvine, where his grave was a resort of pilgrims. Churches—Irvine, Beith with S. Inan's chair on Cuff Hill, Strathenan, S. Innian's Well at Lamington; Bootle, Parton—both called Kirkennan.

*Kennera*. Killinlyner (Dunkeld), Kirkinner in Galloway.

*Kentigern* or S. Mungo—see p. 9.

*Kentigerna*, matron, January 7, 733. Daughter of a chief or king of Leinster, sister of S. Congan of Turiff, had three sons famous as saints—viz., Fillan, Fursej, and Ultan. After spending some time in Strathfillan, she retired as a hermit to Inch-Cailzeoch in Lochlomond, where she died.

*Kessog* or Mackessog, bishop and confessor, March 10, 520. Born at Cashel, of the line of the kings of Ireland; martyred at Luss, where was his cairn till 1796, Carn Machiasog (Anderson's 'Early Christian Times,' i. 212). Churches—Luss; Auchterarder; Callander, with his fair and hill Tom-ma-chessaig; Kessog's Fair at Comrie, third Wednesday of March; Cumbrae, with Kessock's fair; Inverness, with Kessock Ferry. The name survives in Kessack, Macisaig, or M'Isaac.

*Kevoac*, presbyter, March 13, 655. Called variously Cœmhog, Camhan = Pulcherius, and Mochoemhoc, pronounced Mo-Keevoc. Churches—S. Quivox near Ayr, Leamokevoage or Twomileburris in Tipperary. Said to have lived 123 years.

*Kilda*. Unknown patron saint of an islet with three chapels, 140 miles west of the mainland of Scotland.

*Latan* or Lolan, bishop and confessor, September 22. Called nephew of S. Servanus. Kincardine in Menteith. His bell, staff, and croft are mentioned in Register of Cambuskenneth. (Anderson, i. 212, 226.)

*Laurence*, archdeacon of Rome and martyr, August 10, 258. Churches—Morebattle (Peebles), Forres (Elgin), Laurencekirk; fair at Hamilton. Another Laurence is, February 2, 619, Bishop of Canterbury after S. Augustin, but local references to the *gridiron* show that it is the *martyr* who is honoured at Forres and Laurencekirk.

*Mabrec* or Macbreck. Parish Kirkmabreck and chapel Kirkmabreck in Stonykirk.

*Machan*, bishop and confessor, September 28. Educated in Ireland, disciple of S. Cadoc. Churches—Campsie where he is buried, Dalserf anciently called Machan, Strathblane, Eglismachane in Linlithgowshire, altarage in Glasgow Cathedral, chapel S. Machan in Clyne.

*Machar* or Mauritius, bishop and confessor, November 12. Born in Ireland; baptised by S. Colman and called Mocumma or Mochonna; instructed by Columba; preached in island Mula or Mull; dwelt in Iona; laboured in Aberdeen, where he founded a church at the mouth

of the Don at a place described by Columba, *ubi flumen instar baculi* (with a crook like a crosier) *intra mare*. Machar was friend of S. Devenic, and joined with him in evangelising the north. Machar afterwards was bishop of Tours, or at least was buried there on his way back from a visit to Rome. Churches—Cathedral of S. Machar, Aberdeen, chapel of S. Macarius at Kildrummie. Maurice is one of the old Scots surnames.

*Machutus*, bishop and confessor, November 15, 565. Of noble British birth, trained by S. Brandon, fled to Brittany to escape being made a bishop. There known as S. Malo, Maclovius, Maclou (= Macleod). Afterwards recalled home. Buried at Saintes in Charente Inferieure, in the west of France. Churches—Leshmahagow, *i.e.*, Ecclesia Machuti, Wigton.

*Maelrubha*, abbot, April 21, 722. Son of Elgana and Subtan, descended on his father's side from Niall the Great through the Cinel Owen race, and by his mother from the Dalriadian stock, and through her nearly related to S. Comgall, was born January 3, 642. He received his early training at his kinsman's famous monastery of Bangor, where he became abbot, or rather, perhaps, prior. In 671, having attained his twenty-ninth year, he came to Scotland. Two years, probably spent in choosing a place of abode, having elapsed, he settled at Apurcrossan (=mouth of the Crossan) on the north-west coast of Scotland, where he founded a church which became a conventual establishment, following the order of Bangor, and long affiliated thereto. After a presidency of fifty-one years, and with a character for great sanctity, he died at Apurcrossan on Tuesday 21st April, 722, aged eighty years three months nineteen days. The saint's name suffers many changes—Mulruby, Marrow, Mury, Arrow, Olrou, Ruvius, Summaruff, Summereve. Apurcrossan was long a second Iona. See Skene, ii. 411. Churches—Applecross, Lochcarron, Loch Maree in Gairloch, Feil Maree (or Maelrubhe's Fair) in Contin, Glen Urquhart; Strath in Skye, where he used to preach at Ashig or Askimilruby, where he hung a bell in a tree; Bracadale, Portree, Kilmolroy in Arisaig, Harris, Muckairn, Craignish, Killarrow, Strathlachlan in Strachur, Kilmarrow, Forres, Fordyce, Keith or Keth Malruf, Kinnell, Lairg, Crail.

*Mahew* or Maccus. Companion of S. Patrick. Kilmahew in Cardross.

*Mailuph*, Malduff. Len or Lupus of Kilmaleu or Kilmalduff—*i.e.*, Inverary. This saint removed to England, where he founded the monastery of Malmesbury—*i.e.*, Maildulfesburch olim Ingelbourne—where S. Aldelm was one of his disciples.

*Manir*, bishop and confessor, December 18, 824. Churches—Aberdour in Buyn, Balveny in Mortlach, Crathie, where he is joined with S. Drostan and S. Fillan, and where he is known as Niniar or Miniar. He is said to have suffered persecution in introducing a new administration of rites (*i.e.*, more Roman), there being two languages, in both of which he was versed.

*Marman*, Ernan, or Marnock, bishop and confessor, March 1, 625. As a boy he sought to touch the hem of Columba's garment at Clon-



macnoise, when Columba predicted his fame. Churches—Kilmarnock, Inchmarnock in Kyles of Bute; Inchmarnock, a suppressed parish in Glentaner and Aboyne; Ardmarnock on Loch Fyne, with his cell; three Dalmarnocks, in Benholm and at Little Dunkeld, and on Clyde above Rutherglen; Leochel, Foulis Easter, Aberchirder or Marnock, where he is buried; Mass of S. Marnoc and land of Botmernoek in chapelry of Boith in Brechin, chapel and croft of S. Mernoc at Scone.

*Mary de Arane.* Kilmorie in Arran.

*Maur* or Maura, virgin, November 3. Kilmaurs in Kyle, S. Maur's lands in Haddington.

*Mayota* or Mazota, virgin, December 23. Connected with Abernethy and lands there dedicated to S. Brigida. Mayota was chief of Brigid's nine virgins. Church—Dulmoak or Drumoak on Dee; also S. Maikie's Well.

*Medan* or Middane, bishop and confessor, November 14, at Philorth or Fraserburgh. Churches—besides Philorth, Auchmedden in Aberdour near Philorth, Pitmedden in Udny, Fintray in Aberdeenshire; S. Madden's spring near Airlie church; Maidie's Well near Ecclesmaldie, now Inglismaldie in the Mearns; Lintrathen in Forfarshire, with Maidie's bell and endowed keeper or Dewar.

*Medana* or Medan, virgin, November 19, probably = Mo-Aedhan. Churches—Kirkmaiden or Maidenkirk, near the Mull of Galloway, where is a cell, cove, and pool; Kirkmaiden in Glasserton, in Galloway. See Anderson, i. 211; 'Historians of Scotland,' v. 285.

*Merinus*, Meadhrin, or Mirren, bishop and confessor, September 15. Came from the monastery of Bangor in Ireland, where he had been prior, and trained by S. Comgal. Churches—Paisley Abbey, Kirkmirren in Kelton in Kirkcudbrightshire, Inch Murrin with S. Mirrin's chapel in Lochlomond; Kilsyth has a well of St Mirrin.

*Methven*, November 16. Foulis Wester in Stratherne, chapel at Bridge of Buchanty on the Almond, S. Methvenmas market at Foulis, Methven parish.

*Modan*, abbot and confessor, February 4. Probably from Ireland, and of the sixth century. He used no wine or flesh. Starting from Dryburgh, his first settlement was on Loch Etive, on the future site of Ardochattan Priory, where is Balmhaodan—*i.e.*, town of Modan, and also well of Modan. There was a yellow—*i.e.*, bronze—bell *self-ringing* on occasion, according to legend. Modan retired to Rosneath, where he died after good work done around Falkirk and Stirling. Churches—Kilmodan on Loch Riddan, Rosneath, Falkirk, Stirling. See article in 'Good Words,' 1877.

*Modwenna*, Monynne, Monenna (=Medana?), virgin, July 5, 519. Friend of S. Brigida; was consecrated by S. Patrick. Founded Killelv in Armagh, near Newry, and seven churches in Scotland at the chief forts—*viz.*, Chilnecase in Galloway, Dundonald, Dumbarton, Stirling, Dunedin or Edinburgh, Dimpelder or Traprain in East Lothian, and Lanfortin or Longforgund in Gowrie, where she died.

She was patron saint of Scone. See 'Historians of Scotland,' v. xlii. 292.

*Molio*, Laisren, Molaissi, abbot, April 18, 639, of Holy Isle, Lam-lash=Eilan Molaise. Was nephew of S. Blane of Bute, and finally Abbot of Leighlin, in Ireland; died aged 120; buried at Shiskin, in Arran, where is a stone on his grave. Molio was grandson of that King Aidan of Alban who was consecrated by Columba.

*Molocus* or *Lugadius*, bishop and confessor, June 25, 577. Original name *Lugaidh*, pronounced *Lua*; with honorific *mo*, and diminutive *oc*, becomes *Molua*, *Moluoc*. He was disciple of S. Brandon, and specially connected with Lismore, at Portmaluag; buried at Rosmarky. Churches—Kilmuluag in Lismore, afterwards cathedral; Rosmarky; Mortlach; Well, called Simmerluak, near Cloveth; S. Mallock's fair at Clatt in the Garioch; Luoch fair in Tarland; S. Mologue fair at Alyth; Kilmoluag or Kilmuir, in Skye; Kilmoloig in Killean; Kilmoloig in Kilninian, in Mull; Kilmolowok in Raasay; Kilmoluag in Tiree; Kilmolowaig in Kilberry; S. Muluag in Pabbay; chapel called Teampull Mor at Garrapool, in Lewis. The *Bacul More*—*i.e.*, *baculus magnus*—great staff or crosier of the saint, is in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. Anderson, i. 226. Name of Malloch comes from that of *Molocus*.

*Monachus*, October 30. Stevenson, in Ayrshire, has S. Monk's day or Sammaneuks's day. Auchmannoch in Sorn.

*Monan*, Moinend, or Moenn, confessor, March 1, 571. Was suffragan of S. Brendan of Clonfert. Church—S. Monan's in Fife. Skene, ii. 312-316.

*Moroc*, November 8. Culdee abbot from Dunblane. Churches—Lecropt, Kilmorack in Ross. Kilmorick, near Dunkeld, has S. Muireach's Well. M'Lauchlan's 'Early Scot. Church,' p. 365.

*Mundus*, Mun, or Fintan Munnu, abbot, October 21, 635. Born in Ireland, son of Tulchan and Fedhelm; taught by S. Congall and Silenus; became a monk of Iona just after Columba's death; buried at Kilmun, where he founded a monastery. Parish of Eleanmunde, in Appin. His fair at Earlsruthven, in Forfarshire.

*Nathalan*, or Nachlan, bishop and confessor, January 8, 678, of Deeside; born at Tullicht. Churches—Meldrum or Bothelny=Balnethalen, Kilnaughtan in Kildalton Islay, Tough, Coul, Colsten in Mar, Cowie in Feteresso.

*Nidan*, September 30, in Welsh Kalendars; was grandson of Pasgen, son of Urien, and therefore cousin of S. Kentigern. The dedication of Midmar to Nidan, with neighbouring dedications of Migvie and Lumphanan to S. Finan, and of Glengairden to Kentigern, all attest the Welsh part of Kentigern's history.

*Nine Maidens* of S. Bride. Tullich (Buyn).

*Ninian*, bishop of the Picts in Galloway—see p. 3.

*Odhran*, pronounced Oran, abbot, October 2, 548. This Oran of Leitrioch-Odhrain—*i.e.*, Letterach, in Upper Ormond, in Tipperary—was called Saer-Snamach, or noble swimmer, and died fifteen years before Columba landed at Iona (Skene, ii. 35). Churches—Oronsay, Tiree. Relig-Oran was the burial-place at Iona.



*Osburnus.* Closeburn = Kilosbern = Cella Osburni.

*Oswald*, king and martyr, August 5, 642. Was brother of S. Ebba. Churches—Cathcart, near Glasgow; Kirkoswald, Ayrshire.

*Palladius*, bishop and confessor, July 6, 430. *Ad Scotos* (in Ireland) *in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papâ Celestino et primus Episcopus mittitur.* He was ill received there, near Wicklow, when combating Pelagianism, and removed to Scotland, where he founded the church of Fordun (or to which, perhaps, his relics were brought by S. Ternan), and where "Padie Fair" and "Padies Well" are named from him. It is said that he died at Longforgan.

*Patricius*, bishop and confessor, March 17, 493. Son of Calphurnius, a *decurio* or magistrate, and of Conkessa, said to be sister or niece of S. Martin of Tours. Kirk Onchan, in Isle of Man, is named after S. Concha, mother of S. Patrick. He was born at Kilpatrick on Clyde, and called Succat = Succoth, the name of a neighbouring estate. At sixteen, Patricius was carried off to Ireland by pirates, and sold to a chief, Michul of Antrim, whom he served six years, when he escaped to Scotland; then went to S. Germanus of Auxerre for forty, more probably four, years' study. After becoming monk, with his uncle, S. Martin, he visited Rome, was sent to Ireland, where he laboured sixty years, consecrating 365 churches and bishops, and ordaining 300—some say 3000—presbyters. Writings of Patricius are his 'Confession' and letter to Caroticus, Caradoc, or Ceretic Guledig, from whom the kings of Alcluith, Patrick's birth-land, were descended. His churches in Scotland are sixteen, of which three are in Muthill, where are also two "S. Patrick's Wells"—memorials of the ministry of S. Fergus, who dedicated these to his master in Ireland. The 'New Statistical Account,' Perth, p. 313, says: "The inhabitants of Muthill until very lately (*i.e.*, about 1835) held S. Patrick's name in so high veneration, that on his day neither the clap of the mill was heard nor the plough seen to move in the furrow." Other churches are—Kilpatrick in Arran; Kirkpatrick, Closeburn; Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton; Dalpatrick in Lanarkshire; Dalpatrick in Crieff; Temple Patrick in Tiree; Ardpatrik in Kilberry, Kintyre; Dalziel, with S. Patrick's Well; Kilpatrick in Kilviceuen; Kilpatrick in Torosay; Kilpatrick or Kilpeter in Uist; Kirkcaldy. Besides the 'Life of Todd,' see the recent lively book of Professor Stokes, 'Ireland and the Celtic Church,' sec. ii.-iv. Also Anderson, i. 199-204.

*Regulus*, Rule, Riagail of Muic-inis in Loch Derg, October 17. According to the legend, in 360 Regulus flourished at Patras in Greece, custodian of relics of S. Andrew. Sailing with the relics, Regulus was wrecked at Muckcross (= Boar's point) or Kilrymont, where, in 369, he erected a cross, then visited Forteviot, and met the Pictish King Hungus's three sons—viz., Owen, Nectan, and Finguine. The king gave a grant of land at Kilrimont, or "the Boar's Chase." Regulus also dedicated a church at Monifieth. The sum of Skene's analysis of this legend (Celtic Scotland, ii. 268) is that the historic Regulus of Muicross is no Greek, but an Irish monk, whose Scottish visit was associated with the visit of Columba to Drumceat in 573,

and who belongs to a Columban church founded among those which Columba established among the Southern Picts during the last years of his life, and at the same time when Cainnech of Achaboe had his hermitage there. Dr M'Lauchlan (Early Scottish Church, p. 278), with whom agrees Skene, ii. 271-277, accounts for S. Andrew thus: Bishop Acca of Hagustald or Hexham took refuge in 731 in the territory of the Picts. S. Andrew was venerated at Hexham, and relics seem to have been carried by the bishop; and the Pictish king, Angus, instituted a foundation in fulfilment of a vision and vow previously at Athelstaneford, to dedicate a tenth of his inheritance to S. Andrew.

*Ronan*, or Rowan, bishop and confessor under King Maldwin, February 7, 737, according to Adam King's Kalendar. He was of Kilmaronen, or Kilmaronoc, in Lennox. Other churches are—Kilmaronag, in Muckairn; Teampull Ronan of Ness, in Lewis; another in Iona, the parish church of which is at Port Ronain. Strowan, in Monzievard=S. Ronan, and has Ronan pool and bell. Tempull Rona, in North Rona isle, sixty miles north of Lewis, is described in Muir's 'Ecclesiastical Notes,' p. 93; also in Anderson, i. 114. The saint died in 737, when Abbot of Kingarth. See Skene, ii. 282.

Another Ronan is in the Aberdeen Breviary under May 22, who is in Irish Kalendars called Ronan Finn, being grandson of King Loarn.

*Servanus* or Serf, bishop and confessor, July 1. Said to be son of Alma, daughter of a Pictish king; was ordained by Palladius; dwelt at Culross in a monastery, where his most famous scholar was Kentigern. Palladius died in 432 and Kentigern in 603, so that the same man could not in an ordinary lifetime be *ordained* by Palladius and *teach* Kentigern. To escape this difficulty the Aberdeen Breviary makes *two* S. Serfs. Better abandon the earlier, retaining Culross, however, as a monastery, and accepting the founder (name unknown) as ordained by Palladius. Then we have S. Serf of history as contemporary with Abbot Adamnan of Iona, and Bishop Sedulius of Strathclyde, labouring in the Gospel at Dunning, Airthrey, Tillicoultry, Alva, Culross, and especially Portmoak; monkish legend afterwards giving the saint's good words and deeds an exaggerated and partly ridiculous garb of miracle. Churches in addition to the above-named are—Monzievaird, Criech, Dysart, S. Serf's in Redgorton. Ceremonies of S. Serf's day at Culross are described in 'Historians of Scotland,' v. 325.

*Talaricanus*, Tallorcan, or Tallore, bishop and confessor, October 30. Of the race of the Picts; was ordained by Pope Gregory, and laboured in the north of Scotland. Churches—Fridressor, Fordyce, Kiltarlity or Kiltalogy, Glentarken, Kiltarraglan on Loch Portree in Skye. M'Lauchlan, 'Early Scottish Church,' p. 364.

*Ternan*, Terrenanus, or Tigh-Earnan, bishop and confessor, June 12, 431. Was high-bishop of the Picts, and called Torannan, or Mo-Thoren, in Ireland; of noble birth, in the province of Myrnia or Mearns; baptised by Palladius and opposed by Convecturius, whom

he afterwards baptised. Ternan was a contemporary and friend of S. Macharius. His bell, called Ronnecht, was still at Banchory-Ternan at the Reformation. He was buried at Leconium, probably an old name of Banchory. Churches—besides Banchory-Ternan, Slains, Arbuthnott, Kiltearn (?); Findon in Banchory-Devenic has a chapel and well of S. Ternan.

*Thenew*, July 18, 514. Mother of S. Mungo and daughter of a king of Laudonia (see S. Kentigern); afterwards lived and was buried at Glasgow, where she had a church, San Thennuke's, now stultified as St Enoch's. The Fair of Glasgow is in her honour.

*Triduana*, virgin, October 8, called also Trolhœna, or Treddles. Triduana, with Crescentia, accompanied Boniface from Rome to Scotland. She was buried at Restalrig. Cures of blindness were her specialty as a saint. Churches—Restalrig; Rescobie, with S. Tri-duan's Fair; Kintradwell in Loth, in Caithness; S. Tredwall's chapel in Papa Westray.

*Tucharn*. Rothmurus in Strathspey.

*Vigean*, or Fechin, January 20, 664. Abbot of Fore in Westmeath; born at Leyney in Connaught; trained by S. Nathi, and friend of S. Mund; died near Arbroath. Legend attaches several miracles to his bachul or staff. Churches, besides several in Ireland, are—S. Vigeans; Ecclefechan, or Ecclesia sancti Fechani, now in Hoddam.

*Voloc*, Woloc, Macwoloc, January 29, 724. He was Fælchu, the twelfth Abbot of Iona, 717-724. In the time of Voloc or Fælchu, the Columban brethren were driven by King Nectan out of Pietavia. The improvement of morals and of the rites of the Church were the aims of Voloc. Churches—Dunnet in Caithness, Logie near Dunblane, Logie in Mar, Dunmeth in Glass in Strathbogie.

*Winnoc* or Guinoche, abbot, Lochwinnoch; also honoured in Buchan.

*Wynnin*, January 21, 579. Called in Wales Gwynnin = Finan. He is S. Finan of Moville in Down, who is identical with S. Frigidianus of Lucca. He died in Ireland, and was buried at Kilwinning. Churches—besides Kilwinning, Kirkgunzeon, Cœrwinning in Dalry, Holywood in Dumfriesshire.

*Yarchald*, Yrchar, or Erchad, bishop, August 24. Was contemporary with Kentigern, and said to have been ordained by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). The name of Yarchald seems associated with most of the Kincardines. Kincardine O'Niel, Kincardine in Ross, two miles from Bonar Bridge, Kincardine in Abernethy on Spey, Kincardine in Menteith (where, however, S. Lolan is named), Kincardine on Forth in Tulliallan, Kincardine glen at Auchterarder. See 'Historians of Scotland,' v. lxxxvii. 355.

#### KALENDAR OF SCOTS SAINTS.

Modern almanacs, in noting the day and year of birth or death of eminent artists, poets, engineers, or soldiers, or in showing when grouse-shooting or salmon-fishing begin and

close, are only *secular* copies of the old Church Kalendars, which dealt with saints and sacred seasons. Bishop Forbes well says: "A Kalendar is in a sense an abridgment of ecclesiastical history in general, and where it exhibits local peculiarities, it sums up the result of the most remarkable fruits of Christianity in the country to which it belongs." Knox's 'Liturgy' of 1564 had a short Kalendar prefixed, which gave the dates of the chief fairs throughout Scotland, which were then more prominently, as they still partly are, distinguished by the name of the saint's day. All fairs, or *ferice*, were originally of ecclesiastical origin, being the day of dedication of each important church to its patron saint. The Kalendar here given is compiled from those of the Aberdeen Breviary of 1550, and of Adam King of 1588 (reprinted by Bishop Forbes), from Alban Butler's 'Lives of the Saints' and from Knox's 'Liturgy.'

## January.

7. Kentigerna, matron, sister of S. Congan and mother of S. Fillan, . . . . .	560
8. Nathalan, bishop and confessor, . . . . .	678
9. Fillan, abbot of Glendochart, . . . . .	703
11. Duffus, king and martyr, . . . . .	967
11. David I., King of Scotland, . . . . .	1153
12. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, . . . . .	1166
13. Kentigern, or Mungo, bishop of Glasgow, . . . . .	603
16. Fursey, patron of Peronne, in France, . . . . .	650
20. Vigean, or Fechin, . . . . .	664
21. Wynnin, bishop of Kilwinning, . . . . .	579
24. Cadoc, of Cambuslang, . . . . .	c. 514
26. Conan, bishop, . . . . .	648
29. Voloc, or Makwolok, bishop, . . . . .	724
30. Glascianus, or Maglastian, bishop, . . . . .	814
31. Aidus, or Modoc, bishop of Ferns, of St Madoes, . . . . .	628

## February.

1. Brigida, or Bride, virgin, . . . . .	523
3. Blaise, bishop and martyr, of Sebaste, in Armenia, . . . . .	316
4. Modan, abbot, of Rosneath, . . . . .	507
7. Ronan, bishop, . . . . .	737
17. Finnan or Finian, bishop of Northumberland, successor to S. Aidan, . . . . .	662
17. Fintan, prior in Morvern, . . . . .	973



18. Colman, confessor, successor to S. Finan in Northumberland, . . . . .	664
23. Boisil, prior, teacher of S. Cuthbert, . . . . .	664
24. Cumine Fion, abbot of Iona, . . . . .	688

### March.

1. Monanus of Fife, confessor, . . . . .	571
1. Marnan, bishop of Kilmarnock, . . . . .	625
2. Ceadda or Chad, fifth bishop of the Mercians at Lichfield, disciple of S. Aidan, . . . . .	673
4. Adrian = Macgidrin, bishop and martyr, . . . . .	874
6. Baldred, bishop of the Bass, . . . . .	756
8. Duthac, bishop of Tain, . . . . .	1068
10. Kessog or Mackessage, bishop, . . . . .	520
11. Constantine, king and martyr, abbot at Govan, . . . . .	596
13. Kevoca or Mochœmhog, presbyter, lived 123 years, . . . . .	655
16. Bonifacius Kiritinus, bishop, . . . . . c.	630
17. Patrick, bishop, apostle of Ireland, . . . . .	493
18. Finianus, bishop, . . . . .	689
19. Clement, bishop of Dunblane, a Dominican, . . . . .	1258
20. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, . . . . .	687
30. Olave, king and martyr, . . . . .	1030

### April.

1. Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, last Scots Kalendar saint, . . . . .	1245
5. Tigernac, bishop of Kiltarn, also of Clogher in Ireland, . . . . .	506
6. Berchan or Barchan, bishop in Orkney, . . . . .	839
13. Winnoc or Guinoche, of Lochwinnock, . . . . .	875
16. Magnus, martyr in Orkney, . . . . .	1030
17. Donnan, abbot, . . . . .	617
18. Molio or Lasren, bishop of Arran, . . . . .	639
21. Maelrubhe, abbot, of Apurcrossan, . . . . .	722
30. Brioc, of Rothesay, . . . . .	500

### May.

1. Aseph, bishop, disciple of S. Mungo, . . . . .	608
1. Ultan, confessor, brother of S. Fursey. Feast of Beltane, . . . . .	635
3. Fumac, of Botriphnie.	
3. Feast of Holy Cross or Invention of the Cross.	
12. Congall, abbot of Holywood, . . . . .	602
16. Brandon, abbot.	
17. Cattan, of Bute, . . . . .	710

### June.

2. Fothan or Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, . . . . .	177
3. Coemgen or Kevin, abbot, . . . . .	618
6. Colmoc, bishop, . . . . . c.	500



8. Cyr or Syra, virgin, sister of S. Fiacre, . . . . .	643
9. Columba, abbot of Iona, . . . . .	597
9. Baithen, abbot, successor to S. Columba, . . . . .	600
12. Ternan, bishop, . . . . .	431
19. Margaret, Queen. Translation to Dunfermline, . . . . .	1251
21. Cormac, disciple of Columba, . . . . .	c. 580
22. Fillan of Dundurn, "the Leper," . . . . .	c. 450
25. Moloc or Lugadius, disciple of S. Brandon, . . . . .	577

## July.

1. Servanus or Serf, bishop, . . . . .	c. 700
5. Medana or Modwenna, virgin, . . . . .	518
6. Palladius, bishop, apostle of the Scots, . . . . .	430
12. Donaldus of Glen Ogilvie, . . . . .	712
13. John, bishop of Dunkeld, founder of see of Argyle, . . . . .	1203
15. Nine Virgins, daughters of S. Donevald, . . . . .	712
18. Thenewe, matron, mother of S. Mungo, . . . . .	514

## August.

1. Feast of Lammas.	
5. Oswald, king and martyr, of Cathcart, . . . . .	642
10. Laurence, martyr at Rome, . . . . .	258
10. Blane, bishop of Bute, . . . . .	590
16. Roche, confessor, of Montpellier, . . . . .	1327
18. Inan, confessor, of Irvine, . . . . .	839
20. Rognvald or Ronald, martyr, of Orkney, . . . . .	1158
24. Urchardus or Erchad, bishop, . . . . .	933
25. Ebba, virgin and abbess, of Coldingham, . . . . .	683
30. Fiacre or Fitticus, abbot, of Nigg, . . . . .	760
31. Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, . . . . .	651

## September.

1. Giles or Egidius, abbot, of Nismes, . . . . .	714
6. Bega or Bees, virgin, . . . . .	698
9. Ciaran, presbyter and abbot, of Clonmacnois, . . . . .	548
15. Mirren or Mirinus, bishop of Paisley, disciple of S. Comgall, c. . . . .	610
15. Adam, bishop and martyr, of Caithness, . . . . .	1222
16. Ninian, bishop of the Picts in Galloway, . . . . .	432
22. Lolan or Latan, bishop, . . . . .	c. 750
23. Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona, . . . . .	704
25. Barr or Fymberrus, bishop in Caithness, . . . . .	6th cent.
28. Machan, bishop of Campsie, . . . . .	c. 525
28. Convall of Inchinnan, disciple of Kentigern, . . . . .	c. 620
29. Michael. Michaelmas.	
30. Nidan, of Midmar, cousin of S. Kentigern, . . . . .	c. 600

## October.

2. Odhran or Oran, abbot, . . . . .	548
8. Triduana, of Restalrig, virgin, . . . . .	532

11. Cainnech or Kenneth, abbot of Kilrimont, . . . . .	598
13. Congan or Coan of Lochalsh, brother of S. Kentigerna, . c.	600
13. Fincana and Findoca, virgins, . . . . .	526
16. Gallus, abbot in Switzerland, . . . . .	646
17. Rule or Regulus, abbot, St Andrews, . . . . .	c. 573
21. Mundus or Fintan Munnu, abbot of Kilmun, . . . . .	635
26. Bean, bishop of Murthlach, . . . . .	c. 920
29. Kennera, virgin and martyr, of Kirkinner.	
30. Talarican or Tarken, bishop.	
30. Monachus of Stevenson.	
31. Foillan, bishop and martyr in Hainault, brother of S. Ultan and S. Fursey, . . . . .	655

## November.

1. Baya or Vey, virgin. Feast of Hallowmas, . . . . .	896
3. Maura, of Kilmaurs, virgin, . . . . .	899
3. Englacius, abbot, of Tarves, . . . . .	966
6. Methven of Foulis.	
6. Wilbrordius, bishop and martyr in Friesland, . . . . .	738
8. Moroc, abbot, . . . . .	817
8. Gervadius, confessor, . . . . .	934
11. Martin of Tours, bishop, uncle of S. Ninian. Martinmas,	397
12. Machar or Mauritius, bishop of Aberdeen, . . . . .	c. 610
13. Devenic, of Banchory, bishop, . . . . .	887
14. Medan or Middane, of Philorth, bishop, . . . . .	503
15. Machutus, bishop of Lesmahago and Brittany, . . . . .	565
16. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, . . . . .	1093
18. Fergus or Fergusianus, of Muthill and Glamis, . . . . .	c. 720
19. Medana, of Kirkmaiden, virgin.	
30. Andrew, apostle and martyr. Andermas.	

## December.

2. Ethernan, bishop, . . . . .	669
6. Nicholas, of Aberdeen, bishop.	
6. Constantine, king, and monk at St Andrews, . . . . .	c. 943
15. Drostan, monk, uterine brother to King Achaius, . . . . .	587
18. Manir, bishop of Aberdour in Buchan, . . . . .	824
22. Ethernascus, bishop of Lathrisk, . . . . .	c. 865
23. Mazota, virgin, of Drumoak, . . . . .	c. 530
23. Caran, bishop of Rogart, . . . . .	669

**Transitional Dedications to S. Peter and S. Mary.**—Many other saints occur in old Scottish Kalendars and Church dedications throughout Scotland—S. Peter, S. Mary, S. John, of one class; and Michael, Giles, Leonard, Roque, of another class: but these are common to Christendom.

A special interest, however, attaches to the *early* Scottish dedications to S. Peter, as they betoken time and place of the change from the Celtic to the Romanised Church. Skene, ii. 233, says: "The distribution of the churches among the Picts which were dedicated to S. Peter will show the extent to which the country at this time adopted him as their patron. Among the Southern Picts we have Invergowry, Tealing, Restennot, and Meigle. Among the Northern Picts, we have in Aberdeen and Banff, Cultyr, Fivy, and Inverugie; and in Moray and Ross, Drumdelgy, Ruthven, Glenbucket, Belty, Inverawen, Duffus, and Rosemarky. King Nectan himself is said by the Irish annalist Tighernac to have become a cleric in the year 724, and probably retired to the church which he had built after the Roman manner by the architects sent him from Northumbria, and which, as he had promised to dedicate that church to S. Peter, must have been one of these we have named—either Restennot or Rosemarkie."

The very numerous Scottish dedications to S. Mary the Virgin are also specially significant. While unknown or extremely rare in the Celtic Church, they became overwhelmingly common so soon as the policy of Queen Margaret and her sons began to expel or cover up the old system with its local saints. We need here to keep in mind that some of the older dedications that *sounded* like Mary have been demonstrated to be the popular pronunciation of S. Mælrubius, as in Loch Maree, Eilan Maree, and Kilmarow. This test is so decisive of the distinctive nature of the Celtic Church as non-Roman, that the whole question of independence might safely be rested on it alone. Compared with the multitudinous Scottish or Irish saints in our national Kalendar, what are the churches of our Lady or S. Mary? There is no clear case at all of any such dedication. This omission could not have been accidental, especially as the next phase of the Church favoured Mariolatry, and would have welcomed traces of its previous local existence.

**Epilogue on the Argument as to Clerical Orders connected**

**with the Celtic Church of Scotland.**—It is a sore point with Scottish Episcopalians—from Bishop Sage to Bishop Wordsworth<sup>1</sup>—that the Claim of Right adopted by the Estates of Scotland, 11th April 1689, and repeated by the Scottish Parliament, 22d July of the same year, contains the following passage: “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.”

Not being able to deny the fact that the Reformation in Scotland was effected by and for Presbyters, and not liking it to appear that Scottish Episcopacy is a cuckoo-egg in an alien nest, Bishop Wordsworth tries to escape from or improve the cuckoo position by setting up an earlier claim, “that at least the conversion of Scotland from heathenism to Christianity was made by bishops and by missionaries sent and ordained by bishops,” instancing Ninian, Palladius, Serf, Ternan, Kentigern, and Machar. This is just the old contention as to the Culdees, maintained by Jamieson on the Presbyterian side, and by Goodall on the other. So far, however, as the above six saints and others were bishops, the argument is mainly of value to the Roman Church, which possessed the land from 1100 A.D. to 1560; whereas the first Episcopacy kindred to Bishop Wordsworth’s type held only from 1610 to 1638, and from 1661 to 1688. Stated arithmetically, Bishop Wordsworth’s share is to the Pope’s share as 56 is to 460. The 56 in the one case is the two periods of twenty-eight years of

<sup>1</sup> The chief references touching this sore are given in Bishop Wordsworth’s ‘Discourse on Scottish Church History,’ 1881, pp. 97, 101, where also Dean Stanley is found fault with for saying,—“When the earthquake came in which Episcopacy perished, the Scottish soil had been to a certain degree prepared for its overthrow by the fact that the earliest evangelisers had *not* been bishops.” Stanley, however, only agrees with Bishop Ewing above quoted, that “the Celtic churches in these islands . . . possessed an organisation very little like our platform.”

Stuart Episcopacy, and the 460 is the period from S. Margaret to the Reformation. But it is a gross injustice to the Pope to weaken his 460 years of lawful possession by antedating an Episcopal claim that had no start till 1610.

The sum of the whole matter of the Celtic Church from 400 A.D. to 1100 is, that the argument for its residuary legatee-ship (as between Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Stuart Episcopalian) is rather mixed. There were bishops indeed; but they were mostly so small ones, so numerous, so diocese-less, so subordinate to abbots who were only presbyters, so un-Roman, and still more un-Stuart, that we must fall back largely on the New Testament for their ancestry, and forward on the Reformed Church of Scotland, with its parochial bishops, for their descendants. Perhaps the best course is to agree to leave the residuary legatee-ship unsettled, and confine our attention to the abbots and monks, bishops and presbyters, by themselves, to recover knowledge of them in their names, and beliefs, and usages, and spheres of work, and dates, apart from controversial theories. If there is any loser by that plan, it is not the Pope, and still less the Episcopacy of 1610, but rather the Church that was, in 1560, "reformed by Presbyters."



## CHAPTER II.

## THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PERIOD IN SCOTLAND, 1100-1560.

THE marriage of Malcolm Canmore to Queen Margaret was in 1070, and the reign of her third son David was from 1124 to 1153. Before these dates there was no Roman Church in Scotland. Between 1070 and 1153 there took place a fierce struggle of a new with an older form of Christianity, wherein the new prevailed, being zealously supported by the Anglicised royal family and new Norman nobility, who revolutionised in this country both secular property and Church government. When the persecution had ended in the overthrow of the ancient Celtic Church, the violence was hidden, or attempted to be hidden, by appropriating the old saints, as if there had been no difference or break between their Christianity and that of S. Margaret and S. David.

Before its overthrow, the Celtic Church seems to have become somewhat degenerate, while, on its fresh plantation under S. Margaret and S. David, the Roman Church was at its best. To it Scotland is indebted at that date alike for its most useful subdivision into *parishes*, and for the erection of *dioceses*; whereas the earlier method had consisted in scattered monasteries and itinerant missionaries. In the new system the old religious seats were generally retained, but remodelled and others added. Alexander I. (1107-1124) thus remodelled and enriched St Andrews, and founded new sees for Moray and Dunkeld. David I. (1124-1153) founded bishoprics at Glasgow (before coming to the throne), then at Aberdeen, Ross,

and Caithness, and lastly, at Dunblane and Brechin. Besides these bishoprics, David I. also founded fifteen religious houses, among which were Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, and Dryburgh. These grew so that ultimately there were above 120 monasteries and twenty convents spread over our small country, their inmates being variously known as Augustinians, Benedictines, Cistercians, Franciscans, Carthusians, Carmelites, and mendicant friars. This extravagance afterwards became injurious to the earlier boon of the parochial and diocesan system, for at the Reformation period as many as 700 of the 1000 parishes of Scotland, instead of being served by a proper parish priest, were attached to religious houses, and irregularly attended to by a cheap and inferior class of churchmen.

QUEEN AND S. MARGARET, called "the Pearl of Scotland" (from derivation of *Margarita*), was a Saxon princess of Northumbria, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside (+1017), and niece to S. Edward the Confessor (+1066). When William the Conqueror began his reign, he forced the Saxon princes and nobles to flee to Scotland in 1068. Edgar Atheling (= *Adel*, noble, and *ing*, son of), his mother, Agatha, and two sisters, Margaret and Christina, took refuge with King Malcolm III., called Canmore (born 1024, king 1057). The refugees landed near Dunfermline, at S. Margaret's Hope, and the king met his future wife at a great stone on the roadside, ever since called S. Margaret's Stone, between Dunfermline and the shore. Their marriage was in 1070 (1068 according to Skene). The king became champion of the Saxon cause, and in 1070, 1080, 1093 made great marches into the north of England with a view to replace his brother-in-law, Edgar, on the English throne. Edgar's name has a local survival in Port Edgar, just above Queensferry.

Margaret, at Dunfermline, laboured in peace and piety, founding a monastery there in 1075, and rebuilding the church of Iona. She restored Sunday observance by making Sunday field-work illegal. She also procured more regular and frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, and purified marriage by firmly stopping it within the prohibited degrees. The brave king could not read, but he rejoiced in her knowledge, and helped her plans, kissing often her books of devotion, and furnishing their jewelled binding. Each morning she prepared food for nine orphans, and on her knees fed them. Nightly she washed the feet of six paupers. Her fastings were frequent and prolonged (to the injury of her health), and in Lent she read the whole Psalter twice in every twenty-four hours. With all this austerity she dressed richly as a queen, kept a large retinue, and used dishes of silver and gold for her plain food. She was careful of

her children's education, and had them wholesomely whipped for their faults. Thus her influence and policy descended through her three sons, who reigned—Edgar, 1097-1107; Alexander I., 1107-1124; and especially David I., 1124-1153—whereby really *one devout mind* moulded Scotland ecclesiastically for eighty-three years—from S. Margaret's marriage to S. David's death, 1070-1153.

Her husband and eldest son fell when besieging Alnwick, 13th November 1093. "How fares it with the king and my Edward?" was her first question asked of her son Edgar on his return. The tidings proved her own death. "Praise and blessing be to Thee, Almighty God, that Thou hast been pleased to make me endure so bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me in some measure from the corruption of my sins; and Thou, Lord Jesus, who, through the will of the Father, hast enlivened the world by Thy death, oh deliver me." Pronouncing *deliver me*, she expired, in the castle of Edinburgh, 16th November 1093, holding in her hands her favourite and famous Black Rood—a cross of gold with a Christ of ebony—which gave its name to Holyrood Abbey. In 1249 she was canonised, and next year the relics of Malcolm and Margaret were buried in the same tomb at Dunfermline. The Queen's Ferry became the name of the rocks where pilgrims embarked to visit the shrine of S. Margaret and S. David. It is a just recognition of the claims of "the Pearl of Scotland," when in our own day we have S. Margaret's colleges.

On the eve of the battle of Largs, October 3, 1263, it was believed that the tombs of Dunfermline gave up their dead, and that, according to a vision of Sir John Wemys, "there came forth from the north door a queen, with stately step, in the full bloom of matronly beauty, a crown upon her head, and royal robes about her, who led by the right hand a lordly knight clad in glittering armour, girt with a sword, and wearing a helmet which had a circlet of gold. Behind them slowly followed, one by one, three noble figures, blithe and ready, sheathed in white coats of mail," for the saintly protectress of Scotland, attended by King Malcolm, her departed husband, and their royal sons, had risen from their graves to do battle for her beloved land against the might of Norway. Whatever the basis of the legend, it bears the stamp of pious patriotism.

**Outline of Reigns and Events during the Period.**—Malcolm Canmore III., 1057-1093, born in 1024, was crowned at Scone and fell at the siege of Alnwick. His queen, S. Margaret, married in 1068 or 1070; died in 1093 on tidings of the king's death. On this double death followed a period of indecision, during which Donald Bane was *quasi* king for a few months, and then Duncan, an illegitimate son of Malcolm, reigned two years.

The real succession to Malcolm III. lay with his three sons,

who followed each other, thus: Edgar, 1097-1107; Alexander I., 1107-1124; David I., 1124-1153. These were happy reigns for the country, and all contributed toward the settlement of the Church, especially the last of the three, the founding of monasteries becoming now a passion and fashion.

Malcolm IV., 1153-1165, grandson of David I., succeeded at the age of twelve. He had the religious tendencies of his race, lived uneventfully, and was succeeded by his younger brother.

William I., the Lion, 1165-1214. This was an eventful as well as long reign. He founded Aberbrothick, which became his burial-place. He dedicated it to S. Thomas à Becket, who had fallen a victim to Henry II. in 1170, the origin of strife being Becket's zeal to put the Church above the King of England. In 1174 King William was surprised and captured in a mist by the English, and released by Henry II. at the Treaty of Falaise, for surrender of the independence of the nation by personal homage and yielding five castles to English garrisons. The surrender proved only nominal. The independence of the Church was better managed. William resisted Pope Alexander III. as to the appointment of John Scot to the see of S. Andrews, and the fortunate accident of the Pope's death enabled the king to carry his point with the next Pope, Lucius III., who being new in his chair needed friends. William made still further gain in 1188 from Clement III., in a bull confirming the independence of the Church of Scotland as against both York and Canterbury. This independence, as against England, was won, however, at the cost of closer ties to Rome.

Alexander II., 1214-1249. Now the Church struggles to be free from the Pope. In 1217 Scotland was under papal interdict for fighting against King John of England. Three Scots bishops went to Rome to complain of the extortions of Legate Gualo. In 1225 the Scots clergy represented to Honorius IV. the need of a metropolitan to hold a council to correct abuses. This was granted, and was afterwards cleverly



interpreted as a *perpetual* concession under which free Provincial Councils were held in Scotland. Resisting Roman interference, Alexander refused to receive a papal legate, who got no farther than Edinburgh, and taking fright for his life, retreated to England. The king died of fever at Kerrera, during a western expedition to confirm his rule in Argyle and the Isles.

Alexander III.—1249-1286,—son of Alexander II., succeeded at the age of eight. Resisting the Norse rule in the Isles, he gained the battle of Largs in 1263. Continuing his father's policy of resistance to Roman interference, in 1266 he prohibited the Legate-Cardinal, Ottobon de Fieschi (later Pope Adrian V.), from raising a procuration in Scotland of six merks for each cathedral and four merks for each parish church. The king appealed to Rome, and the clergy raised 2000 merks to support the appeal—*i.e.*, to buy off the procuration by a bribe. In 1268 the same legate summoned the Scots clergy to a Council in England, when only four attended, not for obedience, but to decline jurisdiction and watch procedure. Thereafter a Provincial Council met at Perth, under the presidency of a Scots bishop, when canons were passed to hold an annual council, and that the bishops in rotation should act as *Conservator Statutorum*, an arrangement which continued till 1560. Three dates give us the stages of the papal advance on the Scottish purse. In 1254 Innocent IV. gave Henry III. of England  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland for three years to help in crusade. Henry's gain was even more slender than the Pope's right to give. In 1268 Clement IV. increased this airy gift to  $\frac{1}{10}$  in favour of Henry's son. This time they saved their cash and evaded both England and Rome by offering payment in soldiers. In 1275 a legate came to Scotland to collect in person this  $\frac{1}{10}$ . His name was Benemundus de Vicci, but he is best known as Bagimond, possibly as a joke on his bagging or begging mission. The device tried on him was a dispute and appeal whether the  $\frac{1}{10}$  was to be on old or present valuation. The poor legate had to trudge back to

Rome for the Pope's decision, which was in favour of the latter. The Roll so made out is still extant, and is the best authority for old Church wealth. Between 1275 and 1560 many a sore exaction was made on Scots clerics according to this fleecing tariff, especially when the chief benefices fell vacant. The Roll was revised in 1512, in a Synod held at Edinburgh in the Abbey of Dominicans.

Alexander III. died suddenly of a fall from his horse at Kinghorn in 1286, whereon the crown devolved on his grandchild Margaret, the Maid of Norway, who died at Kirkwall in 1290, on which a period of forty years' strife and confusion ensued. Of twelve claimants for the crown, the chief were John Baliol and Robert Bruce. The decision lay with Edward I. of England, who claimed as Lord Paramount, and decided for Baliol, but in vain. Now were the heroic and patriotic struggles of Wallace,—battle of Stirling Bridge, 1297; death in 1305. In 1300 a bull of Boniface VIII. declared Scotland a fief of the Holy See, and ordered Edward to quit it. Subsequently the Pope, probably through a later and greater bribe, wheeled, sided with Edward, and rebuked the patriotic Bishop Wishart of Glasgow.

Robert Bruce—1306-1329—grandson of Baliol's rival, was crowned at Scone. The coronation was a bold stroke, which was recognised by a national council at Dundee, representative of the bishops and clergy. Bannockburn in 1314 put an end for a time to English meddling. A fine feature of the War of Independence was the loyalty and self-denial of the clergy, who sided with Wallace and Bruce. A meeting of the Scots Estates at Aberbrothick stated to the Pope the ancient independence of Scotland, which led him to stop the excommunications, and three years later the Pope wrote to Bruce addressing him as *King*.

David II.—1329-1370—son of the great Bruce, succeeded at five years of age. Randolph, Earl of Murray, and on his death, Donald, Earl of Mar, became regent. The king suffered an exile of nine years, while Edward Baliol was supported by

Edward III. of England. Another misfortune to the king was eleven years' captivity—1346-1357—after the battle of Neville's Cross. Alike from the king's misconduct with Margaret Logie, his silly visits to England, and his base proposals to the Scots Estates to yield to England, we see that David II. was a poor creature, unworthy of his father and of Scotland.

Robert II.—1370-1390—nephew of the weak and unfortunate David II., was the first king of the Stuart dynasty, being grandson of Marjory, daughter of the great Bruce, who married Walter, the Lord High Steward. Battle of Otterburn, 1388. Robert died at his castle of Dundonald, after a quiet reign of nineteen years.

Robert III.—1390-1406—eldest son (originally called John) of Robert II. He died at Rothesay on hearing of his son James's captivity in England. He had previously lost the heir-apparent by starvation in the castle of Falkland by the agents of the Duke of Albany, his brother. Duke Robert was regent from 1406 to 1419; and his son, Duke Murdac, was regent from 1419 to the release of King James I. in 1424. Murdac, with his two sons, was beheaded at Stirling in 1425, in view of his castle of Doune.

James I.—1424-1437—was well educated during his captivity, and on his release was crowned at Scone. He renewed the struggle with the Pope as to investiture of bishops. Urban IV. had ordained every bishop to go to Rome for consecration—a grasping addition made to the acknowledged right of confirming appointments which brought great fees to Rome. James enacted that no clerk should purchase any pension out of any benefice; also that no clerk should go beyond seas without consent of his ordinary, and making oath not to be guilty of baratry or simony. In addition to these safeguards, an Act against carrying gold out of the realm was made applicable to clerks. Parliament, 1425, directed every bishop to make inquisition for Lollards and heretics. Paul Craw burned 1433. This vigorous and patriotic king was assassinated by

Sir Robert Graham (uncle to the Earl of Stratherne) in the Dominican Convent in Perth.

James II.—1437-1460—became king at six years of age, which led to struggles between Crichton and Livingston for possession of the boy-king and power. Reign of feud and passion, starting from the murder of Earl Douglas, his brother David, and Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1439. Two good points marked this wild time—the founding of the University of Glasgow in 1450, and the declaration of the Provincial Council of Perth that presentations to vacant benefices, by ancient law and custom, within a vacant bishopric, belonged to the Crown. The excellent Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews was James's chief counsellor. The king died at Roxburgh by the bursting of a cannon.

James III.—1460-1488—succeeded at the age of eight. The queen-mother and Bishop Kennedy carried on the Government till 1466, when the Boyds came into power, but in two years fell. In 1472, Patrick Graham, a good and able man, was made Archbishop of St Andrews by Sixtus IV., and also legate, with power to correct abuses. This dignity was intended to check the claims of Neville, Archbishop of York, but proved Graham's ruin through envy of his fortune and fear of his reforms. He was brought to trial, put in retirement within his see, lost his reason, and died as an imprisoned lunatic. Shevez, the next archbishop, was Ramsay's chief enemy, and the king was said to have been bribed with 10,000 merks. James had an architectural and artistic taste, but was a tool in the hands of low favourites (especially Cochrane), who in 1482 were hanged in a row over Lauder Bridge. Archibald Bell-the-Cat got his name from his volunteering to master Cochrane. In 1488 the king was assassinated at Sauchieburn during a rising in favour of his son.

James IV.—1488-1513—succeeded at sixteen, wore an iron chain round his waist in penance for his presence with the rebels at Sauchieburn who murdered his father. Besides love



of jousting, he made some good laws to promote justice, agriculture, and education, especially as to grammar-school and college for eldest sons of barons and freeholders. He encouraged a Scottish navy. In 1508 printing began in Scotland with the Breviary of Aberdeen, done by Chapman. The king used to go into retreat at the Monastery of Observantines in Stirling, and made pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain. On 9th September 1513, James fell at Flodden, surrounded by brave nobles—"The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away." He married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. ; and the great-grandson of the marriage, James VI., became James I. of England in 1603.

James V.—1513-1542—succeeded at two years old. Margaret, the queen-dowager, sister of Henry VIII., was regent, but foolishly married Douglas, Earl of Angus, and gave rise to English and French factions, which lasted to the Reformation. John, Duke of Albany, followed as *quasi* regent ; then the Earl of Angus. In July 1528, the king escaped at Falkland from the Douglasses, and fled to Stirling. He then sentenced the Douglasses to exile and forfeiture. One of the king's first cares was to reduce Border freebooters to order. In 1532 he instituted the College of Justice. He married, first, Magdalene, daughter of Francis I. ; then, on her death, Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville. As "Gudeman of Ballingeich," the king made a variety of adventures. He took the rout of Solway Moss so much to heart that he died of vexation at Falkland as he heard of the birth of his daughter, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots, saying of his kingdom, "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass." He was called "the King of the Commons." It is said that a list of 400 heretics for proscription whose properties were to be seized was found in the dead king's pocket. There followed a contest between Mary of Guise and the Earl of Arran for the regency. Arran was regent first ; then Cardinal Beaton, + 1546 ; then Mary of Guise, + 1560.



Map illustrating  
**STATE OF CHURCH**  
 IN REIGN OF DAVID I.

*Sees of Bishopricks shown thus* Dunkeld &  
*Monasteries thus* ○



## THE THIRTEEN DIOCESES OF SCOTLAND.

## I. Diocese of St Andrews.

Previous to the present Cathedral, called at first the "Great Church," there was the "Old Church," of which the tower and church of S. Rule remain. Still older was the cell of S. Rule himself, perhaps of S. Cainnech also, which was on the very edge of the sea, near the harbour, and named Kilrymont. Probably there was yet another church intermediate between the original cell of Cainnech or Rule and the "Old Church." Kilrymont, later St Andrews, was recognised from 908, or even 890, as the chief see in Scotland, its bishop being called *Scotorum Episcopus* or *Epscop Albain*. In 1472 it was raised to an archbishopric, having all the other sees suffragan, until, in 1491, Glasgow was also made an archbishopric with four sees suffragan, which still left seven suffragan to the primacy. St Andrews was subdivided into *eight* deaneries, of which five—viz., Fothri or Fotherick, Fife, Goverin or Gowrie, Angus, Mearns—formed an *archdeaconry* of St Andrews. The other three deaneries—viz., Lindicu or Linlithgow, Haddington or Lothian, Merkis or Merse—formed an archdeaconry of Lothian. This archdeaconry of Lothian, wholly composed of parishes lying "besouth the Forth," was in 1636, under Charles I., made into a bishopric of Edinburgh, with S. Giles for its cathedral, a subdivision which made up the number of sees to fourteen ultimately, but beyond the Roman period.

Under the Roman system, as regards St Andrews and its bishops, a new beginning was made at the name of Bishop Turgot, who stands in different lists as 11th, 12th, or 15th from the Culdee or Columbite time and line, which starts from Kellach I., c. 890 A.D.

## BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS.

Turgot, confessor to Queen Margaret, . . . . .	1107-1115
Robert, Prior of Scone, founded Priory of St Andrews, got gift of Culdee monastery of Lochleven, built church and tower of S. Rule, . . . . .	1124-1158



Arnold or Ernald, Abbot of Kelso, began the greater cathedral, . . . . .	1158-1159
Richard, chaplain to Malcolm IV., . . . .	1163-1177
Hugh, . . . . .	1178
Roger, . . . . .	1188-1202
William Malvoisine, Bishop of Glasgow, introduced Dominicans to Scotland, . . . . .	1202-1238
David Bernham, . . . . .	1239-1253
Abel, . . . . .	1253-1254
Gameline, . . . . .	1255-1271
William Wishart, . . . . .	1273-1279
William Lamberton, cathedral consecrated 1318 in presence of King Robert Bruce, . . . . .	1298-1328
James Bene, . . . . .	1328-1332
William Landel, . . . . .	1341-1385
Walter Trail, consecrated by Antipope Clement XVI., built castle of St Andrews, . . . . .	1386-1401
Henry Wardlaw, consecrated by Antipope Benedict XIII., founded 1411 University of St Andrews, . . . . .	1404-1440
James Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld, founded St Salvador's College, . . . . .	1440-1466
Patrick Graham, Bishop of Brechin, first archbishop in 1472, became insane through oppression, . . . . .	1466-1478
William Shevez, Archdeacon of St Andrews, . . . . .	1478-1496
Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, . . . . .	1514-1522
James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, founded St Mary's College, burnt Patrick Hamilton, . . . . .	1522-1539
David Beaton, nephew of preceding, Abbot of Arbroath, cardinal, burnt Wishart, murdered, . . . . .	1539-1546
John Hamilton, base son of first Earl of Arran, Abbot of Paisley, Bishop of Dunkeld, Catechism of 1552, hanged at Stirling, . . . . .	1549-1571

The list of parishes here given under dioceses and deaneries, to show the organisation of the pre-Reformation Church, is founded on a list in Walcott's 'Ancient Church of Scotland.' Modern names and spelling have been added in brackets for identification. To improve Walcott's list use has been made of the three volumes of Innes's 'Origines Parochiales,' which are the most accurate so far as they go. Next in value is the older work of Chalmers—'Caledonia,' also incomplete. Use has also been made of an alphabetical list of parishes in Keith's 'Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.' Hints have been drawn from the 'New Statistical Account.' Probably, with all the care taken, not a few errors and defects yet remain.

After the name of a parish, R. = rectory ; V. = vicarage. Names in *italics* denote the religious house to which a parish belonged, and a saint's name added shows the dedication.

As regards classification, the *dean* was next to the *bishop*. But the name of dean was also borne by the parson of a *plebania*, or mother church of a wide district with subordinate chapels. A plebania or abthane (= abbot or *church* thane) corresponded ecclesiastically to a thanedom in civil affairs. Next to the dean was the rector, then the vicar, and last of all the chapelry priest. The main body of the clergy consisted of vicars parochial, so called to distinguish them from vicars residential, *stellarii*, or choir vicars in a cathedral.

Certain churches are called common, commune, or mensal, because their fruits went to the common fund of the canons or for the bishop's table. A *free* parsonage or rectory is one that is not attached to a monastery, not mensal to a bishop, or commune to the canons. Free rectories were comparatively few. The oldest form of endowment, reaching back to the Culdee period, consisted of a *davach*, *carucate*, or ploughgate of land, often mentioned in the old records of Dornoch and Glasgow. A plough of the twelfth century had usually twelve oxen, which gave, of course, a larger ploughgate. A carucate of land = 100 acres ; an oxgate = 13 acres.

#### ARCHDEACONRY OF ST ANDREWS.

##### *Deanery of Fothri.*

- Clackmanan. *Cambuskenneth Abbey*. Chapel at Kilbagie.  
 Tullibody or Tirlibothy. Mentioned 834. Church in 1149. Chapel  
 Aulwey, S. Kentigern (Alloa).  
 Muckard (Muckhart).  
 Kernock (Carnock). *Scotland's Well*.  
 Torry (Torryburn).  
 Dunfermline. *Dunfermline Abbey*.  
 Inverkethyn. *Dunfermline Abbey*. Rosaith added in 1636.  
 Kinghorne Parva or Western (Burntisland = Bertiland). *Dunfermline Abbey*.  
 Kinghorne Magna (Kinghorn). *Dunfermline*.  
 Kirkaldin, S. Patrick (Kirkcaldy). *Dunfermline*. Abbotshall dis-  
 joined in 1650.

Dishart, S. Serf (Dysart). A chapel of S. Dennis. *Kirkheugh*.  
 Wemis, S. Cuthbert (Wemyss). *Trinity College, Edinburgh*.  
 Methull (Methil). Two chapels at Wemyss and West Wemyss.  
 Kles or Eccles, S. Cuthbert (Cleish). *Cambuskenneth*.  
 Kinross. *Dunfermline*. Chapel of Urwell or Orwell.  
 Portmok, S. Mayoca; re-dedicated, 1243, to S. Stephen and S. Moanus. (Portmoak.) *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Hurwharderic or Hurkedrus (Orwell), with chapel. *Dunfermline*.  
 Kinglassi (Kinglassie). *Dunfermline, Kirkheugh*.  
 Markinge, S. Hithernais (Markinch). *St Andrews Priory*. Given to the Culdees in tenth century.  
 Kilgoueri (Falkland). *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Hukdirmukedi or Auchtermugty (Auchtermuchty).  
 Ardgrosse or Arngosk (Arngask). Mentioned 1281; additional chaplainry in 1527; enlarged in 1642, and again 1669.  
 Forthir. Estate in Markinch called Kirkforthar.  
 Quilts, R. (Cults).  
 Losresk or Lathrisk, S. Ethernascus (Kettle or Kingskettle Catul), with chapel.

#### *Deanery of Fife.*

Karal, S. Malrubha (Crail). *Haddington Convent*. Had a collegiate church.  
 Kilrethni, S. Ringan or S. Irenæus (Kilrenny). *Dryburgh Abbey*. East Anstruther disjoined 1636.  
 Aynistrother (Anstruther). *Pittenweem Priory*.  
 Abircrumbyn, S. Monance. Since 1174. *Dunfermline*.  
 Kellyn or Kellie (Carnbee). *Dunfermline*.  
 Kileukenath (Kilconquhar). Elie disjoined 1639.  
 Nithbren or Drumeldrie (Newburn).  
 Largauc (Largo).  
 Scoyn (Scoonie). *Culdees of Lochleven*; then *St Andrews Priory*: re-dedicated in 1243 to S. Menune or Modwenna.  
 Kennachyn (Kennoway). *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Syrays (Ceres). Priory of St Andrews. *Kirkheugh*.  
 Tarveth, S. Englacius. Joined to Cupar 1618. *Cambuskenneth*.  
 Kenbak (Kemback).  
 Duneynach (Dunino). Mentioned 1244.  
 Holy Trinity, St Andrews. Parish church of St Andrews. *Priory of St Andrews*. Parish of Cameron, *Kirkheugh*, disjoined 1645.  
 Lochris, S. Ethernase (Leuchars). *Priory of St Andrews*. Chapel.  
 Forgound, S. Fillan (Forgan). *Priory of St Andrews*.  
 Loginmurthlac or Logiemurdoch, S. Moluac (Logie near Cupar).  
 Kilmanyn (Kilmany). *Paisley Abbey*.  
 Flisk, with chapel.  
 Lundores (Abdie). *Lundores Abbey*. Newburgh disjoined 1632.  
 Culesy (Collessie). *Lundores Abbey*.  
 Monymel (Monimail). Had castle of Archbishop of St Andrews.

Creyh, S. Serf (Creich), with chapel.  
 Dunbolg (Dunbog). Once chapel under Abernethy. Cadvan was a cell of Balmerino.  
 Cupir, S. Michael (Cupar). *Priory of St Andrews*.  
 Huntremunesy or Auchtermoonzie (Moonzie). *Scotland's Well*.  
 Dervesyn (Dairsie). *Priory of St Andrews*.

*Deanery of Goverin (Gowrie).*

Potyn, S. Photinus (Dron). Mill of Pottie. Ecclesmagirdle. Dron was in diocese of Dunblane.  
 Ferthevieth (Forteviot). *Cambuskenneth. Priory of St Andrews*.  
 Founded by Hungus, King of Picts. Includes Muckarsie. Chapel at Kirktown of Mailor.  
 Methphen, S. Methven (Methven). Mentioned 970. Collegiate in 1439. Chapel.  
 Lumphortyn (Luncarty), since 1619 in Redgorton.  
 Perth, S. John Baptist. *Dunfermline*. With Chapel of Our Lady at the Bridge.  
 Scone, S. Modwenna. *Scone Abbey*. "Royal city of Scone" in 906. Cambusmichael or Cambuskynel and S. Martins. *Scone Abbey*.  
 Blair (Blairgowrie). *Scone Abbey*.  
 Kulas, S. Euchar or Eugenius (Collace). *Lundores Abbey*.  
 Banevyn (Benvie). Dedicated 9th September 1243. Joined to Liff 1758.  
 Foulis, S. Bean and S. Methven (Foulis Easter). Joined to Lundie, 1618.  
 Lockforgan (Longforgan). *Priory of St Andrews*.  
 Rossinclerach. Re-dedicated 1243. S. Lawrence and S. Coman. (Rossie.) Village and church in Inchturie.  
 Inchetor (Inchturie). Joined with Rossie 1670.  
 Kynspinedy, S. Pensandus (Kilspindy). *Scone*.  
 Rath (Rait). Joined to Kilspindy before 1634. *Scone*.  
 Erole (Errol). Once chapel under Abernethy. Chapel of S. Mary of Inchmartin.  
 Kynul, S. Constantine (Kinnoul). *Cambuskenneth*.  
 Kynefaunis (Kinfauns). *Scone Abbey*. Mentioned 1226.  
 Rinde, V. (Rhynd). Mentioned 1231. Had nunnery at Elcho.  
 Dunbarny (seems omitted). *S. Giles, Edinburgh*. Chapel at Moncrieffe.

*Deanery of Angus (between Tay and Isla and North Esk).*

Lundyn (Lundie). Joined to Foulis Easter in 1618. With chapel. Fowlis built c. 1142; was collegiate in 1446.  
 Lif, S. Mary (Liff). Joined to Benvie in Gowrie; also to Logie-Dundee.  
 Invergovérin, S. Peter (Invergowrie). A settlement of S. Boniface c. 600. Joined to Liff c. 1650.



- Login Dundee. Joined to Liff c. 1650. *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Stratheymartin, S. Martin. Joined to Mains 1799.  
 Stratheyninian or Strathdechtyn Comitis, S. Ninian (Mains or  
 Strathdighty). *Arbroath*.  
 Moreus or Muirhouse (Murroes). *Arbroath*. Once chapel to Bal-  
 lumbie.  
 Monifoith, S. Rule (Monifieth). *Arbroath*. An abthane; had  
 chapels—Broughty, Eglismonichty, S. Andrew's, Kingennie, where  
 is S. Bride's ring.  
 Barry or Fothmuref (Barrie). *Balmerino*.  
 Aberrelliot, S. Ninian (Arbirlot). *Arbroath*.  
 Aberbroth, S. Vigean (St Vigeans). Consecrated on enlargement  
 1242. Parish of Arbroath formed c. 1580.  
 Athin, Ethie, or Ethiebeaton. S. Murdoch's Chapel now in Inver-  
 keillor. Ethie House built by Cardinal Beaton. *Arbroath*.  
 Inverkethel or Conghoillis, S. Macconoc or Mochonog (Inverkeillor).  
*Arbroath*. Chapelry of Quytefield at Chapelton.  
 Inverlunan (Lunan). *Arbroath*. For forty years parish of Walter  
 Mill, the martyr-priest + 1558.  
 Dunenad, S. Skeoch or Skae (Dunninald). Joined to Craig 1618.  
 Inchbryok, S. Braoch (Craig). Chapels—S. Fergus, S. Mary near  
 Usan.  
 Ketenis (Kettins). *Red Friars of Peebles*. Had six chapels with  
 graveyards.  
 Neutyl (Newtyle). *Arbroath*. Chapel of Keilor.  
 Nevith, S. Nevydd (Nevay). Joined to Eassie. See Skene, ii. 36.  
 Essy, S. Brandon (Eassie).  
 Erolyn, S. Medan (Airlie).  
 Luntrethyn (Lintrathen).  
 Kerimor, S. Cuthbert (Kirriemuir). Old Kilmorie. *Arbroath*.  
 Glamnis, S. Fergus. *Arbroath*.  
 Kynetleys (Kinnetles). Dedicated November 1241. *College of Kirk-  
 heugh*. Foffarty in Kinnetles belongs to Caputh, Dunkeld.  
 Inverarethin, S. Monance (Inverarity). *Londores Abbey*. Included  
 old parish of Meathie.  
 Machinlur. Maclure, near Montrose.  
 Restinoth, Restennet, or Restinoth-Forfar, S. Peter. Had a priory,  
 now in Forfar. *Cambuskenneth*.  
 Forfar, S. James the Great. A chapel of Restinoth till c. 1586.  
 Roscolbyn, S. Triduan (Rescobie). Mentioned 1097. Chapel at  
 Ochterlony.  
 Edevyn or Idvies, R. (Kirkden). Dedicated 1st September 1243.  
 Kynel, S. Constantine, R. (Kinnel). Chapel Bolshan or Balishan;  
 was gifted to *Arbroath* c. 1178.  
 Tannethais, S. Adamnan (Tannadyce). Chapel of S. Colm at Shiel-  
 hill.  
 Abirleminach (Aberlemno). A very early settlement, with five castles.  
 Aldebar (Auldbar). Mentioned 1429; joined to Aberlemno. *College  
 Church of Methven*.  
 Dun. (Again in see of Brechin.)

- Login-Montrose, S. Martin (Logie-Pert). Joined to Pert 1610. *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Dunlop, R. (Dunlappie). Joined to Stracathro 1612. Chapel and hermitage of Kilgery.  
 Adel or Edale, S. Drostan (Edzell). Newdosk added 1567.  
 Dulbrothok or Dalbog. Joined to Edzell.

*Deanery of the Mearns* (between the North Esk and Dee).

- Durris in North Kincardineshire. Mentioned 1249. Belonged to Knights Templar.  
 Nig, S. Fotinus and S. Fitticus (Nigg). Chapel at Torry. *Arbroath*.  
 Fordun, S. Palladius. A mensal church. Church reconsecrated, October 17, 1244. John of Fordoun, the Chronicler, was priest here c. 1377.  
 Abirbuthenoth, S. Ternan (Arbuthnott). Church enlarged in 1505. Psalter of 1482, presented in 1506 by Sir Robert Arbuthnott, is preserved. *Kirkheugh*.  
 Fethirasch, S. Caran or Corindu +669 (Feteresso). Chapels of Cowie and Re-dykes (Roman camp at Ury). *Kirkheugh*.  
 Dunotir or Dun-Fother, S. Ninian and S. Bride (Dunnottar). Burnt 1297 by Wallace; reconsecrated 1394. *St Andrews Priory*. With chapel.  
 Kynef, S. Arnty or Arnold = Adamnan (Kinneff). Anciently included Bervie, Catterline, and S. John's of Barras. Regalia hidden here during the Commonwealth. Bervie, or Innerbervie, had a house of Carmelytes.  
 Bennum (Benholme). *Kirkheugh*.  
 Eglesgirk = Ecclesia Gregorii (St Cyrus). A Culdee seat. *St Andrews Priory*. Chapel of S. Lawrence at Chapelfield, near Lauriston.  
 Cuneveth or Conveth, S. Laurence (Laurencekirk). *St Andrews Priory*. Teinds gifted to S. Mary's College in 1550. Old church was on Chapel Knap, near Mill of Conveth.  
 Aberlothinoth or Marykirk.  
 Fethyrkeryn or Fotherkern (Fettercairn).  
 Neudos or Newdosk. In 1567 joined to Edzell.  
 Garvoc, S. James the Greater (Garvock). Mentioned 1282, when given by Hugh Arbuthenoth to *Arbroath*. S. James's Fair on the Hill of Garvock.  
 Whitekirk, S. Mary (Cowie in Feteresso). Consecrated 22d May 1276.  
 (Glenbervie and also Strachan are in the see of Brechin.)

ARCHDEACONRY OF LOTHIAN.

*Deanery of Lindidcu.*

- Strivelin, S. Modan (Stirling). *Dunfermline Abbey*.  
 Penicok or Peniacob, S. Kentigern (Penicuik). Old parishes Mount Lothian and S. Catherine's added 1635.

- Pentland (Glencross in 1616). *Roslyn College*. Chapel of S. Catharine of the Hopes.
- Lassewade, S. Edwyn (Lasswade). First mensal, then *Restalrig*.
- Maleville (Melville). Joined in 1633 to Lasswade.
- Wymeth or Woolmet. Joined to Newton c. 1584.
- Dodiniston (Duddingston). *Kelso Abbey*.
- Liberton. Disjoined from S. Cuthbert's 1124. Chapels--Niddry, S. Mary, and S. Catharine's.
- Lestalrig, S. Triduana. Collegiate in 1512. Anciently included S. Mary's or South Leith. Archdeacon of Lothian.
- St Giles', Edinburgh. Named in 854 by Simeon of Durham. *Dunfermline Abbey*.
- St Cuthbert-under-Castle. Mentioned in 1052. *Holyrood*. Parishes created from St Cuthbert's were--Corstorphine, Liberton, Duddingston, Canongate, North Leith, and New Town of Edinburgh. Chapels were--Magdalene in Cowgate; S. Mary's, 1505, in Niddrie's Wynd; S. Ninian's at Low Calton; Our Lady in Lady Wynd; S. John's and S. Roque's on Borough Moor, Newhaven.
- Gogger, R. (Gogar). Mentioned 1167. *Holyrood* in 1240; later to *Trinity College*, Edinburgh.
- Hailes or Coliton, S. Cuthbert, V. (Colinton). *Dunfermline* and *St Anthony's Hospital*, Leith.
- Rathev, S. Mary (Ratho). *Corstorphine College*.
- Neuton (Kirknewton). Has East Calder since 1750. *Dunfermline*.
- Caldor clericorum, S. Cuthbert (East Calder). *Kelso Abbey*.
- Caldor comitis (Midcalder).
- Binning. Now joined to Linlithgow. *Holyrood Abbey*.
- Strathbroc, S. Nicholas, R. (Uphall). *Kirkkheugh*.
- Torphichen. Seat of hospital or preceptory of Knights of S. John.
- Eglismachane, S. Machan (Ecclesmachan).
- Levinistun (Livingstone). Whitburn disjoined 1718. *Holyrood*.
- Bathket (Bathgate). *Holyrood* and *Newbottle*.
- Dunmanyn, S. Adamnan (Dalmeny). *Jedburgh*. Old Norman church. South Queensferry, separated 1636.
- Listun or Temple Liston, S. John (Kirkliston).
- Karedin (Carriden). At east end of the Roman wall. *Holyrood*.
- Kinel or Kinneil. Now in Bo'ness. *Cambuskenneth*.
- Lindideu, S. Michael (Linlithgow). Chapel of S. Ninian. *St Andrews Priory*.
- Slethmanin, S. Laurence (Slamanan). Once chapel of Falkirk.
- Dunipas. A chapel of Egglis, or St Ninians. *Cambuskenneth*.
- Lethbert (Larbert). With S. Catharine's, Niddrie. *Cambuskenneth*.
- Garguncock or Gargowno--seems omitted.
- Burthkener (Bothkennar).
- Ald Kathie. Included in Dalmeny.
- Eccles Brec or Varia Capella, S. Modan (Falkirk). Founded 1057 by Malcolm Canmore. *Holyrood*. Chapel at Ballembriech. Denny separated 1618; Muiravonside, 1606; Polmont, 1724.
- Dirlot, S. Columba.
- Ercht, V. (Airth). *Holyrood*

Kirktone or Eccles, V. (St Ninians). *Cambuskenneth*.  
 St Mary-in-the-Fields. A collegiate church. Monastery from 1230.  
*Holyrood*.  
 Killeith, S. Kentigern (Currie). *Mansio* of Archdeacon of Lothian.  
 Caddisley, S. Leonard (Kedslie). *Dryburgh*.  
 St Helen. Near Colbrands Path, or Cockburnspath.  
 Dalkeith, with collegiate church—omitted.  
 Corstorphine, also collegiate—omitted.

*Deanery of Lothian or Haddington, from 1127.*

Aldhamstoke, R. (Oldhamstocks).  
 Innerwike cum Lejarwode. *Paisley Abbey*.  
 Dunbar, S. Bae or Bega. Collegiate in 1342; had six chapels—Pinker-  
 kerton, Heatherwick, Whittingham, Penshiel, Stenton, Spott.  
 Whittingham, with chapelry of Penshiel, under Dunbar.  
 Tiningham, S. Baldred. Joined to Whitekirk. Of old had a right  
 of sanctuary.  
 Hamir or Hanus [Petcoks], (Whitekirk). *Holyrood Abbey*. Place of  
 pilgrimage.  
 Auldham. Joined to Whitekirk. Chapel at Scougal.  
 Linton, S. Baldred (Prestonkirk or Prestonhaugh).  
 North Berwyck, S. Andrew. *Convent of North Berwick*.  
 Haddington, S. Mary. "Lucerna Landoriæ." *St Andrews Priory*.  
 Chapels—S. Laurence, S. Catherine, S. Kentigern.  
 St Martin's Kirk in Nungate, Haddington. *Haddington Nunnery*.  
 Elstanford Church (Athelstaneford). *Haddington Nunnery*. Old  
 church built c. 1170.  
 Garvald Church. *Haddington Nunnery*.  
 Barive (Bara). United to Garvald 1702.  
 Morham, R.  
 Bothan or St Bothans (Yester or Gifford). Now part of Haddington.  
 Chapel of S. Nicholas at Duncanlaw.  
 Boulton (Bolton). *Holyrood Abbey*.  
 Sawilton, S. Michael=Lord Soulis' town (Salton). *Dryburgh*. In  
 Salton was Herdmanston, the Breviary of which survives, and has  
 been reprinted.  
 Penkathland. *Dryburgh Abbey*. Chapel of Payston.  
 Golyn, S. Andrew (Dirleton since 1612). Collegiate in 1446.  
 Chapels—S. Nicolas on Fidrey, Congalton, All Saints at Dirleton.  
 Setun (Seton). Added to Tranent. Collegiate in 1493.  
 Travernent (Tranent). *Holyrood Abbey*. Prestonpans disjoined 1606.  
 Muskelburgh, S. Michael (Inveresk). Mentioned 1020. Chapel of  
 S. Mary of Loretto. *Dunfermline*.  
 Cranstun (Cranston). *Kelso* till 1317. Chapel at Cousland.  
 Krektun (Crichton). Collegiate in 1449. Archdeacon of Lothian.  
 Kethhundley (Humbie). *Kelso Abbey*.  
 Kethmarchal. Joined as Keith and Humbie.  
 Falawe, S. Modan (Fala). United to Soutra 1618. *Trinity College*,  
 Edinburgh.



Louchwhorvir, S. Kentigern (Borthwick). *Crichton College*.  
 Kerinton (Carrington).  
 Kokpen (Cockpen). *Newbotil Abbey*.  
 Clerktun or Clerkington (Temple). Provost of *Corstorphine College*.  
 Chapels—Morthwait (Moorfoot) and Balintrodach.  
 Maystertun (Newbattle). Includes Abbey Parish of Newbattle.  
 Herieth (Heriot). *Newbotil Abbey*.  
 Mount Lothian. Joined in 1635 to Penicuik. *Holyrood Abbey*.  
 Ormistun, S. Giles (Ormiston). *Soltre Hospital*.

*Deanery of the Merkis or Merse (Berwickshire).*

Aldkambus, S. Helen. Joined to Colbrandspath. *Coldingham Priory*.  
 Coldingham. *Coldingham Priory*. Chapel on St Abb's Head.  
 Lambertun. Dependent on Ayton. *Coldingham*.  
 Berwick. Trinity Kirk and parish of Bondington, with chapels of S. Laurence and S. Mary.  
 Mordington. Increased in 1650.  
 Fulden, R. (Foulden).  
 Churnside, R. (Chirnside). *Collegiate Church of Dunbar*.  
 Edinham, S. Cuthbert (Ednam), 1098, one of the earliest of parishes. *Durham Priory*.  
 Duns, R. *Collegiate Church of Dunbar*.  
 Ellim. Joined in 1712 to Lochermacus or Longformacus.  
 Craneshawes, R. (Cranshaws).  
 S. Bothan's Kirk (Abbey St Bathans).  
 Langtune, R. (Langton). *Kelso Abbey*.  
 Fissewick or Fishwick. Joined 1614 to Hutton. *Coldingham*.  
 Howton (Hutton).  
 Hornden. Now in Ladykirk. Had a hospital.  
 Aderham, V. (Edrom). *Coldingham*.  
 Aytun (Ayton). *Coldingham*.  
 Upsetlington, S. Mary (Ladykirk), including Horndene. James IV. in 1500 built church to S. Mary.  
 Hilton, R. Mentioned 1362; joined 1735 to Whitsome.  
 Whytshoom, R. (Whitsome). Mentioned 1392.  
 Simperinge (Simprin). Joined 1761 to Swinton. *Kelso Abbey*.  
 Swyntun (Swinton). *Coldingham*.  
 Leynulf or Lennel (Coldstream). Chapel at Hirsell.  
 Foghou or Foghowe (Fogo). Mentioned 1147. *Kelso Abbey*.  
 Poulward, S. Kentigern (Polwarth). Built and rebuilt, 900, 1378, 1703. Vault, Sir Patrick Hume's hiding-place.  
 Greenlawe, R., 1117, to *Kelso*. Chapels—Haliburton and Lambdene.  
 Gorden, S. Michael, with Burton Kirk (Gordon). *Kelso Abbey*.  
 Chapels at Huntleywoode and Spottiswoode.  
 Haliburton. *Kelso*. Afterwards with Lambdene.  
 Home, S. Nicholas, with Wederley Chapel. Now joined to Stichel. *Kelso*.  
 Stichil (Stichel). *Coldingham*.

Edinton or Edinham. *Coldingham*.

Eccles, S. Cuthbert (Eccles). Seat of a nunnery. Chapels—S. John at Mersington, S. Magdalen at Birgham, S. Mary at Letham or Leitholm.

Smalhame (Smailholm). *Dryburgh Abbey*.

Makaristun, R. (Makerstoun).

Meritun (Mertoun). *Dryburgh Abbey* in the parish.

Ercildoun (Earlston). *Durham* and *Coldingham*.

Leggerswede or Lejartwode (Legerwood).

Laweder (Lauder). *Dryburgh*. Chapels—Kedslie and S. Leonard's.

Wedhall or Wedale (Stow). The Bishop's vicarage. Palace = the Stow of Wedale. Had a place of sanctuary. See Cosmo Innes, 'Middle Ages,' p. 134.

Childinchurche, S. Cuthbert (Channelkirk). *Dryburgh*. Chapels at Glengelt and Carfrae.

Naythansthirn (Nenthorn). *Coldingham*. Chapel of Newton. But both Nenthorn and Newton were chapels of Ednam.

Kelso, S. Mary, in 1124.

Bassendene, V. (Westruther). *Nuns of Coldstream*. Chapel and lands of Spottiswoode added in 1647.

## II. Diocese of Glasgow.

Here was an archbishopric from 1491 with four suffragans—viz., Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, Argyle. The see of Glasgow was subdivided into nine deaneries—viz., Nycht or Nithsdale, Annandie, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Lennox, Rutherglen, Lanark, Peebles or Stobo, Teviotdale. A lively and admirable outline of the diocesan history of Glasgow is given by Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches of Early Scotch History,' pp. 29-70. The oldest parishes in the see are Renfrew, Govan, Cadzow, and Borthwick. The first church at Glasgow was made of wood and wattle by S. Mungo in 560; he died in 601. The crypt of the cathedral is built over his grave, the grouping of the pillars beautifully marking the shrine. He was not directly, if at all, succeeded by S. Baldred. The rest of the bishops are unknown for centuries. At the re-founding of the see under Earl David, c. 1116, the old Church rights to land were investigated and adjudicated on by a jury of *seniores homines et sapientiores totius Cumbrie*.

In Bishop Cameron's time, 1426-1446, there were thirty-

two manses of rectors, chiefly in Drygate and Rotten Row, partly in Kirkgate and High Street, which formed a substitute for a cathedral close in Glasgow. In 1501 the cathedral establishment consisted of Dean (Cadzow), Precentor (Kilbride), Chancellor (Campsie), Treasurer (Carnwath), Sub-dean (Monkland), Archdeacon of Glasgow (Peebles), Archdeacon of Teviotdale (Marbottle), Sub-chanter (Ancrum), Sacrist (Cambuslang). Besides these there were Canons and Prebendaries of Stobo, Govan, Renfrew, Glasgow I., Blantyre, Carstairs, Cardross, Air, Erskine, Old Roxburgh, Durrisdeer, Mearns, Moffat, Edilston, Glasgow II., Luss, Eaglesham, Kirkmahoe, Torbolton, Killearn, Douglas, Sanquhar, Cumnock, Polmadie, Strathblane, Ashkirk. The sites of thirty-two of these manors or manses are detailed by M'Ure in his quaint History of Glasgow. The archbishop's castle or palace stood on the site of the Infirmary, erected in 1792. There was a country seat at Lochwood in Old Monkland, where is Bishop's Loch. In 1611, Archbishop Spottiswood built a castle on the west side of the Kelvin below Partick.

To the diocese of Glasgow, parish by parish, is devoted the whole of the first volume of Cosmo Innes's 'Origines Parochiales,' a matchless thesaurus of Church writs and antiquities.

#### BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF GLASGOW.

John Achaius, tutor of Earl David (David I.), consecrated by Pope Paschal II., founded cathedral 1136, .	1115-1147
Herbert, Abbot of Kelso, Chancellor of Scotland. Constituted the dean and chapter on model of Salisbury, .	1147-1164
Ingelram, Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor, .	1164-1174
Joceline, Abbot of Melrose, enlarged and rebuilt crypt and choir of cathedral after a burning down, .	1175-1199
Hugo de Roxburgh, Archdeacon of Glasgow and Chancellor, . . . . .	1199-
William Malvicine, translated to St Andrews, . . . . .	1200-
Walter, chaplain to King William, . . . . .	1208-1232
William de Bondington, Archdeacon of St Andrews, Chancellor, finished nave of cathedral, introduced "use" of Salisbury, . . . . .	1233-1258
John de Cheyam, chaplain to Pope Alexander IV., . . . . .	1260-1268
Robert Wishart, patriot friend of Wallace and Bruce, . . . . .	1272-1316

John Wishart, . . . . .	1319
John Lindsay, . . . . .	1322
William Rae, built old Glasgow Bridge, . . . . .	1335-1367
Walter Wardlaw, secretary to David II., cardinal priest, . . . . .	1368-1389
Matthew Glendoning, . . . . .	1389-1408
William Lauder, began vestry and finished steeple, . . . . .	1408-1425
John Cameron, provost of Lincluden, secretary to James I., built castle tower and manses, . . . . .	1426-1446
William Turnbull, Archdeacon of St Andrews, got bull from Pope Nicholas V. for a college, . . . . .	1448-1454
Andrew Muirhead, rector of Cadzow, . . . . .	1455-1473
John Laing, High Treasurer, . . . . .	1474-1482
Robert Blackader, Bishop of Aberdeen, first Archbishop 1491, . . . . .	1484-1508
James Beaton, younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, bishop elect of Galloway, Treasurer, translated to St Andrews, . . . . .	1508-1522
Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn, tutor to James V., . . . . .	1524-1547
James Beaton, son of James Beaton of Balfarg, nephew of the Cardinal, and grandson to John Beaton of Balfour. At the Reformation retired to France with the writs of his see, and died at Paris in 1603, . . . . .	1551-1603

With the death of this really good and wise prelate in 1603, ended the old hierarchy of Scotland, after serving for five centuries. A very different man was the nephew from his he-goat uncle, the Cardinal. Sad was his exile from 1560 to 1603, suffering for the sins of others. Yet he had some sympathy from his old tenants, many of whom continued paying rent for ten years after the Reformation. The writer's ancestor, Walter Scott of Daldowie, is noted in the printed rent-book of the see as making payment on 3d January and 21st April 1563; while his kinsman, Martin Rankin of Kenmuir, also in Old Monkland, makes a payment as late as 18th June 1568. The old Church tenants or "rentallers" were kindly dealt with by the archbishops.

In 1653 the Roman clergy in Scotland were reincorporated as a *Mission*, and governed by Prefects Apostolic till 1694. From 1694 to 1878 they were governed by a Vicar Apostolic. In 1878 a hierarchy was restored, consisting of two Archbishops and four Bishops.

#### PAROCHIALE GLASGUENSE.

*Deanery of Nycht*, Nith, or Dumfries. Besides Nythsdale, this deanery included Kirkmichael and Garvald in Annandale, and eight parishes in Galloway, between the waters of Nith and Urr.



- Lyncluden Provostry, c. 1400. Nunnery from c. 1170.
- Carlaverok, V. *Lincluden College*. Chapel of S. Columba. Included part of old parish of Kilblane.
- Torthorwald. *Fail*, in Ayrshire.
- Kirkbane, V., S. Bean (Kirkbean). *Lincluden*.
- Lochkinderloch or Kirkinder (New Abbey). *New Abbey*.
- Southick, R. (Southwick). Now joined to Colvend.
- Covene, V. (Colvend). *Lincluden*. Chapel of S. Laurence at Fairgarth.
- Kirkgruyen, R. (Kirkgunzeon) = Kirkwinong, Winning.
- Ur, V., S. Constantine (Urr). *Holyrood Abbey*.
- Lochryton, V. (Lochrutton). *Lincluden*.
- Terregles, V. = Terra ecclesiæ. *Lincluden*.
- Trakwair, V. (Troqueer). Tunglan, then *Whitherne Priory*. Included part of Kirkconnel.
- Kirkpatrick Iren Gray, R., S. Patrick. Mentioned 1275.
- Dumfries, R. and V., S. Michael. *Lesmahago Abbey*. Chapel in castle, Christie's Chapel, S. Laurence.
- Dunscuir, V. (Dunscore). *Lesmahago Abbey*. Chapel on Glenisland Water.
- Tynron, V. (Tynron). *Holywood Abbey*.
- Penpont, V. *Holywood Abbey*.
- Kirkmahoe, R., S. Kentigern. Prebend in 1429. Included part of old parish of Kilblane, with site of the church.
- Holywood, V., S. Congal. Monastery of Dercongal.
- Glencairn, S. Cuthbert. Mentioned 1178.
- Keir.
- Closeburn or Kilosbern = Cella Osburni. Joined to Dalgarnock, which belonged to *Holyrood*.
- Morton, R. *Kelso*.
- Durrisdeer, R. Prebend. Part of Kirkbride added 1732. Had a chapel on Carron Water.
- Sanquhar or Senechar R. Prebend. Included part of Kilbride, with site of the church.
- Kirkbryd, R., S. Bryde. *Holyrood*. Now in Keir, Kilbride Hill.
- Kirkconnell, V., S. Congal. *Holywood Abbey*.
- Tynwald, R. Joined to Trailflat or Traverflat 1650.
- Kirk Michell, R. (Kirkmichael). *Kilwinning Abbey*.
- Garwald or Garrel, R. Mensal. Joined to Kirkmichael 1674.
- Kirkpatrick Durham, V. *New Abbey*. Chapel, Kirkbride, on bank of Urr.

*Deanery of Annandie* or Annandale, included eight parishes in Eskdale.

- Annand, R. (Annan). *Giseburn* till 1223, then Glasgow.
- Kirkpatrick - juxta, R., S. Patrick. Mentioned 1174. Given by Robert de Brus.
- Moffat, R. Prebend. Mentioned 1174.

- Johnston, R. Included parish of Dungree (*Kelso*) and part of Garvald.
- Wamphry, R.
- Apilgarth, R. (Applegarth). Sibbaldie, *Jedburgh*, added 1609. Chapel of Dinwoodie.
- Rovell, R. (Ruthwell). Chapel at Cumlongan.
- Hutton on Dryfe. Till 1193 chapel to Sibbaldie.
- Corrie. Joined to Hutton 1609.
- S. Mungo or Abermelc. Mensal. Mentioned 1116.
- Tundergarth, R.
- Cummertrees. In 1223 passed from *Giseburn* to see of Glasgow. Chapelry, Trailtrow, added 1609.
- Dornock, R., S. Marjory.
- Gretna, or Gretanhow. Joined to Rainpatrick, or the Red-Kirk, 1609.
- Kirkpatrick-Fleming. Included parishes of Kirkconel and Irvin. Chapel of Logan.
- Hoddom in 1116 belonged to Glasgow by an older endowment. Joined to Luce (on Annan) and Ecclefechan 1609.
- Middlebie. Mentioned 1296. Joined to Penersax (on Mein Water) and Carruthers (on upper Kirtle) 1609. Was seat of Presbytery till 1743, when Langholm took its place.
- Langholm. Included Stapelgorton, *Kelso*, and Wauchope, *Canonby*, with half of Morton. Enlarged in 1703.
- Canobie, or Church of Liddal, S. Martin. *Canonby Priory*.
- Westerker or Westerkirk. *Melrose*. Chapel at Boykin. Eskdalemuir separated 1703.
- Ewis, Evisdale, or Nether Ewis, S. Cuthbert. Chapels at Unthank and Moss pawl.
- Overkirk of Ewis, or Ewisdurris. Now depopulated.
- Morton. *Kelso*.
- Dalton. Included Mickle and Little Dalton.
- Mouswald, S. Peter. Has a S. Peter's Well.
- Lochmaben, R., S. Mary Magdalene. Chapel of Rokele (Rockhall).
- Dryfesdale, S. Cuthbert. Mentioned 1116. Mensal. Chapels at Becktoun and Quaas.
- Kirkandrews. *Jedburgh*. Since 1552 in Cumberland.

*Deanery of Kyle*, separated from Cunninghame on the north by Irvine Water, and from Carrick on the south by the Doon. Kyle was subdivided into King's Kyle on the south side of the river Ayr, and Kyle Stewart on the north side.

- Ayr, R., S. John Baptist. Has fair on 24th June. Joined to old parish of Alloway.
- Barnweill, or Visible Kirk. *Fail*. Suppressed in 1653. Now in parish of Stair.

- Coylton or Quilton, V. Gave in 1500 two prebends to Chapel Royal, Stirling.
- Mauchline, S. Michael. Priory under *Melrose*. Included Sorn or Dalgain, S. Cuthbert's Chapel on S. Cuthbertsholm, 1658. Muirkirk 1625. Old chapel on Greenock Water and Tarbolton. S. Michael's Well in Mauchlin.<sup>1</sup>
- Monkton, R., S. Cuthbert's of Prestwick, or Prestwick Monachorum, 1163. *Paisley Abbey*. Included Ladykirk, or Ladykirk of Kyle, and Crosby. Newton-on-Ayr separated 1779.
- Prestwick-Burgh, S. Nicholas. Joined to Monkton.
- Ochiltree, V. *Melrose*. Included Stair till 1653.
- Symonton, V. = Simon Locardston. *Failford Ministry*.
- Cumnock, R. Prebend. New Cumnock separated 1650. Chapel at Borland at Chapel-house.
- Dalrymple. *Chapel Royal, Stirling*.
- Dalmellington, V. *Chapel Royal*.
- Dundonald, S. Ninian. *Paisley Abbey*. Mentioned 1229. Chapels of Crosby and Riccarton, or Ricardstoun.
- Craigie, V. Has part of old Barnweill. *Paisley*.
- Galston, V., S. Peter. *Failford Ministry*. Fair on 29th June.
- Auchinleck or Affleck, S. Vincent, 1238. *Paisley Abbey*.
- St Quivox or Sanchar, S. Kevoek. Mentioned 1212 as a Rectory. From 1238 to *Paisley*.
- Tarbolton, R. Dependency of Mauchline. Given to Failford 1337. Prebend in 1429.

*Deanery of Cunningham.*

- Beith, S. Inan. Mentioned 1189. *Kilwinning Abbey*. Chapel of S. Bridget at Giffen.
- Kilbirnie, S. Brandon. *Kilwinning*.
- Dalry, V. *Kilwinning*. Chapel east of the Garnock, one mile from Dalry.
- Kilmarnock, S. Marnock. Fenwick separated 1642.
- Kilmaurs, S. Maure. *Kelso*. Chapel at Busby.
- Kilwinning, S. Winning, +579. *Kilwinning Abbey*, 1140.
- Largs, V., S. Columba. *Paisley Abbey*. From 1318 included part of Kilbride (West) and Cumbrae. Comb's Fair, 9th June.
- Dreghorne or Langdreggarne. *Kilwinning*. Peirston added in 1688.
- Stevenston, V. = Stephen Locard's town, S. Monachus. *Kilwinning*.
- Stewarton, V. *Kilwinning*. Chapel of S. Mary at Lainshaw. Ardrossan separated 1569. Chapel at Saltcoats.
- Irvine. Mentioned 1308. *Kilwinning*. Chapels—S. Mary on Irvine Water, and another at Bourtrie Hill.
- Dunlop, V., S. Mary. Mentioned 1265. *Kilwinning*.
- Dalgarven, S. Michael. Now in Kilwinning.

<sup>1</sup> See 'Old Church Life in Scotland,' by A. Edgar, minister of Mauchline.

Kilbride (West), S. Bride. *Kilwinning*. Enlarged 1650. Chapels at Chapelton, at Southenan, S. Inan's. Chaibal-vey = Chapel of S. Vey, on little Cumbray.  
Loudon. *Kilwinning*.

*Deanery of Carrick.*

Maybole, Provostry. Included old parish of Kirkbride. *Nuns of North Berwick*.  
Maybole, V., or S. Cuthbert, Kichenzie. *Nuns of North Berwick*.  
Kirkmichael of Gemilston, V. *Kilwinning*.  
Kirkoswald of Turnberry, S. Oswald. Had Crossraguel Abbey. Fair of S. Oswald on 5th August.  
Stratton, V., S. Cuthbert (Straiton). *Crossraguel*.  
Invertig, S. Cuthbert or Kirkcudbright, Invertig (Ballantrae). *Crossraguel*.  
Girvan or Invergarvane, V., S. Cuthbert. *Crossraguel*. Chapels—Kildomine or Kirkdomine (Holy Trinity), and Chapel-Donan.  
Dailly or Dalmakeran, first S. Kieran, then S. Michael. In 1653 Barr was erected from Dailly and Girvan. Chapels—Machrikil or S. Machar's and Lady Chapel in Lady Glen.  
Col Manell, V., S. Conan (Colmanell). A commune church. Chapels—All-hallow, Kil-an-Ringan, and Kildonan.

*Lennox Deanery.*

Drymen = Drummond, S. Columba. Mentioned 1238.  
Killearn. Prebend, 1429.  
Campsey, S. Machan. *Kelso*. Included old parish of Antermunin (Antermony). Parson was sacristan of Glasgow.  
Strathblane, S. Blaen. *Dumbarton College*.  
Fintray, R. *Dumbarton College*.  
Baldernock or Buthirnock, R.  
Kirkintulloch or Lenzie, V., S. Ninian. C. 1195 to *Cambuskenneth*.  
Cumbernauld or Easter Lenzie separated 1649. In burgh of Kirkintulloch was chapel of S. Mary.  
Kilpatrick, V., S. Patrick. *Paisley Abbey*. New Kilpatrick disjoined 1649.  
Dumbarton or Alcluith, S. Patrick. *Kilwinning*. Collegiate, 1450. Chapel of S. Patrick in the Castle.  
Cardross. Mensal of Glasgow. Old church across the Leven from Dumbarton. Kilmahew rebuilt and reconsecrated 10th May 1467.  
Rosneath, S. Modan and S. Mary. *Paisley Abbey*, 1227. Row disjoined 1648. Chapels—S. Michael at Faslane; S. Dermid at Kilbride in Glenfruin; Kileragin or Portgill; S. Michael at Millig; S. Diarmid at Balnoch in Row.  
Luss, S. Kessog. Prebend, 1429. Arrochar disjoined 1658. Chapel in Inchtavannach or Monk's Isle in Lochlomond, also at Rosdhu.  
Kilmarnock, S. Mernoc and S. Ronan. *Kilwinning*. Chapel of S. Mirren on Inch Murren in Lochlomond.



- Balfron. *Inchaffray* before 1305.  
 Monyabroc, R. (Kilsyth). Disjoined from Campsie. Has wells of S. Mirren and S. Talarican in the parish.  
 Bonhill or Buchnull. *Dumbarton College* in 1450. Enlarged 1650. Chapel at Auchnaheglis, now Belritiro.  
 Inchealayoith or Incheailloch, S. Kentigerna (Buchanan). With part of Luss in 1621.

*Rutherglen Deanery.*

- Cadihow or Cadzow, R. Dean of Glasgow's prebend on high bank of Avon beside Cadzow Castle. In 1451 church made collegiate and called Hamilton—*i.e.*, removed to present site of palace, where it existed till 1732. The Provost of Cadzow or Hamilton held the vicarage and paid a "vicar pensioner."  
 Dalserf or Machan, S. Mary. Originally part of Cadzow.  
 Glasgow, R., or Glasgow *primo*, 1147. Prebend. Barony Parish separated in 1595.  
 Glasgow, V., or Glasgow *secundo*. Bishop's vicar. Chapels—S. The-naw's (corrupted to St Enoch's); Little S. Mungo's on Dowhill; S. John Baptist in Drygate; S. Roche's (corrupted to St Rollox), north of Cathedral; Barlanark and Budlornoc or Provan, a prebend; Schedenestun or Shettleston; Conclud or Kuncleith in Bridgeton, near Rutherglen Bridge.  
 Tron Kirk, S. Mary and S. Anne. Collegiate, 1528.  
 Govan and Gorbals, S. Constantine and S. Ninian. Prebend in 1147. Chapel at Perdeyc or Partic. Hospital of S. Ninian in Gorbals. Parish of Gorbals separated in 1771.  
 Cader, V. (Calder), sub-dean's prebend. Bishop's land, with ten townships, was part of Cadder.  
 Badermonoc (Monkland). *Newbottle Abbey*. New Monkland, disjoined 1640. Chapel at Kipps in New Monkland. Old chapel at Mount Vernon, above Daldowie. Church of Airdrie built in 1791.  
 Bothwell Provostry. Included parish of Bertram Shotts. Chapels—S. Catharine's, Shotts, on site of Parish Church; S. Catherine of Sienna at Orbiston or Osbernston; Chapel at Lachope of S. Lessart.  
 Cambusnethan, S. Aidan. *Kelso*. Later mensal of Glasgow. Chapels at Auchter Water and "Darmead Kirk" = Diarmid?  
 Dalziell, S. Patrick. *Paisley Abbey*. Dean and Chapter of Glasgow. Has three holy wells—S. Patrick's, Our Lady's = Motherwell, and S. Catharine's.  
 Blantyre Provostry, given by Alexander II. *Priory of Blantyre*.  
 Cambuslang or Drumsargard, S. Cadoc. Sacrist's prebend in 1429. Chapel of S. Mary of Kirkburn, on lands of "Chapel."  
 Ruglen or Rutherglen, S. Mary. Before 1189 to *Paisley Abbey*. Included Polmadie, Prebend of Glasgow.  
 Carmunnock. Mentioned 1180. *Paisley Abbey*.  
 Cathcart, S. Oswald. From 1160 to *Paisley Abbey*.  
 Renfrew, S. Mary and S. James. Prebend, 1147.

- Inchinnan or Kilinan, V., S. Conval or S. Inan. *Knights of S. John*.  
 Erskine, V. Prebend. In 1164 to *Paisley*.  
 Eastwood or Estwod, V. *Paisley Abbey*. Joined to Polloc.  
 Kilallan, S. Fillan. 1164 to *Paisley Abbey*. Joined to Houston.  
 Kilpeter or Houston, S. Peter's, V. *Paisley Abbey* in 1164. Hugo de Padvinan's town.  
 Lochwinnoch or Sempil, S. Winnoc. In 1164 to *Paisley Abbey*. Collegiate in 1505.  
 Neilston, V. Mentioned 1227. *Paisley*.  
 Mearns, V. Mentioned 1178. In 1165 to *Paisley*. Templars' chapel at Capelrig.  
 Eglisbam (= Kirkton), R. in 1388. Prebend in 1430.  
 Kilbride, S. Bridget. From 1178. Precentor of Glasgow. Chapel or parish and hospital of S. Leonard at Torrains.  
 Glasford. *Provost of Sempill*. Later common church.  
 Strathavon, S. Mary. *Kelso, Bothwell College*. Chapel of S. Bride at Kype, and ruins of two other chapels.  
 Kilbarchan, S. Barchan, V. *Paisley*. Chapel of S. Catharine in Kilbarchan churchyard, and chapel of S. Mary at Ranfurlie.  
 Pollock, S. Conval. *Paisley*. Now included in Eastwood.  
 Paisley or Passelet, S. Mirinus. *Paisley*. Abbey Church 1459, by Abbot Thomas Tarvas. Chapels—S. Roque, which became the Grammar School Endowment; Blackhall; and Crocston, where was a hospital also.  
 Kilmalcolm, V. and R., S. Columba. 1164 to *Paisley*. Chapels at Finlayston, Maxwell or Newark. Port-Glasgow separated 1695.  
 Inverkip, V. In 1164 to *Paisley*. Chapels at Christswell, S. Laurence Bay at Cartsydye, Kilblane in Greenock. Greenock disjoined 1592. New or East parish, 1741-1759.

*Deanery of Lanark or Clydesdale.*

- Stanehouse, S. Ninian, R. Four stallars of *Bothwell College*. Chapel of S. Laurence at "Chapel."  
 Lesmahago, S. Machutus. *Kelso, Lesmahago*. Fair on 15th November. Three chapels—at Chapel-hill, Greenrigg, and Blackwood. Lesmahago in 1144 had from David I. the king's peace or sanctuary, bounded by four crosses. See Cosmo Innes, 'Middle Ages,' p. 197.  
 Carluke, Forest Kirk, or Eglismaluack, S. Andrew and S. Luke, V. *Kelso, Lesmahago*. Chapels—S. Oswald's, and another at Chapel-yard.  
 Lanark, S. Kentigern. In 1150 to *Dryburgh*. Four chapels—Cleg-horn or Cleghorn, Nempflar, S. Leonard's, S. Nicholas within the burgh, all the others outside.  
 Carstairs, Casteltarres, S. Mary. Prebend, 1216.  
 Carnewath. Treasurer. Chapel at Muirhall. Collegiate in 1424—but at first, c. 1150, dependent on Liberton.  
 Dunsier (Dunsyre). *Kelso, Lesmahago*. Chapel of Roger's Kirk in north-east of parish.

- Dolphinton, R. Mentioned 1253.  
 Walston, V. The Morays of Bothwell and Glasgow Cathedral, 1292.  
 Biggar, R. Lord of the Manor. Collegiate 1545.  
 Libertoun, R. Commune of Glasgow.  
 Quothquhan, R. Joined to Libberton 1669.  
 Pedyneane (Pettinain). *Dryburgh*.  
 Covington, S. Michael, R. = Colbanstown, c. 1180. Chapel of S. Ninian in south-west of parish.  
 Thankerton or Wode Kyrke, S. John = Tankard's town. Precentor Glasgow and Biggar. In 1175 to *Kelso*.  
 Syminton, V. = Symon Loccard's town, c. 1180. At first a chapel to Wodekirk. *Kelso, Lesmahago*.  
 Wiston, S. Ninian, V. = Wiscius' town. *Kelso* and *Lesmahago*.  
 Robertson, V. = Robert's town. Robert and Wiscius, brothers of Lambinus. Joined to Wiston 1772.  
 Carmichael, anciently Llanmichael, S. Michael, R. Mentioned 1178. Chapel, S. Bride.  
 Douglas, S. Bride. Prebend. Mentioned 1144. Chapels—at Parrochholm, founded by James IV., and at Chapel Hill.  
 Crawford-John, S. Anne, V. *Kelso*. John was brother of Baldwin of Biggar.  
 Crawford or Crawford Lindsay, S. Constantine, king and martyr. *Holyrood*.  
 Hartside or Wandall, R. Mentioned in 1116 as Quendal. Joined to Lamington 1608. Chapel, Cald.  
 Lamington, S. Ninian or S. Inan, R. = Lambinus's town.  
 Culter, S. Peter, R. Mentioned 1210. *Kelso*.

*Deanery of Peebles or Stobo.*

- Kelbucho, S. Bega, R. Part to Culter, part Broughton, 1794.  
 Glenholm, S. Cuthbert. *Scone*. Joined to Broughton.  
 Scravelln or Scrawline, V. (Skirling).  
 Ord or Kirkurd, S. Constantine. 1116 church and carucate of land to Glasgow. *Soltre Hospital, Trinity College, Edinburgh*.  
 Linton Roderic. West Linton in Peeblesshire. *Kelso*.  
 Newlands, R. Mentioned 1317. Prebend of S. Nicholas of Dalkeith in 1475.  
 Stobo. Prebend. Since 1742 includes Dawick. Anciently a *Plebana*, with five chapelries or parishes—Lyne, Broughton, Kingledoors, Dawic, and Drummelzier. Upper Drummelzier, S. Cuthbert, in 1643 became Tweedsmuir.  
 Lyne. Mentioned 1189. Joined in 1621 with Megget or Rodonno.  
 Edleston, Peniacob, or Gilmorestun, S. Columba. Prebend. At the inquest in 1116 found of old to belong to Glasgow.  
 Innerleithan, S. Calixtus and S. James, V. *Kelso* c. 1160. Fair on 14th October.  
 Traquhair or Kirkbride, S. Bride. Prebend found in 1116 to belong of old to Glasgow. Anciently included Megget.

- Hopekelioc or Kailzie, S. Mary. *Kelso*. Joined 1674 to Traquair.
- Peebles, S. Andrew. Dedicated on 29th October 1195. Mentioned 1116. Archdeacon as Prebendary of Glasgow before 1216. Chapels of S. Mary and in Castle; also Convent of Holy Cross and S. Leonard's Hospital.
- Manner, S. Gordian (Manor). Archdeacon. Once chapel of Peebles. Chapel in 1186 and parish in 1555.
- Yarrow, S. Mary of Fairmanshop, or Kirk of the Forest. *Dryburgh*. Mentioned 1275.
- S. Mary, Lowes, or *de lacubus*. A vicarage pensionary of the preceding. Had church on north-west of St Mary's Loch.
- Etrick Forest Kirk, S. Mary. *Melrose*. Had a church before 1513.
- Rankilburn or Buccleugh, R. *Melrose*. Before 1621 joined to Yarrow, and in 1650 to Etrick. Was a rectory before 1415.
- Selkirk. Two churches—Selkirk-regis and Selkirk-abbatis—1113. *Kelso*. Scleschirche in charter of William the Lion, c. 1195.

#### *Deanery of Teviotdale.*

- Lyndean or Galashiels, V. In 1275 with old parish of Bolside. In 1622 church removed from Lindean. *Kelso*.
- Melrose, S. Cuthbert. *Melrose*. Abbey founded 1136, and dedicated to S. Mary 28th July. Chapels at Galtonside, Colmslee, and Chieldhelles; also S. Cuthbert's Chapel at Old Melrose, and S. Mary of the Park. Old Melrose of S. Aidan and S. Cuthbert, c. 650, was two miles lower on Tweed.
- Bowden, S. Ninian, V. *Kelso*. Mentioned 1124 as Bothenden. Chapel at Holydean or Ringan's Dean.
- Lessudden, S. Mary (St Boswells), but original patron was S. Boisil. *Dryburgh*. Mentioned 1353. S. Boswells Fair 18th July.
- Longnewton. *Dryburgh*. Joined to Ancrum 1695. Mentioned 1175, being at first a chapel of Lessudden. Vicarage in 1220.
- Maxton or Maccuston, S. Cuthbert. *Melrose*.
- Ancrum or Alnecrumb. Mentioned 1116. Prebend in 1275. Had a Knights-Templar's hospital and bishop's palace or castle.
- Lilliesleaf or Lilliesclive. In 1116. Mensal till 1450, then commune church. Chapel of Riddell.
- Ashkirk. Mensal in 1170. Prebend in 1275. Had a bishop's palace.
- Kirk-Borthwic. Mentioned c. 1214. (Roberton.) At Borthwic-brae, chapel at Chapelhill.
- Hassenden, S. Kentigern. Mentioned 1170. Almonry of *Melrose*. Joined to Roberton 1659.
- Minto, R. Mentioned 1275. Has part of Hassenden.
- Badrowl, R. (Bedrule). Once included Abbotrule, which in 1777 was divided between Hobkirk and Southdean. Turnbull of Bedrule was Bishop of Glasgow 1448. Bedrule=Bethoerule, the Bethoes being proprietors before the Turnbills, Douglasses, or Comyns.
- Wilton, R. Lord of the Manor, included part of Hassendean.



- Cavers, or Kirklands of Cavers. *Melrose* in 1358. Two chapels—Carlanrig and Cross. In 1849 Carlanrig became parish of Teviot-head.
- Kirktoun, R. (Kirkton).
- Hawick, S. Mary, R. Dedicated 20th May 1214. Prebend of *Bothwell College*.
- Hopekirk (Hobkirk). Mentioned 1220. *Jedburgh*. Old church of Rule.
- Castletown, Liddlesdale, or Cannobie, S. Martin. *Cannonby Priory*. Chapelry of Dinlabyre.
- Eddletown, R. Mentioned 1275. Joined to Castleton after 1592.
- Southdene or Charteris, R. Mentioned 1260. Included Abbotrule.
- Jedburgh or Jedwode, S. Mary. Two churches. *Jedburgh*. Church in 854 at each of "two Gedde wrd," built by Bishop Ecgred of Lindisfarne—one of them at "old Jeddard." Dependent chapels at Crailing, Nisbet, and Spital; also at Upper Crailing and Scarsburgh or Hunthill.
- Crailling or Trevelin. Separated from Jedburgh after 1560. *Jedburgh*. Included Nisbet on north of Teviot.
- Oxnam or Oxenham. *Jedburgh* in 1165. Chapels—Plenderleith and Middleknowes, once in Jedburgh.
- Hownam, R. (Hounam). *Jedburgh* in 1220. Mentioned 1164. Chapel of S. Mary at Rasawe, belonging to *Melrose*.
- Eckford, V. *Jedburgh* in 1220. Chapel at Caverton.
- Merebotil, S. Lawrence (Morebattle). Prebend to Glasgow in 1116. Chapels at Clifton and Whitton in 1186. Before 670 Clifton was given by King Oswy to S. Cuthbert.
- Molle or Mow. *Kelso*. Mentioned 1157. Before 1672 joined to Morebattle.
- Yetholme, R. Mentioned 1233.
- Lynton, Roderic, R. (Linton, *Kelso*.) Mentioned 1127. Chapel at Hoselaw.
- Sprouston, S. Michael, R. *Kelso*. Mentioned 1114.
- Lempetlaw, R. *Soltre* and *Trinity College, Edinburgh*.
- Maxwell or Maccusville, S. Michael. *Kelso*. South of Tweed, afterwards joined to parish of Kelso. Chapel of S. Thomas the Martyr at Harlaw in 1180.
- Roxburgh, Old Rochesburc, S. John's in the Castle. Mentioned 1127. Prebend 1275.
- Roxburgh, V., S. James. Dedicated 17th April 1134. *Kelso*. Near confluence of Tweed and Teviot, now in parish of Kelso. S. James's Fair 5th August. In the church of S. James was a chantry endowed by Roger of Auldton in 1329, valued in Lib. de Calchon at £20 sterling. In south-west of the parish was chapel or hospital of Farnindun in 1186, confirmed by the Pope to Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow. See vast mass of Roxburgh records in 'Origines Parochiales,' i. 450-496.
- Roxburgh, Holy Sepulchre. *Knights of S. John, Kelso*.

### III. Diocese of Dunkeld.

Dunkeld, or *Dunum Keledeorum* = hill of the Culdees, was a Culdee monastery from 729. The cathedral was built in 1127 under Alexander I., when Cormac, the Culdee abbot, became the first bishop of the see. Until 1200, Dunkeld, from its connection with Iona, extended westward so far as to include what was then made the diocese of Argyle at the request of Bishop John Scot, who had no Gaelic. Of the forty bishops before the Reformation, the best known are : John Scot + 1203, called S. John of Dunkeld, a favourite of Alexander III. William Sinclair, 1303-1338, whom Bruce called his "own bishop," and the people "the fechtin bishop," a brave and patriotic man, whose war-cry at Donibristle against the English invaders is historical—"All ye that love Scotland's honour, follow me." James Bruce, 1446, who gave Abernethy to four vicars of Dunkeld. Thomas Lauder, bishop 1452-1476 + 1481, tutor to James II., founded three prebends—Alyth, Aberlady, Muckersy—built the Tay bridge, and bought a bishop's lodging at Perth and Edinburgh—a model bishop. George Brown, son of the burgh treasurer of Dundee, 1485-1514. He divided the diocese into four deaneries, procured Gaelic preachers, promoted clerical efficiency, built the Castle of Cluny, added to the palace at Dunkeld, and was one of the best bishops the see ever possessed. Gawin Douglas, 1516-1522, who translated the 'Æneid' into Scots verse, with original poetry prefixed to the several books. There were four deaneries of Dunkeld, and the bishop had residences at Dunkeld, Cluny, Perth, Auchtertool, and Edinburgh.

#### PAROCHIALE DUNKELDENSE.

*Deanery of Athol and Drumalbane* = Breadalbane.

Aberdalgie. Joined to Dupplin in 1618.

Aberneit (Abernyte), near Dundee. Given c. 1445 to four choir vicars.

Moulin. *Dunfermline Abbey*.

Dull or Appin (= Abthane), of Dull or Dulmonach (= of the monks), S. Adamnan. *St Andrews Priory*.

Saint Serf's. Joined to Redgorton. Is on north side of the Almond. Was church of Ruthven Castle till a child of the Ruthvens was drowned in the Almond returning from baptism.

Ruthven, on north side of Strathmore on the Isla. Once chapel of Alyth.

Tibbermuir, S. Mary's. Precentor. Once a residence of the bishops. Clunie, in Stormont. Chapel on isle in Loch Cluny, and three other chapels.

Cargill. Chapel of S. Adamnan at Campsie belonged to Abbot of Cupar-Angus. Part of Cupar-Angus till 1514.

Killin, S. Fillan.

Forgundynie (Forgandenny). *Prebend of S. Colm's Abbey*. Chapel of S. Mary's at Freeland and S. Catharine at Forgandenny.

Dollar. Thomas Forrest, vicar of, burnt 1538.

Aberdgay.

Ratray. Sub-dean.

Dowalie, S. Anne. Parish erected 1500 by Bishop Brown. Once part of Caputh, now of Dunkeld. Originally a Culdee seat at Kilmorick, where is S. Muireach's Well. Had an hospital at Guay=Dalguise, c. 1340. Restored in 1490. Also Well of Sancta Crux at Crueshill, resorted to first Sunday of May.

Pitcairn, in Redgorton.

Alith, S. Moluac (Alyth). Prebend. Chapel of S. Ninian on north side of churchyard, endowed with lands of Balwhyme.

Forcastle or Fincastle. Annexed to Dull, now in Tenandry.

Little Dunkeld. Archdeacon. Included old parish of Laganallochy or Logie-Allochie, in Strathbraan, S. Aulachy, Allocus, or Mochealog, 23d December. *Dunfermline*.

Strathfillan, S. Kentigerna. Seat of priory.

Invermuir.

Ochtergatin (Auchtergaven). Included old parish Logiebride since 1618.

Killinlyner, S. Kennera (Glenlyon?).

Kirkleven (Kinclaven). Precentor, 1260.

Lethinden (Lethindy). Chancellor. Chapel—Kinloch or Lardiff.

Bendochie (Bendochy). *Cupar-Angus*. Two chapels—S. Fink or Findoca and Monkcallie.

Dunkeld, V., S. Columba. Treasurer. Chapel of S. Ninian in Atholl Street, endowed c. 1420 by Bishop Cardney, with lands of Mucklarie.

Monydie, R. Prebend. In 1480 held by Alexander Myln, author of 'Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld.'

Megill or Migdele (Meigle). Commune church.

Fothergill (Fortingall). Joined with Killachonan or Killyhonnán.

Fongorth or Foghort, or the Red Chapel of S. Jerome. Prebend. Now in Caputh. People of Fongorth are called "Jorams," from the old chapel of S. Jerome.

Kilspindie. Joined to Rait c. 1634.

Kilconan, S. Conan. In Fortingal, north side of Loch Rannoch.

Logieraith, Logie in Athole, or Laggan, S. Machutus (Logierait).  
*Scone.*

Weim, S. Cuthbert (Weem). Fair, burial-ground and chapel of S. David.

Ragirtone, S. Callan (Redgorton). *Scone.* Included S. Serf's and Luncarty.

Kendmuir (Kenmore). *Scone.* Old church at Inchadyn.

Capeth-Moothill or Capoch (Caputh), erected in 1500. Mensal.  
Chapel of S. Ewan.

Inchmagrannoch. Prebend. Now in Little Dunkeld.

Fordishall or Ferdshaw. Prebend. (Again in see of Dunblane.)

Muckersy. Prebend. Now in Forteviot.

Ruffell. Prebend. In parish of Caputh.

Cragyne, Craigie. Prebend. Now in Caputh, near Clunie church.

Abernethy. Prebend.

Blair in Athole. Prebend. Three chapels—Lude, Kilmoneonaig or S. John, Struan or S. Rowan.

Mackathil or Logymached in Athole.<sup>1</sup> Prebend. Included present church and village site of Caputh.

Kirkmichael or Strathardle. An abthanedom. (Seems omitted.)

#### *Deanery of Angus.*

Auchterhouse, S. Mary. A commune church. Estate of Balbeuchly in Auchterhouse belongs to Caputh from twelfth century.

Cupar-Angus. Archdeacon. Had an abbey founded 1164.

Fearn, seven miles west of Brechin.

Menmuir, S. Aidan. Prebend. (Again in see of Brechin.)

Tyland. Treasurer. (Tealing.) A settlement of S. Boniface, c. 600.

#### *Deanery of Fife, Fotheric, and Stratherne.*

Aberdour. S. Fillan. Mentioned 1178. *S. Colm's Abbey.* Included Inchcolm or Omona. Chapel of Beauprè (Bowprrie). Mentioned 1320.

Auchtertool. *S. Colm's Abbey.* A bishop's residence at Hallyyards, now Camilla.

Beath. *S. Colm's Abbey.*

Dalgethie (Dalgety). *St Colms.*

Rosyth or Rossive. *St Colms.*

Leslie or Fetkill, S. Mary. *St Colms.* Probable scene of "Christ's Kirk on the Green."

Salling (Saline). A commune church.

Stramiglo (Strathmiglo). A commune church.

<sup>1</sup> Login Mathed is explained in 'Origines Parochiales,' ii. 735, as named from Maddad, Earl of Athole, and nephew of King Malcolm Canmore, a benefactor of Scone between 1107 and 1147.



*Deanery South of Forth, in partibus australibus.*

Abercorn. The Bishop. Once seat of a Pictish bishop.

Cramond, S. Columba. Mensal.

Aberlady. Prebend. Included Kilspindie, near it.

Alva.

Boncle or Bonkill (Bunkle and Preston, in Berwickshire). Mentioned 1124.

Preston on Whiteader, joined to Buncle.

Campsey, S. Martin; and Campsmichael, S. Michael (S. Martin's, Perthshire). Chancellor. S. Martins was a mensal church of *Holyrood*, and Cambusmichael belonged to *Scone* from 1164. (Occurs again, deanery of Gowrie, St Andrews.)

*Note.*—According to Bishop Forbes, 'Kalendars,' p. 414, the see of Dunkeld included Church of S. Michael, 150 yards from Brechin Cathedral; Castle of Broughty as part of Caputh; and Foffarty in Kinnettles, near Forfar.

#### IV. Diocese of Aberdeen.

The see was originally at Mortlach (in Strathspey, five miles south of Craigellachie), where was an old Culdee monastery; but Bishop Nectan translated it to Old Aberdeen in 1136. The cathedral dedicated to S. Machar, and begun by Bishop Kinninmont 1357-1381, was completed by Bishop Elphinston and Bishop Dunbar 1484-1532. In 1256 the chapter was completed, when Bishop Ramsay appointed thirteen Prebendaries, Dean (Kirkcoun = Old Aberdeen), Chaunter (Auchterless), Chancellor (Birse), Treasurer (Daviot), Archdeacon (Rayne). *Prebendaries*—Bahelvy, 1256; Kincardyn, 1330; Turreff, 1412; Kynkell, 1480; Rathven, 1445; Monymusk, 1445. *Deacons*—Murthlac, Oyne, 1256; Cruden, 1256; Ellone, 1325; Methlac, 1362; Crimond, 1262; Codilstan, 1414. *Sub-deacons*—Banchory-Devenic, 1256; Clat, Tullynestle, 1376; Forbes, 1325; Invernochty, Strathtie, 1356; Aberdour, 1318; Lonmay, 1314; Philorth, 1361; Old Deir, 1256; Drumoak, 1368; S. Nicholas, S. Mary ad nives, 1499. The bishop's palace on the east side of the cathedral, with the manses on the north, was burnt in 1233 by an English fleet. The Chaplain's Court, built in 1519, contained chambers for

twenty vicars or chaplains. The precinct or canonry formed a sanctuary, and held a girth or sanctuary cross. The Breviary of Aberdeen, first printed in 1508, reprinted in 1853 in full, and its Kalendar reprinted in 1872 by Bishop Forbes in 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints,' is perhaps the best work of its kind, and had for its chief compiler the great Bishop Elphinstone, a careful account of whose noble career is given by Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches,' pp. 260-267. The cathedral tower, which formed a great sea mark, fell through mismanagement in 1688. Originally there were only three deaneries—Mar, Buchan, and Garioch; later additions were Buyn and Aberdeen. In 1547 is mentioned a deanery of Formartine, between Ythan and Don, with sixteen parishes.

The best guide to the churches in the see of Aberdeen is 'Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff,' 2 vols., 1843, by the Spalding Club.

*Bishops of Murthlac.*

Beanus, . . . . .	1010
Donercius, . . . . .	1042
Cormach, . . . . .	1084
Nectan, . . . . .	1123-1154

*Bishops of Aberdeen.*

Edward, Chancellor of Scotland in 1140, . . . . .	1154-1171
Matthew, . . . . .	1172-1199
John, prior of Kelso, . . . . .	1200-1207
Adam de Crail, . . . . .	-1228
Gilbert de Stirling, . . . . .	1228-1239
Ralph de Lambley, Abbot of Arbroath, preached barefoot through the diocese, . . . . .	-1247
Peter de Ramsay, drew up Cathedral Statutes, . . . . .	-1256
Robert Poitou, an Englishman, . . . . .	1256-1270
Hugh de Benham, consecrated by Pope Martin at Rome, sat in Council of Lyons 1274, . . . . .	-1282
Henry le Chen, founded prebend of Ellon, . . . . .	-1328
Alexander de Kyninmond, built two palaces, . . . . .	-13—
William de Deyn, also a builder, reformed the clergy and endowed vicarage of Old Aberdeen, . . . . .	-1350
John Rait, D.D., . . . . .	-1355
Alexander de Kyninmond II., . . . . .	1356-1380
Adam de Tynninghame, Dean of Aberdeen, a good man, . . . . .	-1389
Gilbert de Greenlaw, Chancellor of Scotland, . . . . .	-1422

Henry de Lichton, Bishop of Moray, . . . . .	1422-1440
Ingelram de Lindesay, LL.D., paved and roofed cathedral,	1441-1458
Thomas Spens, Bishop of Galloway, Keeper of Privy Seal,	1459-1480
Robert Blackader, prebendary of Glasgow, translated to Glasgow, . . . . .	1480-1484
William Elphinston, LL.D., Bishop of Ross, Chancellor and Privy Seal, founder of King's College; a great and good bishop; learned, pure, and generous, . . . . .	1484-1514
Alexander Gordon, cousin of Earl Huntly, consecrated and died, . . . . .	1515
Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St Andrews, . . . . .	1519-1532
William Stewart, LL.D., son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, provost of Lincluden, ambassador to England, . . . . .	1531-1545
William Gordon, fourth son of Earl Huntly; a swinish man, as described by Bishop Spottiswood, and re- buked in 1559 by his own dean and canons in council, . . . . .	1541-1577

PAROCHIALE ABERDONENSE.

*Deanery of Mar.*

- Kyndrought, S. Andrew (Castleton of Braemar). *Culdees of Monymusk*. Six chapels in the parish of old.
- Crehy, Creythi, S. Manir (Crathy). *Monymusk*. Four chapels.
- Kynmuk, S. Mary, V. (Glenmuik). Joined with Tullich.
- Obein, S. Theunan = Adamnan (Aboyne). Chapel of Glentanan.
- Braes or Brise, S. Michael and S. Columba (Birse). Chancellor.
- Kincardine O'Neil, S. Yarchald. Priest prebend.
- Bencory Tarny, S. Ternan (Banchory Ternan). *Arbroath*, 1207.
- Eyht, S. Fincan or Findoca? (Echt). *Scone*. Chapel at Monksecht.
- Kenernyn or Kinoir, S. Mary, with Fitheranus chapel now in Huntly. *Arbroath*, 1207.
- Migmar, S. Nidan (Midmar). *St Andrews Priory*, 1242. See Skene, ii. 193.
- Clony (Cluny).
- Tullich, S. Nathalan. Joined with Glenmuick.
- Keg, S. Diacon (Keig). *Monymusk*.
- Afford (Alford). *Monymusk*.
- Loychel, S. Marnan (Leochel). *Monymusk*. Mentioned c. 1165.
- Cussheny, S. Bride (Cushnie). Now joined to Leochel.
- Lunfanan = Llanfinan, S. Finan (Lumphanan). See Skene, ii. 103.
- Forbeys and Keirn (Forbes). Sub-deacon prebend. Now joined to Tullynessle. Chapel at Keirn.
- Kildrummy, S. Bride. Commune church, 1362. Three chapels—S. Macarius, Chapel Ronald, Sammiluaks or S. Luke's.
- Tarland, S. Bathulloch, and Migveth, S. Finan (Migvie). *Priory of St Andrews*. See Skene, ii. 193.
- Cloveth, S. Andrew (Strathdoveran-Cabrach). Commune church, 1362. *Arbroath*.

- Danachindor, S. Mary (Auchindoir). *Monymusk*.  
 Murthelach, S. Moluach (Mortlach). Mentioned 850. Deacon prebend.  
 Kybethoc, Kinbattock, or Kilbartha (Towie). Sub-deacon prebend.  
 Ruins of three chapels.  
 Invernochthyn, S. Ninian (Strathdon). *Monymusk*. Sub-deacon prebend.  
 Colsten, S. Nachtan (Coldstone). Deacon prebend.  
 Logyrothmen in Mar, or Logy-mar, S. Voloc (Logy-Coldstone since 1618). See Cosmo Innes, pp. 14 and 18.  
 Cule, S. Nachlan (Coull). *Arbroath*, 1207.  
 Foltherner (Feternear). Now deserted. A bishop's palace here.

*Deanery of Buchan.*

- Balhelvy, S. Nachtan and S. Columb (Belhelvie). Priest prebend.  
*Arbroath*. Three chapels in the parish.  
 Fovern (Foveran). *Deir Abbey*. Udny erected 1597, from Fovern, Logy-Buchan, and Tarves.  
 Logyn (Logie-Buchan). Commune church 1362. Chapel at Essilmont.  
 Elone, S. Mary (Ellon). *Kinloss Abbey*, 1310. Deacon prebend.  
 Furvin or Furvie, S. Adamnan. *Arbroath*, 1207. Now overblown with sand.  
 Slanes, S. Ternan (Slains). *Aberdeen College*. Chapel at Leask.  
 Croudan, S. Olave (Cruden). Deacon prebend.  
 Inverogin Petri or Peterugie, R. and V. (Peterhead). *Deir Abbey*. Chapel of Fetiranus. Longside or New Peter separated 1620.  
 Langle, Longley, or Inverugie, S. Fergus (S. Fergus). *Arbroath*.  
 Retref, Rattray-head. Joined with Crimond.  
 Crechmond (Crimond Rattray). Deacon prebend.  
 Lonmey, S. Columb (Lonmay). Sub-deacon prebend. Chapel at Kininmont.  
 Rathin or Rayne, S. Ethernan (Rathen). Archdeacon. Strichen separated 1627.  
 Deer, S. Mary. Sub-deacon prebend. Seat of an abbey and the mother church of the district. Fetterangus, *Arbroath*, was annexed in 1618, and New Deer, or Auchreddie, separated in 1694.  
 Filorth, S. Medan (Fraserburgh). Commune church 1362. Sub-deacon prebend.  
 Torvereth, S. Congan (Turiff). *Arbroath*. Priest prebend. Hospital in 1272 for twelve poor men. Monquhitter separated 1649.  
 Kyndor, S. Mary (Kintore). *Monymusk*. Chapel at Halforest.  
 Fyvin, S. Peter (Fyvie). Ardlogy a cell of *Arbroath*. Chapels—S. Paul's, Easterton; S. Rule, Mickle-Folla.  
 Methelch, S. Devenich (Methlic). Priest prebend. Chapel—S. Ninian at Andat.  
 Tarvays, S. Englat or "Tanglan" (Tarves). With Fuchall church. *Arbroath*, 1207. Three chapels—Bartle, S. John, and—  
 Bothelny, S. Nathalan (Old Meldrum). See Cosmo Innes, p. 4.



*Buyn Deanery.*

- Alveth, S. Columb (Alvah). Given 1315 to *Cupar Abbey* by Marjory, Countess of Athole.
- Kynedward (King Edward). *Deir.* Mentioned 1369.
- Toulch, nine maidens of S. Bride (Tough). Commune church. Munbre, in Banffshire.
- Rothvan, S. Peter (Rathven). In the Enzie, *Cullen College.*
- Foscan, S. Foscan (Faskin). Chapel under Rothvan.
- Fordyce, S. Talarican. Commune church. Chapels—Deskford, S. John Evangelist. Ordiquil separated 1622.
- Cula or Invercullen, S. Nachtan (Cullen). A collegiate church. *Lindores.*
- Tullywhull and Brandon, S. Nachtan.
- Aberdour, S. Drostan, S. Fillan, and S. Manir. Sub-deacon prebend, 1318. Pitsligo separated in 1630.
- Tyrin, S. Andrew (Tyrie). “The white kirk of Buchan,” a place of pilgrimage.
- Gamerin, S. John Evangelist, V. With Trub church (Gamrie with Troup). *Arbroath*, 1207.
- Banf, S. Mary, V. *Arbroath*, 1207. Boyndie separated in 1634.
- Forglen, S. Theunan = Adamnan. *Arbroath*, 1207. Had custody of Brecebennach or banner of S. Columba.

*Deanery of Garuiach.*

- Garvioch, S. Mary (Chapel of Garioch). *Arbroath.* Chapel of Bowirdin mentioned 1199. Bourtie or Collyhill separated 1505.
- Fintereth, S. Medan or S. Giles? (Fintray). Mentioned 1199. *Londores.*
- Kynkell, S. Bean (Keithhall and Kinkell). *Templars* of Torphichen. Priest prebend. Kynkell = head church, was an *abthane* with the following vicarages—Kintore; Kemnay; Dyce, S. Fergus; Skene, S. Bride; Drumblade or Drumblait, S. Hilary (chapels at Chapelton and Lessendrum); Kinnellar; Keithhall or Monkeigie.
- Bondyn or Inverboindie, S. Brandon (Boyndie). *Priory of St Andrews; Arbroath.*
- Inveroury, S. Apollinaris (Inverury). *Londores.* Chapel—Monkegin.
- Davyet, S. Columba (Daviot). Treasurer.
- Durnagh or Logie-Durno, S. Voloc. *Londores.* Now in Chapel of Garioch.
- Outerlis, S. Donan (Auchterless). Præcentor. Chapel—S. Mary, at Sigget.
- Ovyn, S. Colm (Oyne). Deacon prebend. Chapel—S. Ninian at Pitmedden.
- Prameth, S. Caran (Premnay). *Londores.* Chapel—S. James, Auchlevin.
- Culsamuel (Culsalmond). Has three holy wells.
- Inchmacbany, V., or Vicaria de insula (Insch). *Londores.*

- Ratmuryel, Rochmuriel, or Christ's Kirk. *Londores*. Joined to Kinnethmont.
- Kynaltnund, S. Rule, V. and R. (Kinnethmont). Mentioned 1165. *Londores*.
- Lescelyn (Leslie). *Londores*. Mentioned 1199.
- Clatt, S. Molach (Clatt). Sub-deacon prebend.
- Tulyneslyn, S. Nachtan (Tullynessle). Commune church, 1362. Now joined with Forbes. Sub-deacon prebend.
- Ran, S. Andrew (Rayne). Chapel of S. Mary at Rotmais.
- Foergus, S. Margaret (Forgue, Fendraught). Mentioned 1257. *Arbroath*.

### *Deanery of Aberdeen.*

- Aberdeen, S. Machar.
- Aberdeen, S. Nicholas. A collegiate church. Sub-deacon prebend. Chapels—Bride of Dee; Robslaw; Futtie, S. Clement's.
- Bencory Devenic, S. Devenick (Banchory Devenick). Sub-deacon prebend. Chapel—S. Ternan at Findon.
- Coulter or Muriecroft, S. Peter (Peterculter). *Kelso*. Dean. Chapel—Maryculter or Mariæ Cultura, where is Blairs Roman Catholic College.
- Dalmayoc, S. Mazota (Drumoak).
- Monimusc, S. Mary (Monymusk). Priest prebend. Besides the priory, chapels of S. Mary at Balwack and S. Finnan at Abersuithic.
- Glenbucket, S. Peter. Severed 1473 from Logie Mar.
- Glangairden, S. Kentigern (Glengairn). Anciently joined with Tullich.
- Gartley, S. Andrew (Grantully). In Strathbogie. Three chapels.
- Kemnay, S. Anne (Kemnay). Once chapelry of Kinkell.
- New Machar, S. Columba. Formed out of Old Machar in 1621. Chapel of S. Colm at Monykebbock or Monycabo in 1256. Newhills separated 1662.

## V. Diocese of Moray.

The see, originally and successively at Birnay, Kinnedor, and Spynie, was created by Alexander I. The cathedral at Elgin was founded by Bishop Andrew de Moravia 1224, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It was twice burnt, 1392 and 1402. Rebuilt in 1414, it was considered by many the finest church in Scotland. The central tower was twice built and fell twice, 1507 and 1710. Elgin, Forres, Nairn, with part of the counties of Inverness and Banff, were comprised in the

diocese, a large proportion of which is level and fertile, enjoying one of the best climates in Scotland, producing wheat and fruit equal to any part of the Lothians. At Elgin, the "college" marks the site of the canons' close; and on the north-west of the cathedral are the remains of palace, deanery, and manses of the brave days of old. With the exception of St Andrews and Kirkwall, no Scottish episcopal city is so rich in consecrated memorials.

Bishop Bricius founded eight canonries, and Bishop Andrew de Moravia added fourteen, which are marked in the *Parochiale*. Each of the five dignitaries had four acres of land at Elgin, and each canon two acres; besides which, each of the twenty-two canons had a toft of land for a manse. The precinct of the college had a stone wall, four yards high and 900 yards circuit, enclosing cathedral, canons' houses, and churchyard. Outside the precinct, toward the city of Elgin, was a small burgh dependent on the bishop and college.

Bishops of Moray: Gregory, 1115; William, + 1161; Felix, 116—; Simon de Tonei, + 1184; Richard, 1187-1203; Bricius de Douglas, Prior of Lesmahagow, 1203-1221; Andrew de Moravia, 1221-1247; Simon, dean, + 1253; Archibald, dean, 1253-1303; David Moray, 1299- ; John Pilmore, 1326-1362; Alexander Bar, 1362-1397; William de Spynie, 1397-1406; John de Innes, 1406-1414; Henry de Leighton, 1414, translated to Aberdeen; David, 1421- ; Columba de Dunbar, 1429-1435; John Winchester, 1437-1458; James Stewart, 1459-1461; David Stewart, brother of last, 1461-1476; Andrew Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, 1477-1482; Andrew Stewart, Sub-dean of Glasgow, 1483-1501; Andrew Forman, translated to St Andrews, 1501; James Hepburn, son of Lord Hailes and Abbot of Dunfermline, 1516-1524; Robert Shaw, Abbot of Paisley, 1524-1527; Lord Alexander Stewart, son of Duke of Albany, Abbot of Inchaffray and Scone, 1522-1534; Patrick Hepburn, son of Earl of Bothwell and Prior of St Andrews, 1535-1573.

Bishop Patrick Hepburn was uncle and abettor of the mur-

derer of Darnley, and one of the group of he-goat bishops (others being Beaton of St Andrews, Gordon of Aberdeen, and Chisholm of Dunblane) whose public and shameless debaucheries made defence of the old Church hopeless at the Reformation. Bishop Hepburn not only acknowledged but (as recorded by Knox) boasted of thirteen concubines, seven of whom were men's wives. Letters of legitimation under the Great Seal of State passed for ten of this villain's bastard children; besides which, he frightfully squandered the property of his see by fraudulent tacks of Church lands from 1540 onwards, as shown in detail in Shaw's 'History of the Province of Moray' (best edition by Dr Gordon, 1882).

#### PAROCHIALE MORAVIENSE.

##### *Deanery of Elgin.*

- Elgin, S. Giles the Abbot, the parish church. Mensal. Chapels—  
S. Peter's, c. 1480, by George, Earl of Huntly; S. Mary's in castle at Ladyhill.
- Kilmalemnock, S. Andrew (St Andrews-Lanbride, part of). Mensal.  
With Ogston, under one vicar. Chapel of Insh in north end of parish.
- Lhanbride, S. Brigida, vicarage under Alves (St Andrews-Lanbride).
- Kinnedor (Kineddar), treasurer. Since 1642 in Drainie. Has S. Gernadius's Well. Day, 8th November.
- Ugston or Ogston, S. Peter. Mensal since 1642 in Drainie. So named, as the church for the two parishes was on estate of Drainie.
- Duffus, S. Peter, of eleventh century. Joined with Unthank. Founded 1542. Chapel at Kirkhill.
- Dippel, the Holy Ghost. Between 1208-1214, with Ruthven in Strathbogie, formed the eighth canonry. Since 1731 Dipple, Essil, and the barony of Germach form the parish of Speymouth.
- Essil, S. Peter (Speymouth, part of), sub-treasurer. Once chapel of Rynie.
- Rafford, sub-chanter. Part now in Kinloss. Old religious house at S. John's Mead. Had Ardclach dependent.
- Spynie, Holy Trinity. Served as cathedral before 1224. Church at Kintrae in 1203; joined to Spynie before 1242.
- Moy. Prebend in 1223; joined to Dyke in 1618. This Moy is on the lower Findern, two miles west of Forres.
- Dyke or Logyn-Dyke, S. Andrew. Mensal. Has Farnua or Darnaway Castle. Culbin buried in sand.
- Altre (Altyre), joined to Rafford. Earlier to Dolas, but detached in 1657.



- Alderyn, S. Colm (Auldearn), the dean. Has S. Colm's Fair, 21st June. Chapels—Ferness and Lethen. United in 1626 as parish of Ardclach.
- Calder, Cawdor, or Bar-Evan, S. Ewan. Chapels—at Old Calder; Castle of Cawdor chapel; and at Dallas in the Streens.
- Brynuth (Birnie). Before 1184 first cathedral of see. Old Ronnel bell and font; Norman nave and chancel.
- Alves, the precentor. Contained Kinloss Abbey. In 1657, parish of Kinloss was erected from parts of Alves, Rafford, and Forres—chiefly from Alves.
- Urchard, S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland (Urquhart). Fifth canonry. St Colm's Inch. Priory of Urquhart founded 1125.
- Bellie or Fochabers, S. Peter. *Urquhart Priory*. Gordon Castle or Bog-of-Gight had a chapel.
- Dolas or Dolphus, S. Michael (Dallas), sub-dean. Has fair and well of S. Michael.
- Roths, S. Laurence, the precentor. *S. Nicholas Hospital* on Spey. Chapel of S. Mary at Orton; also well of S. Lawrence. Fair transferred to Forres.
- Forres or Fotherways, S. Laurence, archdeacon. Chapels—S. Leonard, one mile south, and at Logie.
- Edinkylie, vicarage under archdeacon. Chapels—Duldavie or Tullidivie and Logie-Tythenach.
- Dundurcus. Mensal. Divided between Roths and Boharm in 1782.

*Deanery of Inverness.*

- Abertarf. Mentioned 1216. *Beaulie Priory*. Fraudulently sold by its own vicar in 1570. Joined to Boleskin, 1614; to Glenmoriston, 1676. Rejoined to Boleskin, 1688.
- Boleskine, Stratherik, or Strathfarigack. Now joined to Abertarf. At Fort Augustus was chapel of Killiechumin. Has Fall of Foyers.
- Glenmoriston, S. Richard. Now in Urquhart, once in Abertarf.
- Dunlichty, Lundichtie, or Lunin. Joined to Daviot, 1618. Vicarage under the chancellor.
- Daveth or Davit (Daviot). Mensal. *Pluscardine*.
- Dalarossie, Dalfergussyn, or Talarcie. Mensal, 1224-1242. Joined to Moy.
- Urquhart, S. Mary. Joined, c. 1560, to Glenmoriston. Old burial-places—Kilmore and Kilninian, with four others. House of Knights-Templars on north side of Urquhart Bay.
- Wardlaw, of old Dunbathlach, S. Maurice. Mensal. Church was removed to Wardlaw in 1210.
- Kintallirgy, S. Thalargus or Talaricanus (Kiltarlity). Mensal. Included parish of Conveth or Glenconvent. *Beaulie Priory*. Six Druid circles near the church. In 1227, Kintallirgy was adjudged to Moray by a meeting of bishops and clergy of Ross and Moray.
- Invernys, S. Mary (Inverness). *Arbroath*.
- Bona or Bonaw, a parsonage at Bona-Ferry. Joined to Inverness, 1618.

- Fernua or Knock-Mary, S. Mary (Kirkhill). Joined to Wardlaw, 1618.
- Durris, a parsonage (Dores). *Pluscardine*.
- Coneway, S. Laurence of Canterbury, a vicarage (Conveth). Joined to Kiltarlity. *Beaulie*.
- Croy-Lunyn, S. Dorothy (Croy and Dalcross). Prebend. Has Cul-loden Moor. Chapels—Kil-Doich or Dorothy's in the south, Chapelton in the north; also Kilravock, S. Raff or Rave.
- Dalcross, old Dealg-an-Ross, a vicarage of Prior of Urquhart. In 1343 the vicar officiated in chapel of Kilravock.
- Moy, in upper Strathearn or Findern, around Loch Moy, a vicarage dependent on Croy. Later joined to Dalarossie.
- Petyne, S. Colm (Pettie). Prebend. Mentioned 1226.
- Brachly, now in Pettie. With Pettie formed a canonry.
- Nairn or Invernarin, S. Ninian. Chaplainry of the dean. Chapel of S. Mary at Geddes, built 1220.

#### *Deanery of Strathspey.*

- Kingusy, S. Colm. Prebend. Once seat of a priory. Chapels—Invertromie, Noid, and S. Bride's at Benchar.
- Inche, S. Ewen. Prebend. Island on Spey, three and a half miles north of, and dependent on, Kingussie. *Balnespick* was *bishop's* land.
- Adway (Advie). Prebend. Joined to Cromdale as Advyn-Cromdale.
- Dothol, S. Peter (Duthil), sub-deacon. Seat of Grant of Seafield.
- Inveraven, Eryn, or Strahawen, S. Peter. The chancellor, 1208. Chapels—Kilmachlie; and in Glenlivat, Chapels Donnan, Buitterlach, and Chapel Christ.
- The chancellor held also Fotherves or Fernes in Ardcloch, Lethin in Ardcloch, Lunin or Dunlichtie, and Tullidivie in Edinkylie.
- Knockando, a vicarage dependent on Inveravon. Joined with Elchies, c. 1757. Has three sites of old chapels.
- Abyrnethy, a vicarage. One mile above where Nethy joins Spey.
- Kyncardyn, S. Erchan. Eight miles from Abernethy, but joined since c. 1560.
- Rathmorcus, S. Tucharn or Tuchald. Mensal. Dependent on Duthil. Chapel of S. Eata at Achnahatinch.
- Logykenny or Laggankenny, S. Cainnech (Laggan). East end of Loch Laggan.
- Alveth, S. Drostan or S. Moluac (Alvie).
- Inverallian (Inverallan or Grantown). Mensal. Joined to Cromdale; separated again in 1869.
- Cromdale or Advyn-Cromdale, S. Moluac. Prebend.
- Camdale, S. Bride. In parish of Kirkmichael, near Cromdale.

#### *Deanery of Strabogly.*

- Rynyn or Kilreny, S. Rule (Rhynie). Prebend in 1220.
- Essie, with Ryny, formed a prebend. Now joined to Ryny. Ruins of Eassie kirk are west from ruins of Castle Lesmore.

- Dumbanan (Huntly), sacrist. Huntly, anciently Tirriesoul.
- Kynnor, S. Mungo (Huntly), with Dunbennan, formed a canonry at Elgin.
- Rothymay, S. John and S. Drostan. Mensal.
- Innerkethney (Inverkeithny). Prebend 1226.
- Abyrlour (Aberlour). Prebend. Parish divided into seven davachs. Templars had a house at Kinnermony.
- Skirdrostan, S. Drostan. Originally a separate parish from Aberlour. S. Drostan's relics were kept here. Ruin and graveyard at mouth of Burn of Aberlour. Very ancient font in churchyard neglected.
- Botrochyn, S. Fumac (Botriphnie).
- Botary, S. Martin (Cairnie). In 1226 Botary-Elechyn formed the fourth prebend. Cairnie is made up of Botary, Elchies, and part of Drumdelgy.
- Elchy or Ma-Calen = S. Colin, old Botary-Elechyn (Elchies). Now in Knockando. Originally a vicarage to Botary.
- Ruthven or Rivan (Cairnie, part of). Once under Dipple as endowment of a canonry. Bell called "Wow of Rivan."
- Abyrkerdor, S. Mernan or Marnock (Marnock). *Arbroath*. Chapel of S. John.
- Glass, S. Andrew. Included old parish of S. Woloc of Dumneth and S. Peter of Drumdelgy, and part of Mortlach.
- Artydole or Artendole (Arndilly). Now in Boharm. See Cosmo Innes's 'Sketches,' p. 14.
- Bocharme (Boharm). Prebend. Included since 1788 part of Dundurcos.
- Gartly or Grandtully, S. Andrew. Mensal. Chapels—Brawlingknow, Mooralehouse, and S. Ninian's at Talathrewie.
- Keith, S. Mælrubha. Mensal. Grange or Strathisla separated 1618.

## VI. Diocese of Brechin.

The see was founded in 1150 by David I., and re-dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Previously there had been a Culdee monastery devoted by King Kenneth (son of Malcolm), 971-995, to the Holy Trinity, a common and favourite dedication among the Culdees. The round tower of Brechin, 110 feet high, immediately adjoining the cathedral, is by far the most noted feature of the place. Only two others similar exist in Scotland, at Abernethy, and Eglishay in Orkney. Four others have disappeared,—viz., Deerness in Orkney; West Burray, Tingwall, and Ireland Head, all three in Shetland. Culdee abbots continued at Brechin till 1219. A list of eight

is preserved: Artgus, primate of Fortrenn, + 865; Duncan, slain, 965; Crinan, slain in battle, 1040; Leod, 1151; Dovenald, 1178; Brice, prior, 1180; Mallebryd, prior, 1218, or rather 1202-1222; John, abbot, 1219. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, here and at Abernethy, the *abbot* was a layman, whose title and benefice were hereditary, whilst the *prior* discharged the ecclesiastical duties. Eleven of the old benefices were erected into canonries, to which Finhaven and Lethnot were added later, and these thirteen, with the Bishop as Rector of Brechin, formed the Chapter. Jervise (Memorials of Angus and Mearns, i. 175) says, "The cathedral had twenty-three churches and chapels attached to it, *curiously scattered*." On the origin of Brechin, see Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' pp. 331, 332. The best list of bishops is given by Cosmo Innes, pp. vi-xvi of Preface to 'Registrum Episc. Brechinensis'—Bannatyne Club.

#### PAROCHIALE BRECHINENSE.

- Glenylef, S. Mary (Glen Isla). Bishop. Ladywell at the manse.  
 Nethever, S. Columba (Navar). Joined to Lethnot 1723.  
 Cortoquhuy (Cortachy). Bishop, c. 1450. Joined to Clova 1608.  
 Lethenoth, or S. Mary Kirk (Lethnot). Prebend, 1384. Lochlee was separated in 1723.  
 Stracathirach (Stracathro). Precentor. Mentioned c. 1178.  
 Stratheichin or Stratheichtyn, S. Martin (Strathmartine). Joined to Mains.  
 Glenbervyn or Oberbervie, in the Mearns (Glenbervie). Prebend, 1384. Chapel at Drumlithie.  
 Gotheryn (Guthrie). Prebend. *Arbroath*, c. 1211. Collegiate in 1479, with rectory of Carbuddo attached.  
 Fothenevyn, V., S. Leonard's (Finhaven or Oathlaw). Earl of Crawford, 1474. Canonry. Old church of Aikenhould below the castle of Finhaven.  
 Kingorny (Kingory). Site of church on cliff near mouth of Bervie. Once in Kineff.  
 Kingouder (Kingoldrum). *Arbroath*, 1253.  
 Dundee, S. Mary, c. 1300. Six chapels—S. Roque, outside Cowgate Port; S. Paul's, between Murraygate and Seagate; S. Salvator, near Maut or S. Margaret's Close; Kilcraig or Holy Rood, in Rood Yard; Our Lady, at Lady Well; S. Nicholas, on Chapel Craig, west of harbour.  
 Dundee, S. Clements. Site of new Town Hall.



- Katerin (Catterline). Joined to Kineff. *Arbroath*, c. 1178.
- Maritun, S. Mary (Maryton). *Arbroath*, 1248.
- Dunectyn, S. Constantine (Dunnichen). Prebend. *Arbroath*, c. 1211. S. Cowsland's chapel at first was in the Lake or Mire of Dunichen.
- Panbryd, S. Bryde. *Arbroath*. Chapel of S. Laurence at Boath; S. Mary's at Carmylie, built 1500, made parish 1609.
- Moniecky (Monikie). Prebend. *Arbroath*, c. 1211.
- Crebyauch, Carbuddo, or Kirkbuddo. Joined to Guthrie.
- Kelimur, or Kilmuir. Prebend. Site of stables of Brechin Castle.
- Buthergill, now Burghill. Prebend. A knoll near bridge of Brechin.
- Munros, or Cerluca Montrose, S. John Evang. Given by Bishop Turpin of *Arbroath*. Celurka or Salork, now Tayock, was at first a separate church. Chapel of Egglisjohn, now Langley Park.
- Fernevel-dean, S. Ninian (Farnell). Castle and grange of bishop. Includes since 1787 old parish of Cuikstone or Kinnaird.
- Brechin. Had important Maison Dieu or hospital, founded 1267. Chapel of Arrat or Caldham; "Maidlin chapel" = S. Mary Magdalene, half-way between Brechin and Montrose, rebuilt by Bishop Carnott, 1429-1456, and belonged to altar of Holy Cross at Brechin. Careston or Caraldstone was separated from Brechin in 1636.
- Done (Dun). 1360, gave two chaplainries to altar of S. Mary in Brechin. *Priory of Elcho*. In 1583, chapel of Ecclesjohn joined to vicarage of Dun.
- Garvoch, S. James (Garvoch). *Arbroath*. Again in see of St Andrews.
- Menmuir, S. Aidan (Menmuir). Again in see of Dunkeld.
- Stragrin, Stratha'en, Strathechtyn, in the Mearns (Strachan). Dedicated 12th June 1242. The archdeacon.
- Craig. Prebend. Probably associated with the fine old castle of Craig.

## VII. Diocese of Dunblane.

The see was founded in 1140 by David I., having been previously a Culdee monastery, from which the lower part of the tower survives. S. Blane, from whom it was named, was prior in the reign of Kenneth III. It was endowed by Earl Gilbert of Stratherne, + 1223, with one-third of his domains. Cathedral founded by the Dominican friar Bishop Clement, 1233-1258. Bishop Finlay Dermoch, + 1419, built a bridge over the Allan at Dunblane. The most famous bishop of the old line was Michael Ochiltree, who, when dean at Muthill in

1425, built the church there; afterwards, as bishop, he built "Bishops Bridge" near Muthill, and Kuaik Bridge at Braco. In 1437 he crowned James II. James Chisholm, bishop, 1487-1527 + 1534, was eldest son of Edmund Chisholm of Cromlix, near Dunblane. He was succeeded by his brother William as bishop, 1527-1564, who made shameful alienation of Church lands to his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, and also to his own natural son, and to two natural daughters. Some of the old carved oak stalls of the choir remain, the rest having been destroyed in 1559 by the Prior of St Andrews and Earl of Argyll. The writs of the see are lost, supposed to be carried off by a third Bishop Chisholm (William), 1564-1593, ultimately a Carthusian of Lyons.

#### PAROCHIALE DUNBLANENSE.

- Dunblane, S. Blain. Chapelry of Kilbride at Kilbride Castle.  
 Aberfoyle in Menteith. Dependent on *Inchmahome*. Has five lakes.
- Abernethy, S. Brigid. *Arbroath*. Prebend, 1240. In see of Dunkeld in 1446. For four vicars. Probable date of round tower, 854. At first had Dron, Dunbulg, and Erole as chapels.
- Auchterarder, S. Mungo. *Inchaffray*. Old church in a valley one mile westward.
- Abruthven, S. Cathan. *Inchaffray*, 1200. Later to *Arbroath*. Now joined to Auchterarder. Very ancient church survives.
- Tullibardine. A collegiate church. Now in parish of Blackford.
- Boddington or Boddington. *Arbroath*. In 1369 the lands of Boddington belonged to Peter de Innerpeffry.
- Blackford, S. Patrick. Original church was Strogeit, now in Muthill.
- Dundurn or S. Fillan's. S. Fillan the Leper. Church here since c. 550. Associated with a fortress on Dunfillan. Now in Comrie.
- Comrie, S. Kessog (?). *Paisley Abbey*. Prebend. Chapel at Tulliekettle. Had S. Kessog's fair, third Wednesday of March.
- Dron. Once chapel under Abernethy. Now includes Pottie, at the mouth of Glenfarg (see deanery of Gowrie, St Andrews), and Ecclesia Macgirdle. "Exmagirdle" at Glenearn.
- Dunning, S. Serf. c. 1200.
- Dupplin. Family chapel of castle. In 1618 joined to Aberdalgie.
- Foulis, S. Methven and S. Bean (Foulis Wester). *Inchaffray*. Chapel of S. Methven at Buchanty Bridge. Also chapel at Gorthy, 1266 (renewed in 1454), by agreement between Abbot of Inchaffray and Tristram of Gorthy.
- Fordishall or Ferdshaw. Prebend. Again under Dunkeld.

- Gask, Holy Trinity (Trinity Gask). *Inchaffray*.  
 Innerpeffray, S. Mary. Mentioned 1342. Collegiate, 1508, by first Lord Drummond. In Monzie, *quoad sacra* to Muthill. Had Lady Fair on 25th March.
- Kilmadoc, S. Madocus or Aidus (Doune). *Inchmahome Priory*.  
 Kincardine, S. Latan or Lolan. Mentioned c. 1190 (Kincardine in Menteith). *Cambuskenneth*.
- Kinkell, S. Bean. Prebend. *Inchaffray*. Now in Trinity-Gask. Minister of Kinkell hanged at Crieff, 1682.
- Logie, S. Woloc (Logie, Stirling). Prebend.
- Kippen, S. Davius or Movean. In Menteith. Prebend.
- Lecroft or Leckraw, S. Moroc or Maworrock (Lecroft, Bridge of Allan). *Cambuskenneth*.
- Monzie in Stratherne. Prebend. S. Laurence Fair, 22d August. Included Logiealmond. Chapel at Tomenbowie, and Stuck Chapel with burial-grounds.
- Monedie. Included Logiealmond, detached from Monzie.
- Monyvaird, S. Serf, with Strowan, S. Rowan or Ronan. United before 1662.
- Madertie, S. Ethernan (Maderty). An old athane. Has Abbey of *Inchaffray*.
- Capeth Moothill (Muthill). The Dean. Chapels and wells of S. Patrick at Struthil and at Blairinroar; also Dalpatrick across the Earn, from S. Patrick's of Strageith.
- Port [of Monteith]. Included old parish of Lany or Leny.
- S. Madocus or Aidus (St Madoes, Perth).
- Tullicultrie, S. Serf. *Cambuskenneth*.
- Crieff, S. Michael. Prebend. Religious house—S. Thomas at Milnab = Abbot's Mill, belonging to Inchaffray.
- Logie-Aithray, S. Serf (Airthrey, Bridge of Allan). *Nuns of North Berwick*.
- Strogeyt or Strageith, S. Patrick. Once church at Blackford, now in parish of Muthill. *Inchaffray*.
- Callender, S. Kessaig. Chapel of Kilmahog or S. Chug.
- Fyndogask, S. Findoca (Gask). *Inchaffray*.
- Tuelliallan (Tulliallan). Seat of the Blackaders, who gave an archbishop to Glasgow.
- Glendovan (Glendevon). Old church in Gleneagles = Glen Eglise.
- Fossoy (Fossoway), c. 1614. Included Tullibole. *Cupar-Angus*.
- Buffuder, S. Angus (Balquhidder). Has Strathyre and Glenogle. Prebendary, 1298, Abbot of Cambuskenneth *ex officio*.
- Prebendary, 1240, for parish of Abernethy, Abbot of Arbroath *ex officio*.
- Preceptor or Provost of Dunblane, Abbot of Inchaffray *ex officio*.

### VIII. Diocese of Ross.

The cathedral, founded in 1304, and dedicated to S. Peter and S. Boniface, is at Fortrose or Chanonry. The see was

placed first at Rosmarkie by S. Boniface in 716, but removed and re-founded by David I. in 1124. Bishop Fraser, 1485-1507, added to the cathedral. The choir and aisles were ordered to be unleaded by King James in 1572, which prepared for the more savage work of the usurper Cromwell, who with cathedral and palace stones built a fort at Inverness. The last bishop was John Leslie, the historian and stanch friend of Queen Mary, and afterwards Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy, + 1596. Churches in the diocese of Ross are often described as being in Ferindonald, or in the mairdom, *maragium*—*i.e.*, mayordom—or lordship of Ferindonald, or of Ferindonald and Ardmanoch, the one being the ecclesiastical and the other the civil style. Much of the land spoken of in the old charters of Ross is reckoned by *davachs* or ploughgates, very often recurring in ‘Origines Parochiales,’ vol. ii. Part II., where all the parishes of the diocese are taken up.

#### PAROCHIALE ROSSENSE.

- Arderseir or Ardrosser, R. Sub-dean. Contains Fort George. In 1227 this parish was adjudged to Ross by the bishops and clergy of Moray and Ross.
- Kintail, S. Duthac. Dean and chapter. Glensheil separated 1758.
- Lochalsh, S. Congan. Dean and chapter. First church here, c. 600, by S. Felan, nephew of S. Congan.
- Lochcarron, S. Malrube. Dean and chapter.
- Applecross, S. Malrube. Dean and chapter. Old Culdee séat. Has S. Ruffus Island, Loch-an-tagart, Island-na-nuagh (saints), and Loch-na-nuagh.
- Gairloch. Has Loch Maree = Mælrubii. Dean and chapter. Old church at Kinlochew, upper end of Loch Maree.
- Lochbroom. Mentioned 1227. Dean and chapter. Included Meikle Strath, Little Strath, and Coyach. Has six old burial-grounds, one called Kildonan. These six parishes were commune churches.
- Kincardine, S. Columba. Prebend. Mentioned 1227. Chapel on the Oikel, called Kilmachalmag, S. Calmag.
- Eddertoun. Sub-deacon. Contained abbey of Fearn.
- Tain, S. Duthac, Gaelic Sgìre-duich. A collegiate church in 1487. Mentioned 1209. Chaplaincies were Tallirky, Morinchy, Cambuscurry, Newmoir, and Dunskaith. There was a girth or sanctuary of Tain.
- Tarbat, S. Colman, V. *Fearn Abbey*. Fearn separated in 1628. Chapels—Teampul Eraich, Portmahomac or S. Colmac, Chapel Barr, Hilton, S. John Baptist at Arboll, S. Bride.



- Nigg, S. Fiacre. Prebend. Mensal. Mentioned 1296. Chapels at Culiss and Shandwick.
- Kilmuir Easter, S. Mary. Prebend. Chapels—S. Mary at Delny and Balnagown.
- Logie Easter. Prebend.
- Roskeen or Noinikil = Ninian Kirk, V. Prebend.
- Alness. In Ferrindonald, or mairdom of Ferrindonald. Prebend. Had three chaplainries in cathedral—viz., Tollys or Kildermory, Fyres, and Culcragy.
- Kiltearn, S. Ternan. In Ferrindonald. Mentioned 1227. Chapelries of S. Monan's of Balconie, Culnaskeath, and Wester Foulis.
- Lumlair or Lymnolair, S. Mary. Prebend. In Kiltearn. Chapel—Kilchoan.
- Dingwall, *Pluscardine*. Chapels—S. Lawrence and Arfaill.
- Fodderty. S. Mary's Chapel, Inchrory. Has Strathpeffer.
- Kinnettes. Chancellor. Now in Fodderty.
- Contin, S. Malrube. Prebend. Church of Kinlochluichart in 1825 and of Strathconan 1830.
- Kilmorack, S. Moroc. Contains Priory of Beauuly.
- Urray, S. Constantine. Sub-chanter. Chapel and cemetery at Conanhouse.
- Kilchrist or Tarradale, S. Saviour. Three miles south-east of Church of Urray. Mentioned 1240. Joined to Urray.
- Killearnan. In 1278 called Eddyrdor. Archdeacon. Chapel of S. Andrew at Redcastle.
- Kilmuir Wester, S. Mary. First mentioned 1561. Now Knockbain chapel at Haldach.
- Suddy, S. Duthac. Prebend. Joined to Kilmuir Wester in 1756. Now Knockbain at Munloch, which was an old chaplainry.
- Morinches. Prebend. Dependency of Tain.
- Avoch. Prebend. Chapel of S. Mary in Castle Awach or Ormond; also chapel of Killean. *Kinloss*, 1255.
- Logie Wester or Logywreid. Joined to Urquhart 1669.
- Urquhart or Ferintosh, S. Mary, but originally S. Malrube. Treasurer. S. Malrube was murdered here by Norwegians in 722, and an oak church built on the spot.
- Cullicudden, Killicudden, or Kilmartin, S. Martin. Prebend. Joined to Kirkmichael 1662. Now in Resolis.
- Kirkmichal, S. Michael. Prebend. Now in Resolis.
- Cromartie, Old Crumbauchtyn. Chapels of S. Duthac, S. Bennet, S. Regulus, and three others. The old kirk site of Cromarty is now in the sea.
- Locuinethereth or Kyntereth. Mentioned 1227 and 1549, now unknown.
- Rosmarky or Chanonrie, S. Moluach. Cathedral dedicated to S. Peter and S. Boniface. Chaplainries (some already named under their parishes) connected with the cathedral were—Ballacuithe, S. Laurence, Ardifaly, three of Alness (Tolly or Kildermory, Fyres, and Culcragy), Obstull, Drummond, Navity, Munloch, Kynnok.

### IX. Diocese of Caithness.

The see of Caithness and Sutherland was founded at Dornoch about 1066 by Malcolm III., but others say later by David I. The first bishop at Dornoch was in 1146. The cathedral was built and dedicated to S. Mary by Bishop Gilbert de Moravia, 1223-1245, who was his own master of works, and made even the glass for himself at Sideray. Before Bishop and S. Gilbert, one bishop (John) had had his tongue cut out and his eyes gouged by Earl Harold in 1199; while another (Adam) was roasted to death in 1222 in his own kitchen for doubling the butter tithe, the people saying, "Short rede, good rede, slay we the bishop." The Church afterwards tried to make amends to Bishop Adam by canonising him, in addition to the terrible penalty of cutting off the hands of eighty-four of the murderers. See Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches,' pp. 70-84. Bishop Gilbert made a chapter of ten members—bishop, dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer (Lairg), archdeacon, and four prebendaries—viz., Olrick, Donot, Canisbay, and Kildonan. The cathedral was burnt in 1570 during a feud between the Murrays and the Earls of Caithness. The manses remained till 1769. A square tower still survives of the palace. Innes (in 'Origines Parochiales,' ii. 2, 597) gives a very full history of the city of Dornoch, and of the teind-sheaves and davachs assigned for the cathedral service. The chief names of the Church lands were Thoreboll or Torbold, Scitheboll or Skibo, Ethenboll or Embo, Promsy, Evelix, Stradormeli, Askedale, Ruthenerchar, Sytheraw or Sydera or Ciderhall, Pitgrudie, Helgedall or Halladale, Herkenys—each of which might stand as a prebend, and have a place in the list of parishes.

#### PAROCHIALE CATANENSE.

Dornoch, S. Bar. The old kirk of S. Fimbar continued till c. 1620 in the middle of the town near the Cross. 25th September was Fair of S. Bar.  
 Golspie or Kilmaly, S. Carden or Carthen. The bishop. Chapel of

- S. Andrew at Goldespy, to which the place of worship was changed in 1619.
- Criech, S. Teavneck or Devenic. Precentor. Chapels at Knockan and Achness.
- Assynt, R. Prebend, Mentioned 1455. Once part of Criech. Chapels or burial-ground at Gedavolich, Ardvor, Store, and Inver.
- Lairg, S. Malrube. Included Edderachillis. Treasurer. Separated from Edderachillis 1724. S. Murie's Fair held yearly.
- Durness. Dean and chapter. To find lights and incense. Kintail or Tongue separated in 1724. Chapel at Bealoch Mhor, built by the "red priest."
- Farr. Included Tongue. Dean and chapter. A commune church. Chapels—Kirkboll, Skail, Clibrig, Moudale, Langdale, Strathy, Island Comb or S. Columba.
- Rogart, S. Callen. Chancellor. S. Callen's Fair yearly.
- Clyne, S. Aloyne. Dean. Chapels—Kilcalmkill, S. Machan at Doll, Killean or S. John, Kilpedder or S. Peter.
- Loth, S. Carden. Bishop. Contains Helmsdale, where was the hospital and chapel of S. John. Chapel Kintradwell or Clyntredwane, S. Triduan, also S. Inan at Easter Garty.
- Kildonan or Kelduminach, S. Donan. Prebend of Abbot of *Scone*. Chapels—S. Ninian at Navidale, Kilearnan, Kilpheder or S. Peter, and Kilmuir. S. Donan's Fair.
- Ray, S. Colman. Bishop. Chapels—Balnaheglish or Kirkton, S. Peter's at Lybster, S. Benedict's at Shurgery, Skail, Baillie, and S. Magnus, Shebster. S. Keulam's Fair=S. Colman, about middle of December.
- Thurso, S. Peter. Bishop. Chapels—Gavin's Kirk at Dorarie, Pennyland, Brims, Crosskirk, Gwie, Thurso East, and Murkil or Glosters, which was probably a nunnery. Petermas Fair 29th June.
- Skinnet or Scynend, S. Thomas. To furnish residence money for three prebendaries, or to maintain the fabric.
- Halkirk, S. Catharine and S. Fergus. Dean and chapter. Commune church. Chapels of S. Peter at Olgrim, S. Columba at Dirllet, and S. Ciran at Strathmore.
- Spital, S. Magnus. Now in Halkirk. Spital=hospital. Chapels—Dale, Libster, Banniskirk, Gerston, and Achardale.
- Latheron. Bishop. Included old parish of Dunbeath. Chapels—Balclay on Dunbeath Water; Bræmore on Beridale Water; Brænaheglish or Kirkbræ on Langwell Water, and another near Clyth.
- Wick, S. Fergus. Bishop. Chapels—Kirk of Ulbster, S. Martin, Kirk of Thrumster; Kirk of Hauster, S. Cuthbert; Kirk of S. Ninian at Head of Wick; Kirk of S. Tears or Holy Innocents at Ackergill; Kirk of Moss, S. Duthac; Kirk of Keiss; Kirk of Strubster.
- Watten. Archdeacon. Chapels at North Dun and Skowthell.
- Bower. Archdeacon. Chapels at Scarmclet and Lyth.
- Olrick. Deacon prebend. Chapel—S. Coombskirk, destroyed by sand.

Dunnet or Donoff, S. Voloc. Deacon prebend. Chapels at Dunnet Head and S. John's Loch.

Cannisbay, S. Drostan. Deacon prebend. Chapels—S. John's Head, S. Maddan or Modan at Freswick, S. Tustan at Brabster, and Ladykirk at Duncansbay; also in Isle of Stroma, Kirk of Stara, and Kirk of Old Skoil.

Helmsdale, in parish of Loth. Chaplainry and prebend in cathedral.

Kinald. Chaplainry and prebend in cathedral.

Twelve less distinct prebends of land without churches are named above.

### X. Diocese of Galloway.

This see has three names. *Galloway* marks it best geographically; *Whitherne* associates it with the cathedral dedicated to S. Martin when the see was re-founded by Fergus of Galloway in 1143; while *Candida Casa* associates it with S. Ninian, who founded it in 397, and dedicated it to S. Martin. From 727 to 796 the see of Galloway belonged to the kingdom of Northumbria, when its first bishop was Pechthelm, and its last Beadulf. The see was subject to York till 1472, and in 1491 became suffragan of Glasgow. The shrine of S. Ninian was a place of pilgrimage to two queens and two kings of Scotland—viz., Margaret in 1473, Mary in 1503, James IV., James V. An outline of the history of the monastery and see of Whitherne is given by Bishop Forbes, vol. v. pp. xli-lx, *Life of S. Ninian*, in the 'Historians of Scotland.'

The chapter of this see were canons regular or Præmonstratensian canons of the Priory of Whitherne. They held prebends of Borgue, Crossmichael, Twyname, Kirkeudbright, Laswede or Leswalt, Stonykirk, Whitherne, Wigton, and Dalry. They held also the churches of Glasterton, Kirkmaiden, Sorbie, Craigilton, Mothernin, Helpstone, Kirkdale, Toskerton, Clashaint, and Kirkanders.

The diocese was divided into three rural deaneries,—viz., *Desnes* = the east part of Kirkeudbright; *Farines* = east part of Wigtonshire; *Rinnes* = the country west of Main Water. The



river Urr divided the sees of Galloway and Glasgow, as it still divides the synods of Dumfries and Galloway.

Bishops of the last half-century before the Reformation: James Betune, in 1508, was bishop-elect, but promoted to Glasgow in 1509 before his consecration. David Arnot, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, consecrated in 1509, was bishop till 1522 + 1526. Part of the time between 1522-1526 the bishop was Henry Weems, who was dean of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and base son of James IV. He was succeeded in 1526 by Andrew Durie, Abbot of Melrose + 1558. [Keith, however, gives Weems from 1526-1540, and Durie 1541-1558.] Bishop Alexander Gordon, 1558-1576, was previously Bishop of the Isles, and passed through great variety of fortune as judge of Court of Session, suspended minister, rejected "visitor," titular Bishop of Athens, and on his deathbed resigning his see, with consent of the Queen, to his son John, then a student in France.

PAROCHIALE GALWEGIANUM, *Gallovidiense seu Herwicernense.*

*Deanery of Desnes or Disnes.*

Anworth or Avonwaith. *Holyrood*, then *S. Mary's Isle*. Samuel Rutherford's parish. Chapel of Cullness, also Kilbride, near the Skyreburn.

Balmaclellan, R. *Chapel Royal, Stirling.*

Balmaghie, S. Andrew. *Iona and Holyrood.*

Bootle or Kirkinnen, S. Inan (Buittle). *New Abbey.*

Borgue. Mentioned 1235. *Whitherne Priory, Dryburgh.*

Sennick, on the Solway, bishop. *Tungland.* Senwick or Sandwick joined to Borgue c. 1670.

Old Clachan, S. John's Clachan, S. John. In Dalry, Kirkeudbright. Corsefern (Carsphairn). In 1640 separated from Dalry and Kells.

Crossmichael or Kirkmichael. *New Abbey.* Had once a convent.

Glenisland.

Kirkanders, S. Andrew. *Iona* c. 1175, to *Holyrood* 1503, to *Whitherne*. Joined to Borgue c. 1670. Ruins on a creek on the Solway.

Dalry, S. John Baptist. In Kirkeudbright. *Kilwinning.*

Dundrennan, Rerrick, or Monkton. *Dundrennan Abbey.*

Ferrietoun (Creetown).

Blackhet or Lochblacket, Kil Bride. *Holyrood.*

Gelston. Joined to Kelton. *Whitherne Priory.*

Kelton or Lochelleton. *Iona, Holyrood.*

- Kilcormack, S. Cormac. Joined to Kelton. *Iona, Holyrood.*  
 Girtoun or Gorthorne (Girthon). Bishop.  
 Greinlaw. In Crossmichael.  
 Kells, R. In the Glenkens. Archdeaconry. Mentioned 1296.  
 Part of Carsphairn and Dalry separated in 1640.  
 Kirk-Christ. Across the Dee from Kirkeudbright. Joined to Twynholm c. 1654. Had a nunnery.  
 Twyname or Twenham. *Holyrood.*  
 Galton, Galtweid, Cragiltone or Cruggleton. Joined to Sorbie c. 1650. *Whitherne, Holyrood.*  
 Kirkeudbright or Desnesmors, S. Cuthbert. *Crossraguel* and *Holyrood.* Included Dunrod and Galtway. Chapels—S. Andrew, Kilbride.  
 Dunrod, S. Mary and S. Bruoc. Now in Kirkeudbright. *Holyrood, Biggar College Church.*  
 Kirkmabreck, S. Mabreck. *Dundrennan.* Chapel—Kilbride. Had an hospital at Spitalburn.  
 Kirkdale, S. Michael. Joined to Kirkmabreck 1645. *Whitherne Priory.*  
 Monygaff (Minnigaff). Bishop. C. 1200 to *Tungland.*  
 Partoun or Kirkennan, S. Inan (Parton).  
 Tongueland. Bishop. *Abbey of Tungland.*  
 Balnacross, S. Michael's. Joined to Tungland. *Holyrood.* Chapel on west side of Tarf, Kirkconel.  
 Culeness or Killiness. Now in Anwoth. *Holyrood.*  
 Kilkolmanel or Kirkostantin, S. Constantine. *Iona, Holyrood.*  
 Egingham, S. Constantine. *Holyrood.*

#### *Deanery of Rinnes.*

- Stranraer, burgh and parish c. 1638, adjoining Inch and Leswalt.  
 Kirkmaiden or Maidenkirke, S. Medan or Modwenna. *Saulseat.*  
 Five chapels—Kirkbride, Kilstay, Kildonan, Kirkleish, Kirkdrayne.  
 Inch. From *island* in Castle Kennedy loch. Bishop. Old parish of Souseat added. Chapel of S. John, chapel Patrick at Portpatrick. Separated from Inch 1628.  
 Kirk Colme, S. Columba. *New Abbey.* Chapel—Kilmorie.  
 Laswade or Lochswalt (Leswalt). Bishop. *Tungland.*  
 Stonykirk or Stephenkirk, S. Stephen. Chapel, Kirkmabreck; also hospital—seen in Mickle and Little Spital and Port Spital.  
 Toskerton or Kirkmadin, S. Medan. Included in Stonykirk. *Whitherne.*  
 Clashaint or Clayshank. Included in Stonykirk. *Whitherne.*

#### *Deanery of Farines.*

- Sembrie. *Dryburgh.*  
 Traquhair or Troqueer. Bishop. *Tungland.* Included part of Kirkconnel.

- Glaston, S. Ninian (Glasserton). *Whitherne*. Included old parish of Kirkmaiden, near Monreith.
- Glenluce or Old Luce, Vallis Lucis. Chapels—S. Mary and Kirk-Christ.
- Kirk Cowan or Kirkuan, S. Congan and S. Ouen.
- Kirkinder, S. Kenneir (Kirkinner). *Whitherne*. Sub-dean of *Chapel Royal*.
- Penningham, S. Ninian. Has the saint's bell. Two chapels—Keir or Kery, and S. Ninian's at Cruives of Cree.
- Longcastle or Longeaster. Joined c. 1650 to Kirkinner.
- Sorbie, S. Foillan. *Dryburgh*. Included Cruggleton, *Whitherne*, and Kirkmadrine, *S. Mary's Isle*.
- Luce. New Luce since 1646. Called also Moor Kirk of Luce.
- Mochrun or Motheruin. *Whitherne*. Chapels—Merton and Finnan.
- Whitherne. *Whitherne Priory*. Chapels at Isle and Octoun or Aughton.
- Wigton, S. Machutus. *Whitherne*.

## XI. Diocese of Lismore or Argyle.

The see was erected in 1200 by the Pope, with Evaldus as bishop, out of the dioceses of the Isles and Dunkeld. It comprised Argyle, Cowal, Lorn, Kintyre, Lochaber, and some of the Western Isles. The island of Lismore = great garden, contained the cathedral of S. Moloc or Moluac, and the bishop's residence, Achenduin Castle. The chapter comprised—dean, precentor (Kilcalmonell), chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and prebendaries. The Bishop of Dunkeld, by whose advice and disinterestedness the see of Argyle was created in 1200, was a singularly good man, and canonised as S. John of Dunkeld. He is the John in Kilmoneonaig and Ardeonaig. This diocese is one of those where the accurate and copious information given in the 'Origines Parochiales' of Cosmo Innes is available, parish by parish.

PAROCHIALE ERGADIENSE, *Lismorensis* seu *Argyliensis*.

### *Deanery of Kintyre.*

- Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, S. Colm (Southend, Kintyre). Included Mull of Kintyre. Joined to Kilblane 1617. *Whitherne*. Chapel at Glenadle.
- Kilblane, S. Blane. *Whitherne*, 1326. (Southend, Kintyre.) Kil-

- blane had six chapels—S. Coivin near Ballishear, S. Ninian on Isle Aven or Sanda, also Kilmachanach, Kildavie, Kilchattan, and Kilchalmanel.
- Kilkivan, S. Kevin or Coivin. At Macrihanish Bay. Now in Campbelton.
- Kilkerran, S. Quieran. (Campbelton since 1617.)
- Kilmichael or Laggan of Kintyre, S. Michael (Campbelton). Mensal.
- Kilchousland, S. Constantine (Campbelton). Mensal.
- Kilchenzie or Skeirkenze, S. Kenneth. *Iona*. Joined to Killean in 1636.
- Kilmarow, S. Mary. *Paisley*. Mentioned 1251. Joined to Kilchenzie c. 1560.
- Killean, S. John. *Paisley*. Mentioned 1243. Church on west coast of Kintyre, opposite Isle of Cara, was the seat of the monastery of Sadel or Sagadul. Three chapels—Kilmichael in Carradale; Kilmory, near Killean church; Tyanloan, north of Killean church.
- Kilcalmonell, S. Colmanel. Precentor. Mentioned 1247. At head of west Loch Tarbet. Chapel of Cheypinche = Skipness.
- Kilberry, S. Mary, earlier S. Barr or Berach (South Knapdale). Joined to Kilcalmonell. Chapel at Kilmolowaig.
- North Knapdale, S. Cormac. Had two churches—*island of Ellanmore and Keils*. *Kilwinning*, 1263. Six chapels—Kilmory near Knap Point, S. Colms at Cove on Loch Killisport, Drimnacreige near Inverlussay, Kilmalisaig, Kilduslan, Kilmachunaig.

*Deanery of Glassary or Glasrod.*

- Glassary, S. Michael. Four chapels—Kilbride westward, Killevin at Crarae, Kilnenair on Lochawe, and Kilmory near Lochgilphead.
- Kilfinan or Kilinan, in Kethromekongal = quarter of Cowal, S. Finan. *Paisley*. Mentioned 1240. On Lochfyne and Kyles of Bute.
- Dunoon or Dunhoven. Mentioned 1270. Mensal in 1453. Chapel of S. Mary at Toward, with old graveyard.
- Kilmodan, in Glendarowell, S. Modan. Prebend. Mentioned 1250. *Whithorne*.
- Strathlachlan or Kilmorie, on Lochfyne. Joined to Kilmaglas or Strachur, 1650. Was church of the M'Laughlans from eleventh century. Chapel of Kilbride, near Castle MacLaughlan.
- Inverkelan (Inverchaolain), on Loch Striven. Prebend. Mentioned 1253. *Failford Ministry*. Three chapels shown in surviving names—Killelane, Kilmichael, and Kilmarnok.
- Lochgoilhead. Southern part of united parishes of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich.
- Kilmund, S. Mund. Church since 597 on Loch Seant or Holy Loch. Collegiate church 1442. Joined to Dunoon before 1659.
- Kilmorich, S. Maurice. Old church at head of Loch Fyne. *Inchaffray*.
- Kilmaglas or Kilmalash, S. Macghlais (Strachur). Chapel—Kilcatherin, on Loch Fyne, near Glengoil.



- Inverary or Kilmalu, S. Leu. Five chapels—Kilbride, Kilblain, Achantiobairt, Glenshira, Kilian or Killean.  
 Kilmartin, in Ardsodinsche, S. Martin. Mentioned 1304. Several old graveyards indicate chapels.  
 Craignish or Kilmorie, S. Mary. Mentioned 1434.

*Deanery of Lorn.*

- Kilchattan, S. Cathan. Joined to Kilbrandon. Included islands Luing, Shuna, Torsay, and others. Church on south end of Luing.  
 Kilbrandon, in Isle of Seil, S. Brandon. Included islands Iniscapel, Easdale, &c. Chapels—Kilchoan and Kilbride.  
 Kilmelfort. Joined to Kilninver.  
 Kilbride, V., S. Bridget. Mensal 1249. *Kilwinning*. Contains Oban and Dunstaffnage, where was a chapel of thirteenth century.  
 Kilninver. Mentioned 1250. Church on south shore of Loch Feochan.  
 Kilmore, R., S. Mary. Joined c. 1636 to Kilbride.  
 Kilchrenan or Kildachanan, S. Peter the Deacon. Dean. *Paisley*. On Loch Awe. Joined to Dalavich.  
 Inishail, S. Findoca. Joined 1618 to Glenorchy. Island in Loch Awe, and had a nunnery.  
 Muckairn, Mocarne, Kilchyrill, Killespickerrill (=S. Cyril, bishop) or Kilmaronag, S. Ronan, Bishop of Dunkeld. Joined 1637 to Ardchattan. Chapel—Kilvarie.  
 Glenorchy or Dysart. Mentioned 1390. Well of S. Conan, near Dalmally.  
 Ardechattan or Balmhaodan, S. Modan. Near the seat of a priory of 1231. Chapel—Kilcolmkill.  
 Lismore or Kilmaluag, S. Moloc. Included Appin = Abthane or Eilan Munde. Chapels on Lismore, Killen, Kilcheran, and Kilandreyne. Appin had chapels—Kilchallumkill at Duror, Anaid, and S. Patrick at Craigwherreelan on Loch Creran.  
 Kilnivaig. Contains Ben Nevis. Had a Rood Fair on 2d September.  
 Elanmunde, S. Mund. Church on islet near mouth of Coe, in Lochleven.

*Deanery of Morvern.*

- Elanfinan, S. Finan. Now in Ardnamurchan = Sunart. Now has Strontian. Old church on island on Loch Shiel retains stone altar and hand-bell.  
 Arasaig or Kilmolroy in Arasaig, S. Malrube and S. Mary. In Ardnamurchan, between Loch Shiel and Loch Morar.  
 Glenelg, or Kilchuman in Glenelg, S. Coemgen. Old Gleneglis.  
 Kilmalie, S. Carden. Mentioned 1296. Included part of old Elanmunde. Chapel, S. Colm, on isle in Locharkeg.  
 Kilcolmkill, S. Colm. Kiel on Lochaline, in Morven.  
 Kilfintach or Kilfinnic, S. Findoc (Morven).

Kilquhoan in Ardnamurchan, S. Congan. Joined to Arisaig and Elanfinan.

Knoydart or Kilquhoan, S. Congan. Now in Glenelg. Church on north shore of Loch Nevis.

## XII. Diocese of the Isles.

The cathedral at Iona was built in the thirteenth century. An earlier cathedral of wood, erected on the site of S. Columba's oratory, was destroyed by the Northmen in 806, when also the monks were massacred in Martyr's Bay. The Isles now called Western from Scotland, called Sudereyer, or the Suderies—*i.e.*, *South*—in comparison of the Orkneys when both belonged to the Danes or Norwegians, were made a bishopric in 838, united to Man or Mona in 1098, and suffragan to Drontheim in Norway. In 1498 the Isles were made suffragan to St Andrews—Sodor and Man having been separated and attached to the English Church in 1458. In 1431 the Abbot of Iona made obedience to the Bishop of Dunkeld, and in 1507 the Bishop of the Isles was abbot. In Iona are buried forty-eight Scottish, four Irish, and eight Norse kings. The roll of abbots of Iona extends to fifty-nine names, and in the ninth and tenth centuries the names connect closely the two Celtic Churches of Scotland and Ireland, and are for a time more Irish than Scots. To trace the parishes, and still more the chapels, in this diocese, a good map is indispensable. By far the best for this purpose are those at the end of vol. ii. Part I. of Cosmo Innes's 'Origines Parochiales,' where also are found clear summaries of the chief grants and titles relative to the several churches and estates.

### PAROCHIALE INSULARUM, seu *Hæbudarum*.

Kingarth, S. Blane and S. Cathan. *Paisley*. Original cell of S. Cattan was at Kilcattan Bay, near the pier. The church or monastery of S. Blane, a very precious relic of Celtic antiquity, is in the middle of the south end of Bute.

Rothsay, S. Mary and S. Brioc or Brice. Mentioned 1321. *Kilwinning*. In Rothsay, chapels of S. Bride in burgh, and S. Michael

- in castle. Eight or nine other chapels—S. Colm, probably at Kilmacolmak or Chapelton; Kilmory, S. Ninian's Point, Nether Ardrosdale; S. Calmag, with great stone cross; Kildavanan, S. Marnock's on Inch Marnock, Kilmichael.
- Kilbride, S. Bridget (Lamlash). Mentioned 1294. Eastern side of Arran. Old church on north side of Lamlash Bay. *Kilwinning*. Five chapels—S. Molios on Holy Isle, Glenashdale at Whiting Bay, Kildonan, Kilmichael in Glencloy, S. Michael at South Sannox. Chapel at Lochranza.
- Kilmorie, S. Mary de Arane. South and west of the island. *Kilwinning*. The old church was west of Kilmorie. Chapels—Shisken, the burial-place of S. Molaise; S. Blase on Pladda, Kilpatrick at Drumidoon Bay.
- Kilchattan, S. Cathan in Gigha. Chapel in island Cara.
- Kilarow or Kilmeny, S. Malrube. In Islay, middle.
- Kildaltone, S. John Evangelist. In Islay, south.
- Kilchoman, S. Coemgen. In Islay, south-west, or Rhinus. Chapels on Isle of Ardnave, Kilchieran, and Kilnave.
- Kilernadil or Killearn. In Jura. Chapel—Kilmore in Isle of Scarba.
- Colonsay, Kiloran or S. Oran, Kilchattan or S. Cattan. Had a priory.
- Iona. "This glory of the West" (Wordsworth). The mother of churches, degraded to a pendicle of Kilfinichen in Mull till 1826, and then only a parliamentary church!
- Kilviceuen, S. Ouen or Ewen. In Mull. Joined to Kilfinichen.
- Torosay or Killean, S. John. In Mull, near Salen.
- Kilfinichen or Rosse, S. Fincana. In Mull.
- Inchkenneth, S. Kennet. Joined with Kilfinichen, and locally known as Rosse.
- Ulva, S. Ouen. Island west of Mull.
- Kilninian, S. Nennidius and not Ninian (Kilninian and Kilmore). In Mull. In 1532 gave name to a deanery.
- Kilcolmkill, S. Colm. In Mull. Joined to Kilninian.
- Soroby. South-west portion of Tiree.
- Kirkapoll. North-east side of Tiree.
- Coll. Island north-east of Tiree, and joined with it in 1618.
- Kildonan, S. Donan. In north-west of Skye.
- Canna, S. Colm. Now with Eigg, Muck, and Rum (in Small Isles).
- Sleat, Kilmore, S. Mary. In Skye, the east coast.
- Strath, Kilchrist or Christkirk. In Skye. Scalpa Isle.
- Rasay, Kilmoluok, S. Moluac. Island west of Applecross. Now with Rona Isle in parish of Portree.
- Kilmaluag in Trotternish, S. Moluac (Kilmuir). In Skye. Chapels—Kilmartin, now Steincholl; Kilvaxter or Kilvakisa, a church or convent on island in S. Colm's Lake, where is Mugstot=Monkstead(?); S. Colm's on Isle Fladda-Chuain, with burial-ground; S. Colm's on Isle Troda.
- Uig in Trotternish, in Skye.
- Snizort in Trotternish, S. Colm. At head of Loch Snizort. Chapels—Kildoren or Kildonnen in Lyneedale; Kiltarraglan, S. Tallorcan,

- on north side of Loch Portree, near Portree. The parish of Portree, which includes Rasay and Rona, was separated in 1726.
- Mignes, Minginish, Kirk of Eynort or Kilmolruy, S. Malrube (Bracadale).
- Kilmory in Watterness, S. Mary or Kilmuir. At head of Dunvegan loch (Duirinish). Has the westmost part of Skye—*i.e.*, peninsulas of Waternish and Duirinish. Chapels—Trumpan in Waternish; S. Congan's at Glendale in Duirinish; Anait near Dunvegan.
- Kilbarr, S. Barr (Barra). Island south of South Uist, with twenty smaller isles.
- Kilpeter Blisen, S. Peter. Now in South Uist.
- Howmore, S. Mary. In north part of South Uist.
- Benbecula or Benwewyl, S. Colm (South Uist). Had once a nunnery.
- Kilmuir, S. Mary. In North Uist.
- Sand, S. Colm. In North Uist.
- Kilbride, S. Bride (Harris). In Lewis. Chapels—S. Clement's at Rodil, also a priory; S. Rufus or Malrube; S. Luke's; in Isle of Taransay, Eglise Taran and Temple Che; in Isle of Pabbay, S. Mary's and S. Muluag; in Isle of Berneray, S. Asaph's and S. Colm's; in Isle Killigray, Temple na Annait; in Isle S. Kilda, sixty miles westward, Kil-Christ, S. Colm's, and S. Brandan's, with four holy wells.
- Ey or Ui, S. Colm (Stornoway). In Lewis.
- Lochs or Lochur, S. Colm. In Lewis. Chapels—Loch Erisort, Kirwig, Shiant.
- Uig or Vye, S. Christopher. In Lewis.
- Barvas, S. Mary. In north-west of Lewis. Chapels—S. Bride in Borve; S. Peter in Shadir; S. John Baptist in Brogir; S. Kiaran in Lianishadir.
- Ness, in Lewis (Cross). Chapels—S. Peter at Habost; S. Mulvay and S. Ronan in Eoroby; S. Clement in North Dell; S. Ola in Gress; S. Colm in Garien; S. Michael in Tolsta; S. Thomas at Swainbost.

### XIII. Diocese of Orkney.

The see was founded in 1102 at Kirkwall = Kirkwaag or bay. The cathedral was begun in 1138 by Rognvald or Ronald, Norse jarl of Orkney = the whale isle, and dedicated to his uncle S. Magnus. The bishops were suffragan of Drontheim from about 1150, and of St Andrews from 1471. The see of Orkney was originally at Birsa, where Jarl Thorfinn (+ 1064) built Christ Church. Orkney was occupied by the Norsemen from 870 to 1468, the early Norse being heathen. The earldom was, from 1231-1321, 1321-1371, 1371-1468, successively in the Angus, Stratherne, and St Clair line.



Previously the islands had been Christianised by Celtic missionaries, whose seats are marked in the places still called Papa = father or priest. *Orkney* has—Papa Westray = Papey meiri of the Saga; Papa Stronsay = Papey Minni; Papley = Papuli, on mainland in parish of Holm; Papley in South Ronaldshay; Papdale near Kirkwall; Damsey or Adamnan's Isle, with its chapel of S. Mary and a nunnery, in the bay of Firth at Finstown; Rinansey or Ninian's Isle in North Ronaldshay. *Shetland* has—Papil in North Yell; Papa Stour on west side of mainland; Papa Isle at Scalloway; Papil in Isle of Burra; and S. Ninian's Isle, near Fitful Head.

*S. Olave*, Olaf, Ola or (corrupt) Tola, king and martyr, July 29, 1030. He was second King of Norway of that name, and second Christian king. Olaf Helge = holy, was slain by his rebellious and heathen subjects in battle at Stichstadt, near Drontheim, where he was buried. Churches are dedicated to him at Papil Yell, Kirkabister, Bressay, Kirkwall, Whiteness, Widewall, and at Gress in Lewis.

*S. Magnus*, king and martyr, April 16, 1104. Was heir of Jarl Erlend, and first cousin to Haco, with whom he was joint ruler of Orkney under King Magnus Barefoot of Norway. Haco appointed a meeting with Magnus at Egilsey (= Ecclesiæ insula), and there treacherously slew him. Magnus first tried to avert from Haco the sin of bloodshed, then failing, died bravely, saying to the trembling executioner, "Stand before me and hew me a mighty stroke upon the head. Be firm, poor man, for I have prayed to God for you that He may have mercy upon you." He was buried in Christ Church, Birsay; then taken to S. Ola's, Kirkwall; then to the cathedral, and canonised in 1135. His churches are—Kirkwall Cathedral, Dunrossness, Egilsay, Hillswick, Tingwall, S. Magnus Bay, on west side of Shetland.

*S. Rognvald* or Ronald, August 20, 1158, but not in Roman martyrologies. This Kali, surnamed Ronald, was son of Gunnhilder, sister and heir of St Magnus, who married a Norse Earl Kolr. Kolr and his son Ronald, in terms of a vow, founded the cathedral of Kirkwall, to get money to build which they agreed to make the Orcadians freeholders of their land for a single payment of one merk = 1s. per acre. Rognvald was murdered in Caithness by Earl Harold's tutor; canonised 1192, when his body was removed from Ladykirk in South Ronaldshay to Kirkwall Cathedral. In company with Bishop William "the Old," Rognvald had been one of the Jorsalafarers = Jerusalem-goers or crusaders.

*Bishop William "the Old,"* though not canonised, was perhaps a greater man than either Magnus or Ronald. He held the see for sixty-six years, 1102-1168, being the first Bishop of Orkney. Having known S. Magnus himself, and after accompanying S. Ronald to Palestine, he superintended the building of the cathedral from the

saint's death in 1158 till his own death in 1168. In 1848 Bishop William's body was found in the cathedral with a piece of lead under his chin rudely inscribed, and now in the National Museum in Edinburgh: *H[ic] requiescit Williamus senex felicis memorie. Primus Epis.* [= Primus Episcopus.]

Under Norwegian rule were fourteen bishops, 1102-1477, ending with William VI., 1455-1477. Under Scottish rule were five, the last being Bishop Reid, 1540-1558, who had previously been Abbot of Kinloss, Prior of Beaulieu, and Vicar-general of Aberdeen, and was one of the commissioners for the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin. When returning, he died suddenly at Dieppe, along with his fellow-commissioners Lords Rothes and Cassilis—all three of poison, as is supposed.

Bishop Reid has the merit of creating at Kirkwall in 1544 (confirmed in 1545) a regular cathedral foundation of seven dignitaries, seven prebendaries, thirteen chaplains, a sacristan, and six choristers. The dignitaries were: 1. Provost or dean, prebendary of Holy Trinity, and rector of South Ronaldsay and Burra. 2. Archdeacon, chaplain of S. Ola, with tithes of Birsay and Harray. 3. Precentor, prebendary of Orphir, with tithes of Stennes. 4. Chancellor, prebendary of S. Mary in Sanday. 5. Treasurer, rector of S. Nicholas in Stronsay. 6. Sub-dean, rector of Hoy and Walls. 7. Sub-chanter, prebendary of S. Colme. The prebends were: 1. Holy Cross in Sanday; care of bells and floor of cathedral. 2. S. Mary in Evie; care of roof and windows. 3. S. Magnus. 4. S. John. 5. S. Laurence. 6. S. Catharine. 7. S. Duthus. The sacristan was rector of S. Columba's in Sanday, now Burness.

In 1725, Orkney was constituted a Synod with three Presbyteries. Previously it had been one Presbytery in Synod of Caithness.

It is very sad to see, as the writer did in August 1886, the noble and well-preserved cathedral of S. Magnus, now visited every autumn by hundreds of tourists, while used as a parish church, yet fitted up in so tasteless a manner as to be a scandal to the Church of Scotland. What a magnificent church it might easily be were the hideous galleries, pulpit, and all

modern fittings swept away, and the interior treated like the transept and nave of St Giles's, Edinburgh. "So mote it be," and soon.

PAROCHIALE ORCADIENSE.

*Archdeaconry of Orkney.*

Kirkwall, S. Olaf. Before the cathedral of S. Magnus, the original parish and church of Kirkwall was S. Olaf's, in Bridge Street Lane or Poorhouse Close.

Holme, S. Nicholas. Mainland, south-east. The east part of parish is Papley, indicating an early Celtic church.

Dearnes, S. Peter. Eastermost from Kirkwall. A chapel on the Brough of Deerness is surrounded by eighteen stone huts for monks, probably of time of S. Cormac. On islet of Corn Holm between Deerness and Copinsay is a small chapel and well, and remains of many "beehive" cells for monks.

St Andrews. East of Kirkwall. Ruins of four chapels in districts called Urslands.

Stromnes. Mainland south-west. Old church and graveyard at Breakness, with monk's house adjacent.

Sandwick. Chapel at Yeskenaby. "Haly Kirk" standing stones at Quoyloo.

Orkney, S. Peters. Prebend. Church c. 1100 on Brough of Birsay. Birsay, Christ Church, 1064. William the Old was bishop here. Palace ruins. Older church of Birsay dedicated to S. Colme.

Harray, S. Mary. Mainland.

Evie. Mainland.

Rendell. Mainland. United to Evie after 1560.

Firth. Mainland. Included Damsay = Adamnan's isle, with chapel. Stainhouse (Stennes). Now joined with Firth.

Orphar or Orphir. Prebend. Nine miles west of Kirkwall. Had a round church, built c. 1100. Ruin of Earl Paul's palace and of several chapels.

Hoy, S. Columba. Prebend.

Grandsay or Græmsay. Joined to Hoy.

Wallis (Walls). South end of Hoy, with the famous roadstead of Longhope.

Flottay (Flotta). With islet Pharay. Now joined to Walls.

S. Peter Kirk, South Ronaldsay, north end. Three chapels of S. Colm at Grymness, Hoxay, and Loch of Burwick. Chapels of S. Ninian at Stow, S. Andrew at Windwick, Our Lady at Halrero, the Rood chapel at Sandwick, S. Tola at Widewall, and S. Margaret at S. Margaret's Hope.

Marykirk. South Ronaldshay.

Burray. Island between South Ronaldshay and mainland.

Shapinshaw or Shapinshay. Chapel, probably S. Catharine, at Linton on south-east end of island.

- Rowsay or Rousay. An old kirk at Swendro in Rousay. Chapel on Enhallow=holy isle, between Rousay and Pomona. Cubberow chapel on isle of Veira or Wire at south end of Rousay.
- Eglishaw or Egilshay=Ecclesiæ insula, S. Magnus. Now joined to Rousay. Scene of S. Magnus's martyrdom. Has a *circular* tower.
- Crosskirk in Westraw (Westray). Probably of twelfth century.
- S. Mary Kirk, or Ladykirk, in Westraw. On Pierowell Bay.
- West Kirk, in Westraw.
- Papa Wastray, S. Tredwall, in Westraw. Prebend. Chapel of S. Boniface or Kirk of How.
- Ethay (Eday). With Isle of Pharey central to Westray, Sanday, and Stronsay.
- S. Mary Kirk. Island of Sanday, north-east end. Now parish of Lady. Chapel-foundations 12×8 or 10 feet at Northwall, Peter's Kirk at Newark, Cleatt, Tressness, S. Magdalen at Overbister, Coliness.
- Burness or S. Colm's. Island of Sanday, north-west part.
- The Croce Kirk. Island of Sanday, south end. Now joined to Burness.
- North Ronaldshaw. Most northern of the Orkneys. *Quoad sacra* parish in 1833.
- S. Peter Kirk, Stronsay. North end of island.
- South or S. Mary Kirk, Stronsay. Chapel of S. Nicholas in Papa, Stronsay.

*Archdeaconry of Tingwall in Shetland.*

- Dunrosness, S. Ninian and S. Magnus. Mainland, south, included now Sandwick and Crosskirk at Quendale, also Fair Isle. The three Shetland churches that anciently had towers were Dunrossness, Burray, and Tingwall.
- Ormesburgh, Cunningsburgh, S. Colm.
- Burray Island. Now in Quarff. Included Isle of House or East Isle of Burra, Isle of Papa, and Isle of Hevera.
- Quarff. Once a distinct mainland parish; later joined with Bressay, but separated in 1833.
- Bressay. Chapels—S. Olaf at Gunnister; S. Mary, cruciform, at Culbinsbrugh; S. John, near Kirkabister, at the lighthouse.
- Tingwall, S. Magnus, and Whitenesse, S. Olaf. Now includes Scalloway, which had an old church at Upper Scalloway. Lerwick separated 1701, and Gulberwick and Sound added to Lerwick in 1722.
- Wezdale. Joined to Tingwall. Our Lady's Kirk was a place of pilgrimage.
- Sandsting and Aithsting. Had five burial-places—viz., Sand, West Skeld, Gruting, in Sandsting; Twaith, Aith, in Aithsting. Sand and Twatt were the chief, and their churches were in use till 1780.
- Wallis, Sandnesse, and Papa Stour. Included Isle of Foula.
- Delting, Olnafirth, and Laxavo. Included Isle of Meikle Roe.
- Nesting, Lunningsting, and Whalsay.



Northmaven and Ollaberry. Chapel—North Roe. This is the most northern parish in mainland of Zetland.

Yell, Southzell, Midzell, and Northzell, where at Papil is church of S. Olaf.

Fettler or Fetlar. Old chapels at Kirkhouse, Kirk of Tofts, Halliera Kirk, Kirk of Odsta.

Unst, Wickkirk, and Ballasta. Had service in rotation till 1785.

Unst had twenty-four chapels. Six burial-places round old kirks are still used—viz., Norwick, Haroldswick, Balliasta, Sandwick, Wick, and Uyea. Crosskirk, at Haroldswick, was a place of pilgrimage. Wickkirk arose from a vow of sailors in a storm to build a church where they first touched land.

North Kirk in Clibberswick. North-east side of Unst. Chapel in Isle of Uyea.

Housay, S. Nicolas. Chief isle of the Out Skerries; now part of parish of Whalsay.

The total number of churches in the thirteen dioceses was 1042, with 546 chapels, thus distributed: St Andrews, 251, with 81 chapels, of which 123, with 41 chapels, were in the Archdeaconry of Lothian; Glasgow, 231, with 110 chapels; Dunkeld, 65 + 16; Aberdeen, 96 + 53; Moray, 73 + 30; Brechin, 28 + 11; Dunblane, 38 + 9; Ross, 38 + 30; Caithness, 25 + 67; Galloway, 57 + 20; Argyle, 47 + 47; Isles, 43 + 32; Orkney, 50 + 40. The greater part of these churches were of very small size, from twenty to thirty feet long by fifteen or sixteen feet wide. We may compare with this summary another that was made in the time of Mary of Guise, which gave 13 bishops, 50 provostries, 500 parsons, and 2000 vicars. It is impossible to state their exact number at any given date, because then, as now, some chapels grew into churches, some prebends consisted only of lands without church or chapel, and the connection of parishes with monasteries tended to reduce hundreds of parish churches to mere chapels. Moreover, through declension and removal of population, especially in the north and west of Scotland, many ecclesiastical structures have disappeared not only as places of worship, but even from local nomenclature, and are discoverable only from ancient writs, local tradition, especially old graveyards with memorial stones, ecclesiastical names of farms, bays, lochs, or valleys.

A striking feature of these old lists is the absence or merely chapel position of many lively modern places like Greenock, Port Glasgow, Gourock, Lerwick, Bridge of Allan, Coatbridge, Wishaw, Newton-on-Ayr, Ardrossan, Oban, Campbelton. Another feature is the presence of but one or two names where modern extension gives ten or twenty town parishes in one group, as in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley. Of the thirteen dioceses only four have their chartularies extant and also printed—viz., Glasgow, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin.—(Cosmo Innes, Sketches, p. 20.)

**Collegiate Churches** or *Præposituræ*.—Provostries formed an important and distinct development of Roman Catholicism in Scotland, being prominent parish churches still further emphasised. They were a creation of the fifteenth century, and the motive in them seems to have been threefold: to recognise by a superior clergy the more populous or cultured parts of the country that had no immediate benefit from a cathedral; to strengthen the secular or parochial clergy as against the regular or monastic clergy; and to promote grammar-school education, each having such a school attached. Collegiate churches were so called from having a college or chapter, like cathedrals. The clergy composing the chapter were not bound by rule, like monks, but, under the name of canons and prebendaries, lived in their own houses or manses. They formed the principal church in a large town or rich rural district, and possessed an endowed chapter of secular canons under a dean called a provost=*præpositus*, the members being beneficed clergy holding cures. The *personnel* of collegiate churches varied considerably. Crail had a provost, sacrist, and ten prebendaries; Lincluden had a provost and twelve canons; Cadzow, a provost and eight prebendaries; Maybole, a provost and three prebendaries; Biggar, a provost, eight prebendaries, four choristers, and eight poor bedesmen. The distribution and date of these churches appear in the following list of forty-three foundations. Some allege forty-six of them:—

- Aberdeen, Old, King's College, 1505. Eight prebendaries, chanter, &c.
- Aberdeen, New, S. Nicholas, 1441. Vicar, curate, sixteen chaplains.
- Abernethy, in Strathearn, 1460. Eight prebends. Founder, George, Earl of Angus.
- Biggar, S. Mary, 1545. Chancellor, Malcolm, Lord Fleming.
- Blantyre Provostry. Closely associated with Blantyre Priory.
- Bothwell, 1398. Archibald, Earl of Douglas. Provost and eight prebendaries.
- Cadzow or Hamilton, 1462. Sir James Hamilton.
- Carnewath, 1424. Sir Thomas Somerville.
- Corstorphin or Cross Torphin, 1429. Provost, eight chaplains, two singing boys.
- Crail, 1517. Provost, sacrist, ten prebendaries.<sup>1</sup>
- Creyghton, 1449. Founder, Chancellor Sir W. Creighton.
- Cullen, 1543. Provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys.
- Dalkeith, 1406. Sir James Douglas, Earl Morton.
- Dirleton, Gulane, 1446. Sir Walter de Haliburton.
- Dunbar, 1341 and 1392. Patrick and George, Earls of March.
- Dunbarton, 1458. Provost and six prebendaries. Isabella, Duchess of Albany.
- Dunglas, Greencastle, Haddington, 1450. Sir Alex. Hume.
- Edinburgh, S. Giles', built 1120. Collegiate, 1466. Amplest in clergy of all the provostries. Provost, curate, sixteen prebendaries, sacristan, beadle, minister of choir, four choristers—in all, about 100 clerics and thirty-six altars. S. Giles *Grange* as farm.
- Edinburgh, Trinity College, in Leith Wynd, 1450. Mary of Gueldres.
- Edinburgh, S. Mary's, Kirk-of-Field. Provost and ten prebendaries. Scene of the Darnley tragedy.

<sup>1</sup> "Register of Collegiate Church of Crail," published by Grampian Club, 1877.

- Foulis Easter, S. Marnan's or Methvan's, 1446. Sir And. Gray.
- Glasgow, S. Mary's. Tron or Laigh Kirk, 1528.
- Guthrie, in Angus, 1479. Provost and five prebendaries. Sir D. Guthrie.
- Innerpeffray, in Strathearne, S. Mary, mentioned 1342. Collegiate, 1508, by first Lord Drummond.
- Kilmaurs, 1403. Provost, eight prebendaries, two singing boys. Sir William Cunningham.
- Kilmund, on Holy Loch, 1442. Provost and six prebendaries.
- Kilwynning, 1443. Donald Campbell of Lochaw, second Earl Argyll.
- Kinnethmont or Killymont, in see of Aberdeen.
- Lincluden, c. 1400. Archibald the Grim, Earl Douglas.
- Linlithgow, S. Michael's. Built under James III.; added to by James V.
- Methven, 1439. Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole, son of Robert II.
- Minnibole or Maybole. 1371, Sir John Kennedy; 1441, Sir Gilbert Kennedy.
- Peebles, 1542. Magistrates and Lord Hay. Nine prebendaries.
- Restalrig, 1487 and 1512. James III. and James V.
- Roslyn, 1446. Provost, six prebendaries, vicar, two singing boys.
- Sempill or Loch Winnoch, 1505. John, Lord Sempill. Provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys.
- Seton, 1493. George, Lord Seton. Provost, six prebendaries, clerk, &c.
- St Andrews, S. Mary's or Kirkheugh, 1250. Site on the rock uncovered in 1860. Had ten prebendaries, named in Walcott, p. 408.
- St Andrews. S. Salvador, 1458. Bishop James Kennedy.
- Stirling, Chapel Royal. James IV. Richest of all the provostries.



Tayne, S. Duthac's, in Ross-shire, 1487. Thomas, Bishop of Ross. Provost, five canons, two deacons, sacrist, assistant clerk, and three singing boys.

Tullibardine, Holy Trinity, in Strathearn, 1446. Now only a burial-vault.

Yester or Bothans, 1418 and 1441. Sir William de Hay. Provost, prebendary, chaplain, &c.

### Monastic Institutions of the Roman Period.

Dioceses, parishes, and provostries all proceeded on the *pastoral* idea of the Church, whereby certain men in different grades of priesthood were set apart for the care or cure of souls, each clergyman in his own charge, larger or smaller, responsible for the population of his district. The monastic idea, while it did not exclude the care of souls, mainly cared for the souls of its own members, who lived together under rules or vows, to attain, it was supposed, a higher piety than was practicable to ordinary members of the Church under any mere pastoral arrangement.

The Celtic or Culdee monastery, which was essentially a missionary institute as well as a common life, recognised the care of souls by distributing humble churches and preachers very widely over Scotland. Preaching the Gospel, as distinct from the ritual of the altar, was a characteristic of the Celtic missionaries that has descended to the Reformed Church of Scotland. The early preachers, in cases where their monastery was within reach, still lived a monk's life with their brethren. But in remoter places, or later times, the "eremite" life seems to have been substituted for the "cœnobite."

Monachism as a system was founded by S. Anthony, A.D. 251-356, who was born in Upper Egypt, and being rich, founded the monastery of Faioum, near Memphis, the monastery consisting of a group of separate cells, corresponding to the Scottish examples at Elachnave and Deerness. The next development was by S. Benedict, 480-543, Abbot of Mount

Cassino, in South Italy, who organised and reformed the system. A third modification and extension was the work of S. Francis of Assisi, in Umbria, 1182-1226, who added a third vow of poverty to the earlier vows of celibacy and obedience.

There were seven canonical hours at which monks were summoned by bell to devotion—viz. : *Prime*, at 6 A.M.; *Tierce*, or 9 A.M.; *Sext*, or noon; *Nones*, 2 or 3 P.M.; *Vespers*, 4 or 6 P.M.; *Compline* or *Completorium*, 7 or 9 P.M.; *Lauds* and *Matins*, at midnight or daybreak.

The officers in a large monastery were—*abbot*, or head of the establishment, who was called a *mitred abbot* when he had a seat in the Scots Parliament. A *prior* was vicegerent of the abbot, or head of a smaller house. The prior had often a *sub-prior*; and there was a prior to every ten monks. The *precentor*, or chanter, was choirmaster, and also robe-keeper and librarian. *Cellarer* had charge of cellar, kitchen, and refectory. *Treasurer*, or bursar, received rents, and paid wages and accounts. *Sacristan*, or secretarins, had charge of altar, sacred vessels, candles, vestments, and bells. He, with the sub-sacristan, slept in the church.

Other officers, inferior or occasional, were—almoner, cook, infirmarer, porter, refectioneer, chamberlain, hospitaller, and hebdomaries, or doers of certain duties by weekly turns.

The Religious Orders form themselves into two groups—

1. The *Rented* or endowed religious, monks proper and original; subdivided into Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, Vallis-Caulians, and Trinitarians.

2. The *Mendicants*, or Begging Friars, who lived on the "Voluntary Principle"!! subdivided into Black, Grey, and White. Friar is specially used of a member of the mendicant Orders. A friar or frater, when in priest's orders, was called Father or Pater.

## I.—RENTED OR ENDOWED RELIGIOUS.

1. *Austin Canons*, or Canons Regular of S. Augustine.

**Scone Abbey**,<sup>1</sup> with eleven churches, 1114. King Alexander I. Wrecked in 1559 by a Reform mob.

Loch Tay, island near Kenmore, 1122, by Alexander I. Cell of Scone.

**Inchcolm**, in Firth of Forth, 1123. See 'Aberdour and Inchcolme,' by Dr Ross.

**St Andrews Priory**, 1144. Relic of, in "The Pends."

**Lochleven Priory**. Culdee in 842 by a Pictish king. Held five churches. Given in 1145 by David I. as a cell of St Andrews.

Portmoak Priory, 838, on S. Serf's Isle. Culdee.

Monymusk Priory, 1080 and 1179. Culdee. Ten churches.

Isle of May Priory, 870. Culdee. S. Odran and S. Colman.

**Pittenweem Priory**, 1270. Had lands and three churches.

**Holyrood Abbey**, 1128. Church in ruins since 1768. Held 37 churches.

St Mary's Isle Priory at Trail, 1129. Kirkcudbright. Three churches.

Blantyre Priory, 1295. Opposite Bothwell Castle.

Rowadil or Rodil Priory, S. Clement's. Harris in Lewis.

Oronsay Priory, founded by S. Columba. Re-founded by the Lord of the Isles in fourteenth century.

Colonsay Abbey, Kilouran. Culdee.

**Cambuskenneth Abbey**, 1147. Had twenty-eight churches. Destroyed 1559 by the Reform party.

Inchmahome Priory, c. 1296. Isle of S. Colmoc, near Aberfoyle. Held three churches. Murdoch, Earl of Menteith.

<sup>1</sup> Mitred abbots (twenty-five) and priors (seven), who, besides the thirteen bishops, represented the Church in the Scots Estates or Parliament, are here marked in **clarendon** type. But the parliamentary representation of religious houses varied from time to time, so that Glenluce, Iona, Tungland, Lesmahago, Beaulieu, Urquhart, May, Canonby, and Blantyre might have been added to those here given.

Rosneath Priory, before 1199. Founder, S. Modan, in time of Congal, who died 602.

**Jedburgh Abbey**, 1118. Held sixteen churches.

**Restennot** or **Rostinoth Priory**, S. Peter, 1159, near Forfar.

An old foundation of S. Boniface. Had nine churches.

Aberlemno and Duninald were dependencies.

Canonby Priory, c. 1165. Eskdale. Cell of Jedburgh.

Turgot de Rossedal.

**Inchaffray Abbey**, 1200. *Insula missarum*. Held seven churches. Earl Gilbert of Strathearne.

Strathfillan Priory, 1314, on the Dochart. Cell of Inchaffray.

Founded by Bruce.

Scarinche Priory, Isle of Lewis, in honour of S. Catan. Cell of Inchaffray.

Abernethy Priory. Culdee. Canons came from Inchaffray in 1273.

Inch Kenneth, between Mull and Iona.

Rothsay, S. Mary's.

2. *Tyronenses*. Founded 1109 at Tyron, near Chartres, by S. Bernard, Abbot of St Cyprians, in Poictou.

Dull, in Perthshire. An old Culdee seat and abthane.

**Kelso** or **Calchow Abbey**, 1113. Had thirty-six parish churches, and precedence next after Priory of St Andrews.

Lesmahago Priory, 1144. A dependency of Kelso. Ecclesia S. Machuti, burnt in 1335 by Earl Cornwall, brother of Edmund III. of England. Had twelve churches.

**Kilwinning Abbey**, 1140. By Hugh Morville. Sacred to S. Winning since 579. Had twenty-one churches.

**Aberbrothoc** or **Arbroath Abbey**, 1178. S. Thomas à Becket. With thirty-three parish churches. William the Lion. Burnt in 1272, 1380, 1445. Was toll and custom free, with right of regality.

Fyvie Priory, 1179. By Fergus, Earl of Buchan; and in



1285 by Reginald le Cheyne. On Ythan in Buchan. Cell of Arbroath.

**Lindores Abbey**, 1178. On Tay below Newburgh. By David, Earl of Huntingdon. Had twenty-two parish churches.

3. *Cluniacenses*. Named from Cluny Abbey in Burgundy, near Maçon, where Abbot Berno of Gigni and Abbot Odo of Clugni, c. 912, revived or reformed the Rule of S. Benedict.

**Paisley Abbey**, 1163. Founder, Walter Fitz Alan, High Steward. Stood at first on an inch near Renfrew. Had twenty-eight churches. Burnt by the English in 1307. Abbey church completed in 1459 by Abbot Thomas Tarvas. Orchard and garden wall of cut stone, above a mile in circumference, finished in 1484 by Abbot George Shaw. Was next to Kelso, St Andrews, Dunfermline, and Arbroath in wealth.

Fail Priory, 1252, on west side of Loch Fail, in Ayrshire, parish of Torbolton.

Renfrew, the original of Paisley.

Icolmkill, or Iona, or Y. Since 563.

**Cross Raguel Abbey**, 1244. By Duncan, first Earl of Carrick. (Explained variously as *Crux Regalis*—referring to King Oswald—or *Crux S. Reguli* or *Riagail*.) Was two miles from Maybole. It held six churches.

Dalmulin, on north bank of Ayr, was founded 1229 by Walter the Stewart for Gilbertines, but, c. 1238, became a cell of Paisley.

4. *Cistertienses*, Bernardines or White Monks, were an order founded at Citeaux in 1096 by Robert, Abbot of Molmesme, and S. Bernard of Clairvaux in 1116.

**Bulmerinach** or Balmerino (S. Agilius or Aile, 30th August), 1227, on Tay, in Fife. Had three parishes.

- Culross**, 1217. By Malcolm, Earl of Fife. Colonised from Kynloss.
- Cupar** in Angus, 1164. By Malcolm IV. Held eight churches.
- Deir** in Buchan, S. Mary's. Colonised from Kynloss. Three churches.
- Dundrennan**, 1142. By Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Six miles from Kirkeudbright.
- Glenluce** or *Vallis Lucis*, 1192. By Roland, Lord of Galloway. Colonised from Melrose.
- Kynloss** or *Kynflos*, 1156. By David I. Near Elgin.
- Melrose**, 1136. Colonised from Rievaulx. In 1321 destroyed by Edward II. ; 1384 burned by Richard II. ; 1544 burned by Earl Hereford. Had eight churches.
- Newbotle**, 1140. On Esk. Seven miles south of Edinburgh.
- Sweetheart** or *New Abbey*, 1275. Seven miles south of Dumfries. By Devorgilla, widow of John de Baliol. *New* abbey as compared with old Dundrennan. Held five churches.
- Sagadul** or *Saddel Abbey*, 1150. In Cantyre, opposite to Arran.
- Friar's Carse Priory**, near Dumfries. Cell of Melrose.
- Hassendean Priory**, west of Hawick. Cell of Melrose.
- Mauchlyn Priory**, 1165. Ayrshire. Cell of Melrose.
5. *Order of Vallis Caulium*, or *Val de Choux*, in Burgundy. Founded there in 1193. Introduced 1230 to Scotland by Bishop Malvoisin of St Andrews. An order of ascetics.
- Ardecattan**, 1231. In Lorn, near Connell Ferry.
- Beaulieu**, 1230. Founded by John Bisset of Lovat. *Bellus Locus*. Ten miles from Inverness. Held four churches.
- Pluscardine**, 1230. Six miles from Elgin. In 1453 had Urquhart Priory added to it.

6. *Carthusians*, or Christ's Poor, a recluse order founded in 1086 by S. Bruno at Chartreuse, in Grenoble. Solitude and silence were their rule; but they were hospitable and charitable, and, withal, better educated than the mendicants.

Makerstone, Priory of Charterhouse, in Roxburghshire.

Perth, Cartuss, 1429. Founded by James I. and his Queen.

Wrecked in 1559 by a mob, Knox's "rascal multitude."

7. *Trinity Friars*, Trinitarians, Red Friars, Mathurines, Crossed or Crutched Friars, and Fratres Crucciati, are various names of an order whose houses were called *hospitals* and their superior *minister*. Their office was to redeem slaves, especially Christians, from the Turks. Instituted 1198 by S. John of Matha, and received in England 1357 as the Order of Ingham.

Aberdeen, 1211. Site of Trinity Church. Destroyed, December 8, 1559, by Reform party.

Dunbar, 1218. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar.

Houston, 1226. In Renfrewshire.

Houston or Howeston. In East Lothian.

Scotlandwell, 1250. Kinross-shire, on north side of the Leven. Two churches.

Failford, 1252. Tarbolton, Ayrshire. Had six parishes.

Peebles, S. Nicholas, Church of Holy Cross, 1257. By Alexander III.

Dornock, 1271. In Sutherlandshire. By Sir Patrick Murray. Destroyed 1570.

Berwick-on-Tweed, 1214. At the Bridge.

Dundee, 1283. At foot of South Tay Street.

Cromarty, 1271. By Sir Patrick Murray.

Brechin, 1260. Between the Bishop's palace and Brechin Castle.

Luffness, 1286. At Aberlady.

Dunet, 1297. In Buchan. By Alexander, third Earl of Buchan.

Soltre, 1164. On Soutrahill. "Soutra aisle" survives.

8. *Præmonstratenses* or White Friars, from Præmonstratum or Premontre in Laon, France, held the rule of S. Augustin, and were established by S. Norbert of Magdeburg in 1120.

**Soulseat**, 1148. Near Stranraer, in parish of Inch. By Fergus of Galloway.

**Holywood**, Sacrum Nemus or Dercongall, 1180. Near Dumfries. Held four churches.

**Whithorn Priory**, S. Martin.

**Dryburgh Abbey**, 1150. Four times burned. Had twenty-one churches. Hugh de Morville. Colonised from Alnwick.

**Tongland Abbey**, 1189. Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Had two churches.

**Fearn Abbey**, 1227. In Ross. By Ferquhard, Earl of Ross. Abbot Patrick Hamilton was burnt at St Andrews in 1527. See extensive records in 'Orig. Parochiales,' ii. 435-454.

9. *Benedictines* or Black Monks, from S. Benedict of Monte Cassino. They were of a literary and active disposition.

**Coldingham Priory**, by King Edgar in 1098. Formerly, from 660, a nunnery. Possessed ten parish churches.

**Dunfermline Abbey**, Fermelodunum, De Monte Infermorum. First abbot was Gosfridus or Gaufrid, 1128-1154. Became mitred, 1244. Possessed thirty-four churches. Last abbot, George Durie, Archdeacon of St Andrews.

**Old Mailros**, 1136. Site on Chapel Knoll.

**Urquhart Priory**, 1124. Near Elgin. In 1453 united to Plusecarden. Held four parish churches.



## II.—FRIARS OR MENDICANTS.

1. *Carmelites* or White Friars, from 1126.

Aberdeen, S. Mary and S. John, 1350. Philip de Arbuthnot.  
 Banff, S. Mary. Before 1300.  
 Berwick, c. 1250.  
 Dunbar, 1263. Patrick, Earl of March.  
 Edinburgh, Holy Cross, Greenside, 1526. A Lazar in 1591.  
 Inverbervie, Kincardineshire. "Friars Dubbs."  
 Irvine, S. Mary. Laird of Fullarton. Fourteenth century.  
 Linlithgow, S. Mary, 1290. South side of town at Friar's Well.  
 Luffness at Aberlady. Confirmed by David II.  
 Queensferry, S. Mary, 1330. Laird of Dundas.  
 Roxburgh, 1513.  
 Tyllilum, S. Mary. Perth, 1262. Site now called Dovecotland.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Dominican*, Black or Preaching Friars.

Aberdeen, site of Grammar School. Alexander II.  
 Ayr, S. Catharine's, 1230. By Alexander II. In Friars Vennel.  
 Berwick, 1230. Alexander II.  
 Cupar, in Fife, S. Mary's. Foot of Castle Hill.  
 Dundee. Andrew Abercromby, burgess.  
 Dysart, S. Denis.  
 Edinburgh, S. Mary's. Blackfriars Wynd, 1230.  
 Elgin, 1233. Alexander II.  
 Glasgow, S. Mary's, 1244. Church destroyed by lightning, 1668.  
 Rebuilt in 1699, and known as College Church or Blackfriars.  
 Haddington.  
 Inverness, 1233. Alexander II.  
 Linlithgow. East side of town.  
 Montrose, 1230. Sir Alan Durward.  
 Perth, S. John and S. James, 1236. North side of town.  
 St Andrews, 1274. In South Street. Bishop Wishart.  
 St Monance, Fife, c. 1370. By Sir Alan Durward. David II.  
 founded the church, 1332.  
 St Ninian's, near Stirling. Friars Wynd.  
 Wigton Priory, 1264. South-east of town. Devorgilla.

3. *Franciscans*, Minorites or Grey Friars, from 1231.(A.)—*Conventuals* or Recollects.

Berwick, 1235.  
 Douglas.  
 Dumfries, 1300. Devorgilla. In Friar's Vennel. Church pulled  
 down after Comyn's murder in it in 1305, and rebuilt in south-  
 east as S. Michael's.  
 Dundee, 1292. On the Howff.

<sup>1</sup> See Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth. By R. Scott Fittis.

Haddington, S. Duthac's. Alexander II.

Innerkethyn, S. Columba's, 1234.

Roxburgh, S. Peter's, 1235. 'Origines Parochiales,' i. p. 463.

(B.)—*Observantines*, more strict, with bare feet and shirtless.

Aberdeen, S. Mary's, 1450. Destroyed 1560 by Barons of Mearns.

Aberdour, 1450.

Ayr, 1472. By the inhabitants of Ayr.

Banff, S. John Evangelist.

Edinburgh, south side of Grassmarket. James I.

Elgin, 1479. John Innes. South side of city.

Glasgow, Grey Friars Wynd, 1476. By Bishop Laing. Earlier grants in 1322.

Jedburgh, 1513. The citizens.

Kirkcudbright.

Lanark, S. Kentigern, 1314. By Robert I. "Friar's Yard."

Perth, 1460. South-east of town. Lord Oliphant. Destroyed by mob, 11th May 1559.

St Andrews, 144-. In Market Street. Bishop Kennedy and Bishop Graham.

Stirling, S. Modan, 1494. James IV.

#### *Friars of S. Anthony of Vienne.*

South Leith, 1435. Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig. Had S. Anthony's Hermitage and Chapel at Arthur's Seat. Changed into S. James's Hospital in 1614.

#### *Hospitallers, or Knights of S. John of Jerusalem and Malta.*

Ancrum Preceptory. Ruins known as "Maltan Walls."

S. John Hill near Edinburgh.

Kinkell or Tella. Preceptory dissolved 1494, and given to Marischal College.

Ruthwell, Preceptory at Kirkstyle. Chapel, cemetery, and ample lands.

Torphichen, 1153. David I. Had seven churches. A garth or sanctuary. Made into a barony in 1564 for Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor.

#### *Knights-Templars.*

Aberdeen.

Aboyne, c. 1232.

Adamtoun, Our Lady Kirk of Kyle. A preceptory which had a travelling "pardoner."

Balantrodoch, or Arniston, on the South Esk.

Edinburgh, Holy Mount, S. Leonard's Hill.

Inchinnan.

Maryculter in Lanarkshire.

Oggerstone in Stirlingshire.

Red Abbey Stead. Near Newstead in Roxburghshire.

St German's House, near Seton.

Stanhouse.

Temple on Southesk, near Edinburgh.

Tulloch in Aberdeenshire.

Turriff.

Urquhart Bay (north side), on Loch Ness.

*Lazarites* of Jerusalem.

Harehope or Holme, S. Lazarus. Edleston.

Linlithgow. Changed by James I. into a hostelry for pilgrims.

III.—NUNNERIES in Scotland.

1. *Benedictines*, or Black Nuns, founded by S. Scholastica, sister of the great S. Benedict, + c. 543. Had four houses.

Coldingham or Coludi, founded before 661. Kilconquhar in Galloway. Lincluden, founded by Uthred +1174; made into a collegiate church, c. 1490. St Mary's, North Berwick, founded by Duncan, Earl of Fife, +1154.

2. *Cistercians*, or White Nuns, had fifteen houses.

Coldstream, S. Mary's, 1143. Edinburgh, St Mary's in St Mary's Wynd. Eccles, S. Mary's in Berwickshire. Elbotil in Dirlton. Elquho in Stratherne, in parish of Rhynd, at Grange of Elcho. Emmanuel, S. Mary, near Linlithgow, now Manuel; founded by Malcolm IV., 1156.<sup>1</sup> Gulane in Dirlton. Haddington, St Mary's, Nungate. Halyston, St Leonard's, near Berwick, by Duncan, Earl of Fife, in 1154. Perth, St Leonard's, before 1296. St Bothan's, Lammermoor, or rather Abbey St Bathans, in Berwickshire. South Berwick. Trefontaine or Strafontaine, one mile west of St Bothan's. Iona, S. Nonad. Innishail in Loch Awe, where the chapel was in use till 1736.

3. *Nuns of S. Clair*, or Minoreesses of S. Francis. Founded by Santa Clara at Assisi in 1212. Had three houses.

Aberdeen, S. Katharine of Sienna. Aberdour. Dundee, in 1260, by Devorgilla.

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<sup>1</sup> The name Manau is very ancient, Manau Guotodin being the name of the district of which Æglis Bræc, Speckled Church or Faulkirk, was the chief church. Here two sons of Brachan, or Brychan, founded churches, and another son was buried. A fourth son, called Nevydd, was bishop in the north, and slain by the Saxons and Picts. Skene, ii. 36, considers this Bishop Nevydd to have his name enshrined in the parish of Neveth or Nevay in Angus, and also in Rosnevet or Rosneath on Clyde.

4. *Dominican Nuns.*

Edinburgh, S. Katharine of Sienna. "The Sheens" or Sciennes at Newington.

5. *Carmelite Nuns.*

Edinburgh, S. Mary's of Placentia. "The Pleasaunce."

## IV.—HOSPITALS.

Besides eighty-four monasteries and twenty-three convents, there were eighty-five hospitals established, of which a list is given in Walcott's 'Ancient Church of Scotland,' p. 384, and a shorter list of twenty-eight in Spottiswood's 'Religious Houses.' Their uses were—as infirmary for the sick and aged, as hostel for pilgrims and travellers, as home for lepers. In days when no poor-law existed and surgeons were few, this ancient form of medical mission was one of the best aspects of the Gospel, and ought to make us think more kindly of the old Church than is common in modern Scotland. The very name of *Maison Dieu* (so well known still in Brechin) is a hymn in itself. Scottish Christianity could well exchange its spawn of Dissenting chapels for a good infirmary in each burgh. It is noteworthy that no fewer than eight of these hospitals are commemorative of S. Leonard, whose day is November 6. He was a French nobleman under Clovis I., and a disciple of S. Remigius, who became a hermit in a forest four leagues from Limoges. He died c. 559. Prisoners were his especial care. See article "Lepers and Leper Houses" in 'Scottish Church,' June 1887. Five bear the name of Mary Magdalen, probably in reference to the alabaster box of ointment in S. Luke vii. 37.

*List of Hospitals, alphabetical.*

Aberdeen had four: 1. S. Anne's Lazar House; 2. S. Thomas the Martyr, before 1490; 3. A foundation by Bishop Dunbar in 1538 for twelve poor unmarried men; 4. S. Peter's Spital, by Bishop Kyninmond.



5. Aberdour, S. Mary and S. Peter, 1487. 6. Aldneston, Lazar Hospital, before 1177 under Melrose. 7. Arbroath, S. John Baptist. 8. Ardross, belonging to South Berwick.

9. Ballantyne's Hospital, for a master and seven poor folk, on the road between Edinburgh and Dalkeith. 10. Balgavies in Forfarshire. 11. Balincrief or Bancrief, S. Cuthbert's at Aberlady, twelfth century. 12. Banff, bedehouse for eight aged women. 13. Berwick, Maison Dieu by Philip de Rydal. 14. Brechin, Maison Dieu, 1264.

15. Cambuslang Spital, village of Spital on road towards Rutherglen. 16. Cavers Spital, Roxburghshire. 17. Crailing Spital, belonging to abbey of Ancrum. 18. Crookston, near Paisley, c. 1200, by Robert Croc, for infirm men.

19. Dalkeith, 1396, for six poor men, by Sir James Douglas. 20. Donislee or Doonslea, near Ayr, S. Leonard's Hospital. 21. Dunbarton, hospital for bedesmen. 22. Dunkeld, S. George's Hospital, by Bishop Brown 1510, for seven old men. 23. Duns.

Edinburgh had seven : 24. Maison Dieu of S. Mary Magdalene in Cowgate, c. 1507, for chaplain and seven bedesmen, by Michael and Janet Macquhen ; 25. S. Leonard's Hospital at S. John's Hill, Salisbury Crags ; 26. Greenside, Leper House ; 27. Lazar House near the house of the Provost of Trinity College ; 28. Maison Dieu at head of Bell's Wynd ; 29. S. Mary's Hospital in Leith Wynd, 1479, by Bishop Spens of Aberdeen. 30. S. Thomas Hospital, for seven red-gowned almsmen, near the Watergate, by Bishop Crichton of Dunkeld.

31. Ednam Spital, S. Leonard's (S. Laurence?), near Kelso. 32. Elgin, Maison Dieu, c. 1226, on west side of city.

Glasgow had three : 33. S. Nicholas, for twelve bedesmen, 1470, by Bishop Muirhead ; 34. S. Ninian's Leper Hospital, by Lady Lochow, c. 1450, on south side of Clyde in Govan parish, marked by Hospital Street, near the end of Bishop Rae's bridge, now Stockwell ; 35. Farnington Hospital, at Stable Green Port near the cathedral, 1491, by Bishop Blackader (a chapel and hospital called *Farnington* in the parish of Rox-

burgh was in 1186 confirmed by the Pope to the Bishop of Glasgow).

Haddington had two : 36. S. Mary's ; 37. S. Laurence. 38. Hamilton, S. Mary of Bethlehem, 1459. 39. Hassendean, Monk's Tower, a hostel for pilgrims, c. 1180. 40. Helmsdaill, in parish of Loth, S. John Baptist, belonging to Kinloss. 41. Horndene or Upsetlington in Ladykirk, S. Leonard's, by Robert Biset, twelfth century. 42. Hutton, S. John's, Berwickshire. 43. Holywood in Galloway, founded under Robert I., re-endowed in 1372 by Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. 44. Houston or Howeston in East Lothian. 45. How Spital, on east bank of the Annan.

46. Jedburgh, Maison Dieu for pilgrims.

47. Kilcause or Kingcase, S. Ninian's Lazar House, near Ayr, for eight lepers, by King Robert I. 48. Kincardine O'Neil, by Alan Durward.

49. Lanark, S. Leonard's. 50. Lauder, at Chapel Yard, for poor almsfolk, by Hugh de Morville. 51. Leith, S. Nicholas. 52. Lasswade, S. Mary of Consolation, 1478, by Rector Robert Blackader (afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow), for the poor and sick pilgrims. 53. Libberton or Leper-toun had oil-well and chapel of S. Catharine, famed for curing skin diseases. 54. Legerwood, S. Mary Magdalen, Lazar House. 55. Linlithgow, S. Mary Magdalen.

56. Maxwell, S. Michael's Hospital or Maison Dieu, opposite Roxburgh Castle ; the Hospital garden site is still marked by roots of old flowers. 57. Mount Teviot in Roxburghshire.

58. Nesbit Spital in parish of Crailing. 59. Newburgh, by Alexander, Earl of Buchan.

60. Old Cambus in Cockburnspath, for lepers, twelfth century.

61. Peebles, S. Laurence and S. Leonard. Perth had three : 62. S. Leonard's, before 1296 ; 63. S. Anne's, on south side of S. John's Church, c. 1500 ; 64. S. Catharine at the Claypots, 1523. (The Hospital of King James VI., with charter of 1569 and confirmation of 1587, was an attempt to conserve

some of the endowments of the wrecked religious houses of Perth, but had small success.)

65. Polmadie, S. John's Hospital, before 1319, across the Clyde from Glasgow Green. 66. Portincrag. 67. Rothvan, S. Peter's, by John Byseth, 1224, for prior, chaplain, seven lepers, and a menial. 68. Old Roxburgh, Maison Dieu, S. Mary Magdalen, by David I., c. 1140. 69. Rutherford, S. Mary Magdalen, in parish of Maxton, belonged to Jedburgh.

70. St Germain's, near Seton, twelfth century. 71. Sanquhar, before 1296, on north bank of the Nith. 72. Shetland, Lerwick, Lazar House. 73. Shetland, Papastour, lepers. 74. Shotts, S. Catharine of Sienna, by James, Lord Hamilton, 1476. 75. Smalholm Spital in Roxburghshire. 76. Soltre, Holy Trinity, by Malcolm IV., 1164, for pilgrims and poor folk; endowed with eight churches. 77. Spey, S. Nicholas at Boharm. 78. Stirling Bridge, S. James's Lazar House, before 1463. 79. Stirling, near the Port of S. Mary's Wynd, asylum for decayed tradesmen, by Robert Spital, tailor to James IV. 80. Stonehouse, Spital. 81. Sugden or Seggieden, S. Augustine's; mentioned 1296.

82. Torrens or Torrance in East Kilbride, S. Leonard's, thirteenth century. 83. Trailtrow in Cummertrees. 84. Turriff, S. Congan's Maison Dieu or Hospital, for master, six chaplains, and thirteen poor husbandmen, by Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan. 85. Trefontanis, near S. Bothans.

Many of the sites of old hospitals, or at least the lands with which they were endowed, are identifiable by the name of Spital, either alone or joined with such words as street, field, hill, house, burn, shiels, haugh.

**The Better Features of the Roman Church.**—The dates appended to cathedrals, abbeys, and priories, chiefly from 1100 to 1400, show three centuries of wonderful activity in architecture—one of the noblest and most solid of the arts. All the more marvellous is the phenomenon as immediately following on the “creel-work,” or oaken style, or boulder-stone work of the Celtic Church. Expenditure so lavish, and all volun-

tary, is a clear index of fervour, liberality, taste, and orderliness. We know that travelling squadrons of masons, with skill far beyond mere craftsmen, moved from place to place accomplishing these great undertakings. Local tradition tells, *e.g.*, that the builders of S. Bride's of Douglas, with its gem of a belfry spirelet, came fresh from Glasgow Cathedral; while the ingeniously varied finials of the Roslin Chapel buttresses were the personal device of each craftsman in friendly competition one with another.

Though the Scottish kings inheriting the spirit of S. Margaret were the chiefest benefactors of the Church, yet large and steady accessions came from the higher clergy, who for several centuries, as a class, were self-denying and patriotic, especial patrons of agriculture and gardening, a taste which is traceable still in many a manse garden and orchard. Very impressive are the remnants of monastic orchards, such as are still visible at Blantyre Priory or Cambuskenneth Abbey. Corresponding to the liberality of the Crown and clergy was that of the nobles and gentry, to whom mainly we are indebted for our humble parish churches and their endowment apart from taxation or compulsion. Free and devout gift was what made the Church in these centuries so rich and strong—too rich in fact, and too well provided with stately fanes, considering the rude dwellings of farmers and villagers. It is a great mistake and injustice to follow the ignorant prejudice of our lower sects, and condemn the Roman Church with any severity, except in its final century, or rather half-century, before the Reformation. How far on the nobler tone of the old churchmen continued is evident from the date of our three pre-Reformation Universities—St Andrews, 1411; Glasgow, 1450; Aberdeen, 1494. The princes of the Church could not have given heart and wealth to such a cause unless they had still been in the main worthy both of their preferment and of the Gospel itself. For an extremely interesting account of our old university life, especially at Glasgow and Aberdeen, the reader is referred to C. Innes's 'Sketches,' pp. 220-324.



Scarce could there be a simpler or nobler testimony to certain good qualities in the old Church than we see in the above list of eighty-five hospitals provided and endowed for wayfarers, and for the aged and sick. Every monastery, too, besides its special care of agriculture and fruit-trees, had an officer called infirmarer, whose skill was available for patients outside as well as inside the institution. These were the men who preserved to the world for centuries the knowledge of healing herbs. What a pleasant picture of these old ways and days we have in the character of Père Hugo, and his disciple Frère Wendolin, in the story of Uncle Balthasar, in the (modern and Protestant) 'Legendes de l'Alsace'! At a later date monasteries had done their chief work, and were often retreats of lazy and gluttonous men; but at their first settlement, and for perhaps two centuries onward, they were primary and precious agents of culture, both material and moral—as true schools of Christian knowledge and virtue as the Celtic monasteries had been in a still ruder age.

**Causes of the Reformation.**—Unfortunately evil signs began to appear alongside of the good fruit, and were destined ere long to choke it in many cases. Persecution appeared in the burning at St Andrews of John Resby or Reseby, an English priest of Wicliffeite views, in 1407; and of Paul Craw, a Bohemian physician, in 1433. Parliament, where the influence of churchmen in bishops, mitred abbots, and priors was strong, in 1425 directed every bishop to search for Lollards and heretics. In 1494, Archbishop Blackader, apparently from external pressure quite as much as, or more than, personal inclination, had a prosecution of several Lollards from Ayrshire. These men were the heralds of the coming Reform, and (as some thought) also the surviving relics of the old Culdees.

The opinions for which the Lollards suffered were—that images and relics ought not to be worshipped; that the bread used in the Lord's Supper remains bread after consecration; that every faithful man and woman is a priest unto God; that the Pope is not the successor of S. Peter; that priests may

marry blamelessly; that only God can forgive sin; that prayers to the Virgin Mary are unscriptural and vain; that we are not bound to believe or obey the fathers, doctors, and councils of the Church. Clearly such views arose from direct knowledge of the Scriptures promoted by the translation of Wicliffe + 1384, although it was 1474 before the first book was printed in England, and 1508 ere the first in Scotland. Scotland, however, had an early supply of printed books by sea from Holland and France.

In the last century or half-century of the Roman Church in Scotland, *three* things seem to have operated very unfavourably. 1. The scandalous sale of Scots benefices in Rome by the Pope broke respect at home for men so appointed. 2. The lives of many of the higher clergy were grossly impure. 3. The wealth of the Church was disproportionately great to other wealth; and the exactions, especially those linked to births, marriages, and deaths,<sup>1</sup> from which much of that wealth proceeded, were oppressive. This third cause by-and-by developed into a shape that formed finally a very powerful influence in swaying the bulk of the nobility to take the side of the Reformers—viz., the hope of a share in the spoils of the falling Church.

The great need of some reform of the Church, especially in purity of life and faithful discharge of ecclesiastical duties, is apparent from what happened at Linlithgow in 1540, when Sir David Lindsay's 'Satire of the Three Estates' was acted before the King, Queen, and Council. James V. was an undoubted friend of the Church, and would not causelessly have joined in such an exposure even in sport. In the same year the Acts of the Scottish Parliament are peculiarly significant in their diversity. While some are openly in the interests of the Church—*e.g.*, "for worship to be had of the Virgin Mary," and "that no private conventions be made to dispute in the

<sup>1</sup> "The uppermost cloth, the corpse present, clerk mail, the pasche offering, teind-ale, and all handlings upon a land, can neither be required nor received of good conscience."—Authors of the 'Book of Discipline.'

Scripture"—there is one which not only implies but very strongly asserts the Church's need of self-reform; "that because the negligence of divine service, the great dishonesty of the Kirk through not making of reparation to the honour of God Almighty, and to the blessed sacrament of the altar, the Virgin Mary, and all holy saints; and also the dishonesty and misrule of kirkmen baith in wit, knowledge, and manners,—is the matter and cause that the kirk and kirkmen are lightlied and condemned; for remeid thereof the King's grace exhorts and prays openly all archbishops, ordinaries, and other prelates, and every kirkman in his awn degree, to reform theirselves, their obedienciaries, and kirkmen under them, in habit and manners to God and man."—Quoted by Hill Burton, iii. 173.

Moreover, about the same time, in 1544, over a large part of the south of Scotland the Church had been greatly and cruelly weakened by the devastations of an English army under the Earl of Hereford, wherein the monasteries and churches of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Coldingham, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Eccles, Newbotle, Holyrood, Leith, and Haddington had been not only plundered, but burnt, and deliberately blasted with gunpowder. The report to Henry VIII. bore that, besides seven monasteries and friars' houses, 192 towns, towers, parish churches, &c., with 243 villages, had been fired and destroyed. Thus the pitiful sacrifice of Scottish architecture that took place at and after 1560 was unhappily no novelty in the land, nor did it originate with Protestantism.

Contrasted with the policy of a nobility more needy and greedy than enlightened or orthodox, and contrasted also with the unscholarliness and uncleanness of some of the higher clergy, were the honest and devout efforts of a small band of churchmen, whose hearts were in sympathy with the Church, as it had been two or three centuries before, when it was still able to yield an occasional true saint like Clement of Dunblane, and Gilbert of Caithness, or even quite recently the no less saintly Elphinstone of Aberdeen. Men who favoured

reform *within* the Church were—John Mair, provost of S. Salvador's College ; John Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews ; Gavin Logie, principal of S. Leonard's ; Robert Richardson, canon regular of Cambuskenneth ; Alexander Seton, Dominican friar and confessor to James V. ; Friar William Airth.

Another class, though small, yet composed of earnest and able men, were the *defenders* of the old faith. Such were—Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, who crossed swords manfully with Knox himself ; Ninian Winzet or Wingate, priest and teacher at Linlithgow ; Bishop John Leslie of Ross, stanch friend of Queen Mary, and previously official of Aberdeen ; with Bishop John Sinclair of Brechin, previously dean of Restalrig.

The struggle of and for the old Church by the true but now too late method of inward reform, finally took place in a series of three councils. The earliest of them was a Synod in January 1552, which was followed in August by the publication of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism (*twice* reprinted recently), containing an exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelical Salutation ; with an injunction that it be distributed among parsons, vicars, and curates, and taught half an hour each Sunday. This book, though bearing the Primate's name on title-page, is supposed to be really from the pen of Winram. The next Synod was held on 5th January 1559, and a chief feature of it was the plain-spoken counsel of the dean and canons of Aberdeen to their own bishop to give heed to the seventh commandment. Still another provincial council, for the same purpose, was held 1st March 1559 at Edinburgh, in the monastery of the Blackfriars. But this gentler and wiser method of reform was not to be. Another reform more violent, and, in part, worldly in agency, excessive in degree, and in many, many points regrettable, though on the whole a vast and true reform, was what awaited Scotland and its Church.

**Where did the old Church Wealth go ?**—Each of the thirteen bishoprics was endowed, some of them liberally. St



Andrews, when valued in 1561, had £2094; Glasgow, £987; Aberdeen, £1653; Moray, £2033; Brechin, £651; Caithness, £1283 (another account, £386); Ross, £462; Orkney, £539; Dunblane, £313; Dunkeld, £1407; Galloway, £1159;—each having largely in addition lands and rents in kind. Isles and Argyle were not reported with the rest in 1561, the cunning Earl of Argyll having seized the papers, so as to hide the exact amount of his sacrilege. But no absence of figures can obscure the fact that among the Argyle spoil are the three *ecclesiastical* islands of Iona, Lismore, and Tiree, at least. Some of the fifty provostries—*e.g.*, the Chapel Royal at Stirling, St Giles', Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Cadzow, and Biggar—were also liberally endowed. The eighty-five hospitals had each an endowment: while many were small, at least one half were respectable, and quite distinct from the endowments of the parishes wherein they were situated. But the monasteries were the chief centres of rich endowment. Omitting the Houses of the Begging Friars—many of which, however, in spite of their name and profession, contrived to become pretty well off—the seats of the Rented Religious were eighty in number, of whom thirty-two, known as *mitred*, had seats in the Scottish Estates or Parliament.

“The total amount has been stated thus: The united income of the bishoprics, in money £13,000 Scots, together with 40 chalders 5 bolls of *wheat*, 416 chalders 14 bolls of *barley*, 302 chalders 11 bolls of *meal*, 137 chalders 5 bolls of *oats*, 28 chalders 9 bolls of *malt*, 286 kine and bullocks, 431 sheep, 87 dozen capons, 209½ dozen of poultry, 73 geese, 19 muir-fowl, 17 swine, 453 last 1 barrel of salmon, 30,000 scraw or dried unsalted fish.

“In the year 1563, the boll of wheat in Scotland averaged £2; the boll of barley, £1, 13s. 4d.; the boll of malt, £2; oats, 10s.; a carcass of mutton, 9s.; a goose, 1s.; a dozen of capons, 12s.; a dozen of poultry, 4s.; a stone of cheese, 6s. 8d.; a swine, £1; a kid, 1d.; a barrel of salmon, £4.

“The abbeys and other religious houses drew annually about

£42,000 Scots, with 268 chalders 14 bolls of *wheat*, 1198 chalders of *barley*, 1315 chalders 6 bolls of *meal*, 591 chalders 3 bolls of *oats*, 30 chalders 1 boll of *malt*, 65 marts, 52 mutton, 387 dozen capons, 948 dozen poultry, 239 barrels salmon, 1054 stone of cheese, 146 stone of butter,—exclusive of the receipts for masses and indulgences, and other dues.”<sup>1</sup>

Calculated at the above rates for 1563, the bishops' payments in kind = £20,861, while the monastic payments in kind = £57,091,—so that the gross value of the thirteen bishoprics was £13,000 + £20,861 = £33,861; and the gross value of the revenues of the religious houses, £42,000 + £57,091 = £99,091. Undoubtedly this enormous mass of property was one great motive of the nobles and gentry in turning against the Roman Church and favouring reform. No less clear is it that this wealth was wasted among the most greedy and unprincipled men of that age, instead of being used for the benefit of the old tenants on the Church lands, or to re-endow church, school, college, infirmary, almshouse, and orphanage.

The first element of the dispersion consisted in this, that for two or three decades previous to 1560 there went on a deliberate and unprincipled system of what was called *dilapidation* of Church property of all kinds. Bishops, deans, provosts, preceptors, abbots, and priors, foreseeing danger to the Church, put their houses in order by giving leases to relatives and favourites on terms that amounted to robbery and breach of trust, called more politely dilapidation. Two of the most flagrant offenders were Bishop Patrick Hepburn of Moray, already mentioned, with his thirteen concubines, and Bishop William Chisholm of Dunblane, who enriched his three bastard children and his nephew, Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, at the expense of the see. It is curious that this knave compounded for his dishonesty by a double portion of zeal against

<sup>1</sup> Fittis's 'Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth,' p. 74, where reference is made to Lawson's 'Popular History of the Reformation in Scotland,' pp. 7, 254, 264, and to Bishop Keith's History, Appendix, p. 180.

heresy. In 1539 he and Beaton condemned five men to the flames on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.

The grand spoliation, however, followed on 1560, and it is only admitting the truth to acknowledge, as Roman Catholics say, that the Reformation was due as much perhaps to hope of plunder as to zeal for Scriptural doctrine or preference of a simpler ritual. Nothing could be baser afterwards than the conduct of the nobles, gorged with Church lands, towards the starving Reformed clergy. The same policy of greed and ingratitude forms the chief explanation of the execrable churches built during the whole of last century. It is true that the art of architecture was in a large measure lost, but the loss arose more perhaps from miserly starvation than from real ignorance. Long before the Reformation, the original use of monasteries had been served, and they had come to be regarded as idle superfluities. Laymen were in part appointed to them as rulers instead of monks, and even boys became nominal Church dignitaries. After 1560 it was no great change when mitred abbacies and priories were transformed by a little varnish of law into temporal lordships, so that scores of the very best estates in Scotland went to men who had never done any service to Church or State further than that they had some Court influence, or were powerful enough to help themselves. In this way a large proportion of the proprietorship of Scotland rests on a basis utterly rotten and fraudulent; not on natural succession, honest purchase, military service, conquest in war, or reclamation of waste, but on violence, knavery, favouritism, and servility. Had it happened more generally, as it did in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, where the old Church rentallers became proprietors of their farms, paying as teinds what they used to pay as rent, it would have been a mighty boon to the country by multiplying the useful and independent class of small and middle landholders. But when vast masses of Church property were handed over without any reasonable consideration, to aggrandise men whose territorial position, in most cases, was already good, or too good, the enrichment be-

came a curse, retarding liberty, prosperity, culture, and agriculture. This is really what is meant when the hateful names of commendator and temporal lordship are found attached after 1560 to each of the old monasteries above named.

Here are twenty samples taken at random of the scattering of Church lands, with the value of the money attached to the respective monasteries, with still greater values of rent in kind attached:—

Kelso, £2495. Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford.

Kilwinning, £880. Earl of Eglinton.

Londores, £2240. Lord Londores, son of Earl of Rothes.

Culross, £768. Lord Colville of Culross.

Newbottle, £1413. Mark Ker, Lord Newbottle.

Cambuskenneth, £930. John, Earl of Mar.

Inchaffray, £666. James, Lord Maderty.

Blantyre, £131. Walter Stewart, Lord Blantyre, son of Earl Minto.

Monymusk, £400. Forbes of Monymusk.

Pittenweem, £412. Colonel Stuart and his son Lord Pittenweem.

Lesmahago, £104. James Cunningham in 1561. Barony in 1607.

Arbroath, £2553. Lord Claud Hamilton.

Coldingham, £898. Alexander Hume of Maunderston.

Balmerino, £704. Sir James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino.

Cupar-Angus, £1886. Stewart of Athole.

Deir, £572. Robert Keith, son of Earl Marischal.

Dundrennan, £500. Robert Maxwell, son of Lord Herries.

Kynloss, £1152. Baron Bruce of Kynloss, Earl of Elgin.

Melrose, £1758. James Douglas.

New Abbey, £212. Sir Robert Spottiswood, Lord New Abbey.

In several instances something very like a curse seems to have attached to these sacrilegious lordships. At least the proverb was fulfilled that ill-gotten gear has not thriven; what



came with the wind has gone with the water, or, as the Scripture proverb has it, "an inheritance may be gotten hastily at the beginning; but the end thereof shall not be blessed." Certainly such acquisition of property tends to render all landed estates insecure by dissociating them from heritage, thrift, virtue, and valour. Seeing that perhaps one half of the land of this country within the last 300 years has passed through so degraded a history as the foundation of present titles, the modern and popular impatience of game, rack-renting, political dictation, and general conceit of landowners is not so unreasonable as it seems at first sight. The chief unreasonableness is when the more ignorant and sectarian of our lower orders form new schemes of Church robbery under the name of religious equality, without proposing to begin a count and reckoning with those old offenders who neither earned nor inherited their share to begin with; who hold a larger share by far than the present Church of Scotland; and who for three centuries past have rendered no service, either sacred or civil, in return for their rich grabberies.

Yet what a mighty fuss many of these questionable landowners make when they are called on to fulfil plain legal obligations to maintain a humble church and manse. What contemptible churches, with very few exceptions, Scotland has, as compared with proprietors' dwelling-houses. When a meeting of heritors takes place, the larger half of them don't think it worth while to appear personally at all, reserving their personal exertions for grouse, salmon, or foxes, and leaving this and other estate business to factotum men who are tools to screw down legal and sacred obligations, while themselves thrive as estate-leeches. The ridiculousness of the ordinary landlord position is capped by their modern preference as a class for Episcopacy, after they have grabbed the spoil that arose from the overthrow of Episcopacy. Probably one of the most effectual cures for this conceit would be to grant it as the Israelites got their quails; but with the condition of restoring the old bishops' rents. In that case the charms of a three-

fold ministry and apostolical succession and confirmation would be less potent when joined to the unpalatable doctrine of restitution. With the *status quo ante* in government let the *status quo ante* in funds be combined, and *offered and guaranteed in advance*, and a great impression would probably be made on our Presbyterian countrymen. Say an average stipend of £2000 to each of thirteen bishops; thirteen small palaces for ditto; repair and restoration of thirteen cathedral churches, including brass eagles, organs, stalls, marble altars, and artistic reredoses; one dean and seven small canons, with prebends and manses in each of thirteen cathedral closes,—the cost of all this to be borne by equitable and voluntary assessment to be confined to the present holders of old Church lands, both episcopal and monastic. Probably even the General Assembly would be moved to unhistoric and unconstitutional friendliness by an offer that carried in it so much consistency and evidence of zeal.

## CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AS REFORMED UNDER KNOX,  
1560-1572.

THE more immediate preparation for reform of religion in Scotland took place in the Regency of Mary of Guise (10th April 1554 to 9th June 1560), widow of James V., and mother of Queen Mary. In 1556, a company of gentlemen, with Chalmers of Gadgirth as spokesman, appeared before the Regent to protest against going to the Border for fifteen days, and complaining of oppression. They put on their steel bonnets, and daunted the Regent. On 3d December 1557, certain nobles and gentlemen (afterwards called the Lords of the Congregation) subscribed a "band," called the first Covenant, pledging themselves to the doctrines of reform. A second band was subscribed in 1559. The martyrdom of Walter Mill, the priest of Lunan, at the age of 82, on 28th August 1558, at St Andrews, made a great popular impression. Jest and tumult also contributed at the annual procession of St Giles, on 1st September 1558, when the image was stolen, and the smaller substitute was upset, then drowned and burned. The same year witnessed the presentation to the Regent of the petition of the Protestant Barons by Sir James Sandilands of Torphichen. Most decisive of all was the preaching of Knox, in May 1559, at Perth, Crail, Anstruther, and St Andrews, when unhappily a number of monasteries were sacked. This preaching was preceded by the Regent breaking promise with the Congregation, and putting their preachers to the horn (declar-

ing them outlaws). The Regent's death on 9th June 1560, in the castle of Edinburgh, under circumstances of peace and resignation that win our sympathy, suddenly cleared the way for new action.<sup>1</sup>

**Three Constituents of Reformation.**—The Reformation of the Church in Scotland was consummated on the 24th August 1560 by the Scottish Parliament. The gist of what was done on that momentous day consisted in three particulars: (1) Sanctioning of a certain new Creed or Confession of Faith; (2) Abolition of the Mass; (3) Abolition of Papal jurisdiction in Scotland. This Confession of Faith is important as the earliest such document in Scotland in the Reformed Church, and as received at once by Parliament—in fact, at their own special request, having been drawn up by the chief reforming clergymen. The work was done in four days, and was approved by Parliament on the 17th, whereas the other two were on the 24th August. A draft of the Confession was probably made previous to this date. At all events there existed from about 1554, “The Confession of Faith used in the English Congregation at Geneva, received and approved by the Church of Scotland in the beginning of the Reformation.” This short and admirable Confession is divided into four parts, which are a paraphrase of the Creed on the Persons of the Trinity and on the Church. It is reprinted in Book of Common Order, edited by Dr Spratt.

**Character of the Confession of Faith of 1560.**—The Confession is thus favourably criticised by Tytler: “It is a clear summary of Christian doctrine grounded on the Word of God. On most essential points it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances uses the very words of, the Apostles' Creed and the Articles of the Church of England, as established by Edward VI.” Principal Lee (*Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. V.*) says: “It corresponds in its general features with the Con-

<sup>1</sup> A special account of this period is given in ‘A Historie of the Estate of Scotland from July 1558 to April 1560,’ printed in *Miscellany*, Wodrow Society, pp. 51-85.



fessions that had previously been published by the other Churches of the Reformation, but it is not copied from any of them. . . . It is much simpler and more perspicuous in its structure than the Confession of the Swiss Church, from which the Scottish Reformers might have been expected to borrow more liberally than from any other, as this was the form of words with which Knox was most familiar, and to which he had already expressed his adherence. . . . It is not unworthy of notice that the composition is extremely correct, being in this respect far superior to the Catechism published only eight years before by Archbishop Hamilton." Edward Irving, after analysing the Confession of 1560, says of it: "I now dismiss this document with the highest encomium which I am capable of bestowing upon a work of fallible man. It hath been profitable to my soul and to my flock. For several years I was in the habit of reading it twice in the year to my people. . . . Its doctrine is sound, its expression is clear, its spirit is large and liberal, its dignity is personal and not dogmatic, and it is all redolent with the unction of holiness and truth."

This Confession continued from 1560 to 1647 the recognised standard of the Church of Scotland, and the greatest battles the Church ever waged were fought under it. Its noble spirit is patent from one sentence of its preface: "We conjure you if any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake, to admonish us of the same in writing; and we, upon our honour and fidelity, do promise him satisfaction from the Holy Scriptures, or due reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."

The titles of the twenty-five chapters of the Scottish Confession of 1560 (ratified in 1567 under Regent Moray, and recognised as a standard in the Test Act of 1681) are:—

"Of God. The Creation of Man. Original Sin. The Revelation of the Promises. The Continuance, Increase, and Preservation of His Church. The Incarnation of Christ Jesus. Why it behoveth

the Mediator to be very God and very Man. Election. Christ's Death, Passion, Burial, &c. Resurrection. Ascension. Faith in the Holy Ghost. The Cause of Good Works. What Works are reputed Good before God. The Perfection of the Law and the Imperfection of Man. The Church. The Immortality of the Soul. The Notes by which the True Church is discerned from the False, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine. The Authority of the Scriptures. General Councils: their Power, Authority, and Cause of their Convention. The Sacraments. The Right Administration of the Sacraments. To whom Sacraments appertain. Of the Civil Magistrate. The Gifts freely given to the Church."

The following extracts may serve as representative:—

"We confess and acknowledge one only God, to whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust; who is Eternal, Infinite, Unmeasurable, Incomprehensible, Omnipotent, Invisible, One in Substance, and yet distinct into Three Persons,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by His inscrutable providence, to such end as His eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice hath appointed them, to the manifestation of His own glory. . . .

"We confess and acknowledge that God hath given to man His holy law, in which not only are forbidden all such works as displease and offend His Godly majesty; but also are commanded all such as please Him, and as He hath promised to reward. And these works are of two sorts: the one is done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours; and both have the revealed will of God for their assurance. . . .

"As we believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly believe, that from the beginning there hath been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be a Church—that is to say, a company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Jesus Christ; which Church is Catholic, that is, universal, because it containeth the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues who have communion or society with God the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ, through the sanctification of His Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called Communion, not of profane persons, but of saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits—viz., of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and one baptism; without the which Church, there is neither life nor eternal felicity. . . .

"The notes thereof of the true Church of God, we believe, confess, and avow to be—*First*, the true preaching of the Word of God, in which God hath revealed Himself to us, as the writings of the prophets and apostles do declare. *Secondly*, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, which may be annexed to the

word and promise of God to seal and confirm the same in our hearts. *Lastly*, ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered, as God's Word prescribeth, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished. . . .

“As the fathers under the law, besides the verity of the sacrifices, had two chief sacraments—viz., circumcision and the passover—the despisers and contemners whereof were not reputed for God's people: so we acknowledge and confess, that we now, in time of the Gospel, have two Sacraments only, instituted by the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used by all those that will be reputed to be members of His body—viz., baptism, and the supper or table of the Lord Jesus, called ‘the Communion of His body and blood.’ And these sacraments (as well of the Old as of the New Testament) were instituted of God, not only to make a visible difference betwixt His people and those that were without His league, but also to exercise the faith of His children; and by participation of the same Sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise, and of that blessed conjunction, union, and society which the elect have with their head Christ Jesus. . . . Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into His natural blood, but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus, in the right use of the Sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in heaven, and appeareth in the presence of His Father for us. . . .

“That Sacraments be rightly ministered, we judge two things requisite: the one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the Word, or into whose mouths God hath put some sermon of exhortation, they being men of lawful choosing thereto by some Church; the other, that they be ministered in such elements and in such sort as God hath appointed: else we affirm, that they cease to be right Sacraments of Jesus Christ. . . .

“We confess and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities to be destinated and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in the same to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifestation of His own glory, and for the singular profit and commodity of mankind. . . . To kings moreover, princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertaineth; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever; as in David, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, Josias, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cause, may be espied. And therefore we confess and avow, that such as resist the supreme powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge), do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And further we affirm, that whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel, and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travail in the execution of their office,

that the same men deny their help, support, and counsel to God, who by the presence of His lieutenant craveth it of them."

**The First Book of Discipline.**—So early as the 29th April 1560 (nearly four months previous to the legalising of the Reformation), a commission was given by the great Council of Scotland to five distinguished Churchmen to draw up a "Book of Discipline"—viz., Knox, Spottiswood, Winram,<sup>1</sup> Willock, and Row—added to whom, at the subscribing of the completed work, was Douglas,—all six bearing the same Christian name of John. The title-page runs: "The First Book of Discipline, or the Policie and Discipline of the Church, drawn up by Mr John Winram, &c., . . . and presented to the Nobilitie anno 1560, and afterwards subscribed by the Kirk and Lords." It has the peculiarity of having been accepted by the General Assembly, but not by the Parliament, as the Confession of Faith had been. But appended to it are thirty-three of the best and noblest names in Scotland of that day, headed by James, Duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, followed by the Earl of Argyll and the Good Regent Murray. These signed it in their individual capacity, but the number and quality of the names in point of weight fall little short of formal parliamentary sanction. The signing was accompanied by a condition alike kindly and statesmanlike, "Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men which els have adjoined themselves to us, bruik [retain] the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers as herein is specified, for the preaching of the Word and ministering of the Sacraments." The First Book of Discipline occupies about 56 octavo pages, while the Second (agreed on in 1578) has the merit of having only about 20. It is a great defect of every one of these early documents that they enter far too much into regulation of every detail, and on account of this tediousness have never been much read,

<sup>1</sup> For history and character of Winram, see Lee, 'Hist. of Ch. of Scot.,' i. 87, and Appendix V.



at least popularly. For our purpose here, the important part of the First Book of Discipline is that which deals with the official persons who were to do the work of God in the new system. The striking feature is, that we are not presented with a fine-spun theory, drawn, or supposed to be drawn, from the New Testament, but with a plan confessedly temporary and imperfect, to tide over the difficulties of the period, and ripen in due time to something better. The official persons of the Church were the five following: ministers, readers, superintendents, elders, deacons.

JOHN KNOX, born 1505 at Haddington, and related to the Knoxes of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire. After education at grammar school at Haddington, went to University of Glasgow in 1521, where he studied under Major. Ordained priest about 1530, he taught thereafter at St Andrews. For twelve years at this period his life is unknown. In 1543 he openly professed himself a Protestant. He acted as tutor to the sons of Douglas of Longniddry, and in 1546 attended Wishart as guard with a two-handed sword. His ministry as Reformer began at St Andrews in 1546-47, being called thereto by Chaplain John Rough, Henry Balneaves (one of the Lords of Session), and Sir David Lindsay, before the Congregation in the Castle Chapel, where he had refuge for seven months after Cardinal Beaton's murder, 29th May 1546. During this period took place in the Castle Chapel the first celebration of the Lord's Supper among the reformed, many of the townspeople joining in it. When the castle capitulated, he was carried prisoner to France, and served twenty months as a galley-slave. On release, he spent 1549-1554 in England, being one of the chaplains of Edward VI., intimate with Cranmer, and preaching mainly in Newcastle and Berwick. In June 1554, on death of Edward and accession of "Bloody" Mary, he fled to the Continent—Dieppe, Frankfort, and Geneva. Autumn 1555 till July 1556, he visited Scotland; then he returned to Geneva and spent three quiet years beside Calvin and Beza, with Christopher Goodman for colleague in his ministry to the refugees in the little church beside the cathedral. He landed at Leith 2d May 1559, aged fifty-four, for his main work in Scotland. He had six interviews with the Queen. After great success had been attained in Reformation, he was called on a charge of treasonable writing before the Queen and her Council in 1563, but the nobles refused to condemn him. Thereafter he spent two years in comparative privacy, being now estranged from Murray, Maitland, and the more timid or cautious Protestants. From August 1567 to January 1570, after reconciliation with Regent Murray, he laboured in consolidating the Church. He was twice married, in 1553 or 1555 to Marjory Bowes, granddaughter of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatham, and in 1556 to Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord

Ochiltree. A daughter of Knox was married to John Welch, minister of Ayr. His chief writings were—‘Admonition,’ &c., 1554, at Dieppe. ‘First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women;’ anonymous at Geneva, 1558. Geneva Catechism (translation). Book of Common Order, Confession of Faith, 1560, and First Book of Discipline (joint). ‘History of the Reformation in Scotland,’ (edited by David Laing, 1846), first edition 1570. Died 24th November 1572, minister of Edinburgh, with St Giles’s for his parish church. To M’Crie’s ‘Life of Knox,’ add that by Tulloch in ‘Leaders of the Reformation.’

**Minister.**—Every congregation had a right to call its own minister; but if the election was neglected forty days, the Church might present to them a man apt to feed the flock, who was to be examined not only concerning his knowledge, but also concerning his life and manners. By far the strangest point touching ministers is, that ordination by laying on of hands was deliberately laid aside; but in a few years this extreme step was altered—“other ceremonie than the public approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister (or of him who presideth on this occasion) that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie.” This fact speaks only too plainly of the vehemence and thoroughness of the Scottish Reformers in rejecting the old priestly superstitions where great change was needed, sometimes changing too much.

**Reader.**—The reader was an interim substitute for a fully trained clergyman, so long as these were scarce. He did not baptise, or marry, or celebrate the Communion, but in certain cases he conducted the ordinary service of the church—a matter then more easy, inasmuch as a printed prayer-book was in regular use. In dealing with Scripture, the reader was allowed to add a few words explanatory or hortative; but he was cautioned not to be too long, nor to attempt preaching, properly so called. A trace of this early office still meets us in the popular name of *lectern* or *lettern*, applied to the precentor’s desk. The office itself still survives in the

Swiss Church, and partly in the Church of England, where the lessons are often read by laymen. A large proportion of our country churches, for some time after the Reformation, had readers only, who were also the first schoolmasters. In 1567 there were 455 readers and 151 exhorters to 257 ministers, and in 1574 there were 715 readers to 289 ministers. In 1581 their abolition was voted by the General Assembly, but they lingered on long in many remote places.

**Elder and Deacon.**—Originally the elders and deacons were subjected to a yearly election, lest by long continuance in office they should presume to encroach upon the liberty of the Church.

**Superintendent.**—By far the most remarkable of the early offices is that of superintendent. There were to be ten of these, for the following stations or dioceses: Orkney, Ross, Argyle, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries. But only five of the ten were ever filled—viz., Winram, Fife; Willock, Glasgow; Carswell, Argyle; Erskine of Dun, Brechin; Spottiswood (father of the archbishop), Lothian. Row at Dumfries was called commissioner, but his settled duty was at Perth. Row was appointed minister of Perth in July 1560 by the Committee of Parliament, at the same time when Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, Ferguson to Dunfermline, Goodman to St Andrews, Christison to Dundee, and Heriot to Aberdeen. The special work of the superintendent was planting of kirks and providing minister or reader. They were to remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation till they passed through their whole bounds; to preach at least thrice weekly, both when travelling and when at their principal station, where they must not stay more than three or four months at a time.

The main question as to these superintendents is as to their relation to bishops. The name is evidently a translation of *ἐπίσκοπος* (overseer), bishop being the word itself without translation. Also the duties are kindred to episcopal—viz., charge of a number of churches and churchmen in a given

district, together with more ample income (but still very small). There the resemblance ends; it fails in all that is most essential in either Roman or Anglican bishops. (1) It was confessedly a temporary expedient. (2) There was no special consecration beyond that of ordinary ministers; and one of the five superintendents (Erskine of Dun) was only a layman when appointed, being a well-educated and devout country gentleman. (3) They were liable to be called to account by the General Assembly, which was composed only of ordinary ministers and elders. In point of fact, the superintendents were not very useful or successful, but the plan was one that seemed very reasonable for setting the new ecclesiastical machinery in motion.<sup>1</sup>

While the originally intended number of superintendents never was completed, a kindred class of men, under the name of visitors or commissioners, was created alongside of superintendents. These commissioners or visitors had lesser districts assigned to them, and they were not held bound to reside in their district. Thus in 1574, while only one superintendent appears, there are six commissioners. In 1578, commissioners are twenty-four in number; next year, twenty-five; and next again, twenty-six. The six commissioners of 1574 are,—James Annand, for Orkney; Gilbert Foulsey, for Zetland; Robert Grahame, Caithness; Donald

<sup>1</sup> Principal Lee (Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. VII.) says: "The fact is, that the name of superintendents was immediately borrowed from the Church of England, the most eminent members of which, in the reign of Edward VI., were anxious to establish Church government on the model of Geneva, and to declare the office of bishop and presbyter to be the same. The king himself, and not fewer than thirteen bishops (besides a greater number of ecclesiastics), were of opinion that in the New Testament there is no distinction of degrees or orders mentioned, except deacons, otherwise named ministers, and priests or bishops. Crammer declared that 'by the Scripture a bishop or priest needeth not consecration, election being sufficient;' and Bishops Latimer, Hooper, Pilkington, and Jewel have recorded their conviction of the identity of the offices of bishops and priests. These excellent men wished to proceed gradually in the reformation of abuses (as it is often said our Reformers should have done), but their temporising measures ruined the cause they had at heart."



Munro, Ross ; George Hay, Aberdeen and Banff ; Andro Hay, Cliddisdail, Rainfrew, and Levenax or Lennox.

**Schools and Universities.**—Probably the ablest division of the Book of Discipline is chap. vii., entitled “Of Schools and Universities,” a section which is of special value at the present time for its sound theory of middle or grammar schools: “Of necessitie, therefore, we judge it that every several kirk have one schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least that is able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland, where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care of the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, especially in the Catechisme, as we have it now translated in the Booke of the Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And furder, we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the superintendent, there be erected a colledge in which the arts, at least logick and rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also that provision be made for those that be poore and not able by themselves nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in speciall these that come from landward.” Further on it specifies 24 *bursars* for every college—*i.e.*, St Andrews 72, Glasgow 48, Aberdeen 48, at public cost (the University of Edinburgh being as yet unfounded).

**Reformers’ Plans curtailed.**—These most enlightened plans regarding education were hindered mainly by the avarice of the nobility, who seized on the patrimony of the Church, intended by the Reformers for (1) worship, (2) teaching, and (3) the poor. On this point Principal Lee well says (Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., i. 200): “If the Reformers had been allowed to carry their plans into execution, a great proportion of the rents of the bishoprics would have been applied to the support of literary institutions, as well

as to the due sustentation of the parochial clergy. Their destination of these funds was indeed intercepted by the avarice of men of power; but though the enlightened views which they had endeavoured to impress upon the Parliament were thus frustrated, it is certainly most unfair to charge upon the Reformers the discredit of an effect to which they not only did not contribute, but which they laboured strenuously to counteract. They had the best interests of learning deeply at heart; and if their counsel had been followed, no country in the world would have been so well supplied as Scotland with the means of extending the benefits of a liberal education to every man capable of intellectual improvement."

**Early General Assemblies.** — Some of the details of the early meetings of the General Assembly are remarkable. The custom was to meet *twice* a-year, in June and December, the December meeting being on the 25th — Christmas-day — expressly to thwart observance of it according to Roman usage. At the first General Assembly, on December 20, 1560, held in the church of S. Magdalene, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, there were only forty-two members, of whom only six are named as ministers. The first seven Assemblies had no President or Moderator. It was on Christmas 1563 that it was first agreed to have a Moderator in future. George Buchanan, the chief of Scottish scholars, was a member of Assembly 1564, one of six commissioners in Assembly 1565, and Moderator of that of 1567; not a layman, as commonly represented, but in virtue of his office as Principal of S. Leonard's College, St Andrews, minister of the parish as well as Principal, and Professor of Divinity.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, born 1506 at Killearn, educated there and at Dumbarton, was sent by his uncle, James Heriot, to Paris. In two years he returned, his uncle having died. After serving one campaign under the Duke of Albany, he entered S. Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1524. In 1526 he went to Paris as student in the Scots College. After three years he became professor there, teaching grammar in College of S. Barbe. In 1533 he was tutor in France to the young

Earl of Cassilis. With his pupil he returned to Scotland in 1537, when James V. made him tutor to one of his natural sons. Being prosecuted for two satires, 'Somnium' and 'Franciscanus,' he fled in 1538 to Paris, spent three years at Bordeaux as professor in College of Guienne, and in 1547 went with the Portuguese Andrew Govea to teach at Coimbra. When in prison as a heretic he began his Latin Psalms. In 1551 he escaped to England, and returned to Paris, spending five years as tutor in the De Brissac family. Returning to Scotland in 1560, he was appointed in 1562 classical tutor to Queen Mary, but soon politics and Church led him to Regent Moray's party. He received from the Queen in 1564 the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey. In 1566 he became Principal of S. Leonard's at St Andrews, and in 1570, Preceptor to James VI., director of Chancery, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1579 he published 'De jure regni apud Scotos,' and in 1582 his 'History of Scotland,' the work of twenty years, dying within a month thereafter, on 28th September.—(See Irving's Life of Buchanan, and Principal Lee, Lect. app. x.)

Nor was there at first any definite mode of calling an Assembly. The fourth General Assembly, in June 1562, consisted only of five superintendents and thirty-two other members. In June 1563 an Assembly met at Perth. These very meagre meetings tell their own tale as to the absence of postage for sending messages to distant clergymen, and as to the difficulty and cost of travelling—not to speak of danger—in the unsettled state of the country. Most of all, these thin meetings indicate that there were many parishes yet altogether unprovided with ministers. No proportion was as yet fixed as to ministers' and elders' seats. Apparently, barons and lairds were allowed to sit, simply on the ground of property and friendliness to the new order of things. The original dearth of clergy in the newly reformed Church is seen from the fact that only forty-three persons, lay or clerical, besides the forty-two members of the Assembly of 1560, could be counted up as suitable for ministers or readers throughout the country. But within seven years, such was the progress made, that there were about 257 ministers, 151 exhorters, and 455 readers, with five superintendents, labouring in the Church. Nearly all these early ministers had previously been priests, and year by year they saw their way to cast in their lot with the Reformers.

The organisation of the Church in 1574—as detailed in

Register of Ministers and Readers in Miscellany, Wodrow Soc., pp. 319-396—shows 988 churches, arranged under 303 heads, with 289 ministers, 715 readers—places of 20 ministers and 97 readers vacant,—in all, 1121 persons. This Register is arranged in the old dioceses, but arbitrarily subdivided into groups of three to six parishes; the diocese of Glasgow showing subdivision into the old deaneries.

**Other Church Courts at this Period.**—At this stage the Church had neither Synods nor Presbyteries, only the two extremes, kirk-session and General Assembly. The germ of the Synod was in the council of the superintendent; and the germ of the Presbytery was in what was called the exercise—exercise with additions, or weekly exercise. “It was thought expedient, in every town where there were schools and any resort of learned men, there should be a weekly exercise for the trial and improvement of those who were employed in the service of the Church. The ministers and other learned persons in rotation were to interpret some place of Scripture. One was to give his opinion succinctly and soberly, without wandering from his text or introducing exhortations, admonitions, or reproofs. Another was then to *add* what the first seemed to have omitted, or to confirm what he had said by apt illustrations, or gently to correct any of his mistakes. In certain cases a third might supply what seemed to have been imperfectly treated by the others.” All this was founded on 1 Cor. xiv. 29—“Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.”

**The Lord's Supper.**—The Communion was to be celebrated at least four times a-year. Knox's Liturgy prescribes “once a-month.”

**The Sunday Service.**—The regular Sunday services consisted of two meetings—the one beginning at 8 A.M., and the other in the early afternoon for children to be catechised in the audience of the people, for which purpose the Catechism



of Calvin was divided into portions for each Sunday. There was to be a week-day service in every church, especially in towns—a system traceable still in our weekly prayer-meetings.

**Book of Common Order.**—The Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy) was used in Scotland in 1559, or even earlier (before the Reformation). Its use was enjoined in 1562 by the General Assembly, especially for the sacraments, marriage, and burial. In 1564 it was enlarged and improved, when the Assembly "ordained that every minister, exhorter, and reader shall have one of the Psalm-books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the Order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments." It remained in use in this form from 1564 to 1645. In 1567 it was translated into Gaelic; and an Act of Parliament, 1579, required every gentleman and yeoman possessed of property of a certain value to have a copy. The use of a prayer-book in the Church of Scotland for the long period of eighty-five years at its commencement is a historical fact somewhat overlooked in later days.

**Outline of the Political History of the Period.**—Such was the nature and position of the Church of Scotland at its origin, and for some time after. But the early difficulties of the Church can be appreciated only in connection with some outline of contemporary political history. A chief cause of the plots and changes characteristic of the period was the fact that two regencies came comparatively close together—the first in the youth of Mary, whose father, James V., died very shortly after her birth at Linlithgow in 1542. Again, James VI., Mary's son, was crowned at Stirling in 1567, when he was only one year old—his mother having been forced to resign already in her twenty-fifth year. These weaknesses of the throne opened the way to the schemes and rivalries of barons already too turbulent and powerful for good subjects. At the date when the Reformation was achieved (24th August 1560), Mary of Guise, widow of James V. and mother of Mary Stuart, was regent; and the Reformation it-

self in one aspect was a revolution,—a seizure of all power, civil and ecclesiastical, by a crowd of feudal barons in revolt against the lawful regent, whom they deposed—and practically in revolt also against the girl-queen herself, whom they expected to turn as they pleased. At the end of the Reformation year (6th December), Mary's husband, Francis II. of France, died at Orleans, and Mary very early and properly made up her mind to quit the fair land of France, much as she loved its people and ways, and betake herself to that smaller and ruder land where she was queen in her own right. Accordingly she arrived at Leith 19th August 1561, only in her nineteenth year. Her reception was joyous and sincere. But matters soon changed, more through the fault of her nobles than of herself. The queen's personal talent for government was very great—as eminent, perhaps, as her beauty and accomplishments; but the divergence between queen and nobles as to creed, and the intrigues of the nobles among themselves and with Queen Elizabeth of England, rendered it impossible for Mary Stuart to follow any quiet and consistent policy. In fact, she never had a fair chance as a queen. After a great deal of scheming and counter-scheming as to a proper match for the queen, at last, on 29th July 1565, she was married to Lord Darnley, one of her own subjects, but partly of royal blood—the queen being now twenty-three, and her husband nineteen. This was the first great mistake made by Mary, who was one of the cleverest women of the age, independent of her rank, while Darnley was an incorrigible fool of a boy, silly and jealous, and made worse by his royal alliance. The crisis both of folly and crime came when Mary's Italian secretary, David Rizzio, was foully murdered, clinging for refuge to the queen's dress on 6th March 1566—not a year after the marriage. In this assassination Darnley was a leading spirit, his dagger being left in the poor secretary's body. Blood leads to blood, and the next victim was Darnley himself, whose death was compassed by a “band” of nobles who despised him for his silliness, and hated him

for his rank. He was got rid of at Kirk-of-Field, near Edinburgh, 10th February 1567, only a year and a half after his marriage. For this conspiracy, murder, and treason, the Earl of Bothwell was brought to trial within a month, but on 12th April acquitted. To this unprincipled earl the queen was actually married on the 15th May 1567—*i.e.*, only three months and five days after Darnley's tragic death. One party says the queen was in collusion with Bothwell when she was carried off, and therefore grossly guilty. The other party says her seizure by Bothwell was pure violence and treason, and the queen an unwilling victim. Whichever it was, the wretched union lasted only one month exactly, for on the 15th June the queen parted from Bothwell, and surrendered to the confederate lords at the head of their troops on Carberry Hill. By the confederate lords she was immediately sent prisoner to Lochleven, where she was forced to sign papers of resignation—her half-brother (illegitimate) Murray being appointed regent 12th August 1567, and her son James, a child of one year old, being crowned king at Stirling.

On the 2d of May 1568, Mary escaped from Lochleven, and her party among the nobles fought and lost all at Langside near Glasgow. The queen took refuge in England, put herself in the power of Elizabeth, and was never again free—her execution taking place in 1587.

The regency of Murray, which began 12th August 1567, lasted only till 1570, when, on 23d January, he was assassinated at Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. It was the Regent Murray who gave the first sanction of the Crown to the Reformation, and a short period of rest to the struggling Church—a double boon, appreciated then and ever since in the title of “The Good Regent.” In July 1570 the Earl of Murray was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Lennox (who belonged to the king's party); but Lennox was shot in the High Street of Stirling the very next year, when the regency passed to the Earl of Mar, who died the next year again, 1572, and was succeeded by the Earl of Morton, who

continued from 1572 to 1578, when he resigned. Meanwhile the castle of Edinburgh was held in the interest of the captive queen, but in 1573 was taken, and the governor, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange (one of Cardinal Beaton's murderers), was hanged. Before this, on 24th November 1572, Knox had died.

Thus, within a period of ten years or little more after the Reformation, the principal actors were off the stage, and there had taken place a series of events of blood and treason, and lust and revenge, that have made this decennium as fertile of tragedy and controversy and mystery as the decennium of the siege of Troy.

JAMES STEWART, variously known as the Prior of St Andrews, the Lord James, Earl Murray, or the Good Regent, was a natural son of James V., and half-brother to Queen Mary. In early years he was trained by Buchanan. In 1555 he attended the preaching of Knox at Calder, in the house of Sir James Sandilands, in company with Lord Lorn. He was one of six commissioners to France at Mary's marriage to the Dauphin 28th April 1558, when three of his companions died suddenly at Dieppe on their way home, supposed by poison; the Lord James had ever after a very weak stomach. In 1556 he and Argyll wrote to Geneva for Knox to return. In 1559, when Mary of Guise broke faith with the Lords of the Congregation at Perth, he joined them. They went to Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, then back to Stirling and to Dysart, meeting the 4000 French troops with only 600. After the death of the queen-regent, and of the Dauphin, he went to France to his widowed sister, but he was coldly received by her friends, and in danger of his life. Returning in May 1561, he was nominated regent till the queen's return in August. Thereon he was sent to the south of Scotland to suppress mosstroopers, against whom he was singularly successful, getting twenty-eight hanged, and others to give hostages. Made Earl of Mar, and in February 1562 Earl of Murray. He married a daughter of the Earl Marischal. Two futile plots were made against his life, by Earl Bothwell, to have been executed at Falkland; and by one of the Gordons, to have been executed at Dumbarton. The Guises and the Pope wrote to the queen to *remove* Murray. In the north he went out against Huntly, who had a force of 800, defeated them, and captured the chief and his son. Another plot to be executed by Earl Bothwell at Perth he was forewarned of. After opposing the queen's marriage with Darnley he retired to England till it was over. He returned, but kept aloof from the Rizzio and Darnley tragedies, and got the queen's consent to withdraw to France, which he left on hearing of the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven. In 1567 he was



made regent with joint consent of queen and nobles. Summoned a Convention of Estates at Glasgow for redress of local grievances. When there he heard of the queen's escape, flight to Hamilton, and march towards Dumbarton with army of 6500, and at once went out and fought them at Langside 13th May 1568. Thereafter he summoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, which both the queen's party and Queen Elizabeth tried to hinder. They met and sent commissioners to England to vindicate themselves. The regent himself went to York in October 1568, then to London, and returned with great honour 2d February 1569. All this while many salutary laws favourable to liberty and Protestantism were being passed. To him the nation was indebted in these years for the first complete legal sanction to the Acts of the Estates on 24th August 1560. At last James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, nephew of the Primate, after failing at Glasgow and Stirling, succeeded at Linlithgow in assassinating the Regent, 23d January 1570. Froude says of him, "In all Europe there was not a man more profoundly true to the principles of the Reformation, or more consistently, in the best sense of the word, a servant of God." Equal to Knox in honesty and patriotism, he excelled him in wisdom and caution, being a chief instrument first in forwarding and then in consolidating the Reformation of 1560.

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE CONCORDAT OF LEITH, 1572, TO THE TRIUMPH  
OF PRESBYTERY, 1592-1596.

ON 1st February 1572, when Earl Morton was regent, took place the Concordat of Leith, followed by a General Assembly, wherein the whole complexion of Church government was changed.

**Provisions of the Concordat.**—The Concordat at Leith, where the king's party was encamped, took place during a period of civil war and great disorder. The meeting of clergy was called a Convention only, and not a General Assembly. Only the superintendents and a few ministers were invited by the regent to consult on the best methods of allaying the dissensions between the Court and the Church. This Convention illegally assumed to itself the functions of the Assembly that had no hand in its appointment. Besides this, the Convention reduced itself to a committee of six — viz., John Erskine, John Winram, Andrew Hay, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, and John Craig. The other six of the Privy Council were Earl Morton, Lord Ruthven, Robert, Abbot of Dunfermline, Sir John Bellenden, Mr James M'Gill, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. These twelve entered into an arrangement as to Church dignities "that the names and titles of archbishops and bishops are not to be altered or innovate, nor yet the bounds of the dioceses confounded; but to stand and continue in time coming as they did before the reformation of

religion—at least to the king's majesty's majority, or consent of Parliament." It was provided further, "that there be a certain Assembly or chapter of learned ministers annexed to every metropolitan or cathedral seat." It was provided also that archbishops and bishops should have no further jurisdiction in spiritual matters than the superintendents had exercised "until the same be agreed upon;" also, "that all archbishops and bishops be subject to the Kirk and General Assembly thereof, *in spiritualibus*, as they are to the king *in temporalibus*."

The object aimed at in these arrangements was not so much the setting up of Episcopacy for its own sake, as rather to be used as a means whereby needy and greedy noblemen might get at the wealth of the old Church. An Act of Privy Council, February 15, 1562, assigned one-third of the old revenues to the clergy of the Reformed Church, and gave the other two-thirds in liferent to the old beneficiaries—*i.e.*, archbishops and bishops, abbots and priors. As the law stood, only ecclesiastical persons could draw the revenues arising from these two-thirds, and as they were now held only in liferent, the question required to be faced and settled as to their destination on the gradual extinction of the liferenters. The Reformed clergy claimed them by inheritance as Church patrimony. The nobility considered the money would be useful to themselves if they could outwit or force the Church. The Concordat was the result, and the proposed bishops were mere cats'-paws of the barons. The scheme was penetrated and opposed by Knox a few weeks later, in a General Assembly at St Andrews.

**Reluctantly confirmed by Assembly at Perth.**—These arrangements came up for final consideration at a General Assembly held in Perth in August 1572, when they were agreed to hesitatingly and temporarily—especially stipulating that the names archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, chapter, "slandrous and offensive to the ears of many," should be changed into others, and that the whole be only "interim

until further and more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty's regent and nobility.”

Knox was unable to attend the Perth Assembly, but sent a letter, wherein he took a solemn farewell of them all, and of all public affairs. In a message accompanying the letter—among other things—he advised them not directly to oppose the articles of the Convention, but to stipulate that the churchmen who drew the two-thirds should account for them to the General Assembly. This course would have exposed unfaithful men to prosecution for simony, and would have defeated the development of Church robbery through bishops of straw.

**The new Bishops called “Tulchans.”**—The new bishops under the Concordat of Leith and the Perth Assembly were bishops chiefly in name, as the revenues of the sees went to enrich certain lay lords. James Melville (Diary, 31) says—“Every lord got a bishoprick, and sought and presented to the kirk such a man as would be content with least, and get them most, of tacks, feus, and pensions.” It was a good stroke of popular wit and ridicule whereby these make-believe bishops were called “Tulchans,” the Gaelic name for calf-skins filled with straw, that used to be set before cows to induce them to yield their milk more easily. With allusion to the characteristic features of the Tulchans, Patrick Adamson, in a sermon at St Andrews, made a threefold classification of bishops: the first, my lord bishop in the Roman Church; the second, my lord's bishop, where my lord held the benefice and kept a bishop to do the work, so as to secure the revenue; the third, the Lord's bishop, or true minister of the Gospel.

**The Concordat an Intrigue and Surprise.**—This Concordat was an intrigue managed by Morton and the intended archbishop John Douglas, Provost of New College, St Andrews, whom Knox refused to inaugurate as bishop, and pronounced an anathema against the giver and receiver of the bishopric. Having no proper root in Church or country, its overthrow was only a matter of time, till men recovered from the surprise, and



were able honestly to organise themselves to give fresh effect to their real opinions. The struggle to secure Presbytery went on from the date of the Concordat, increasing year by year till 1580, when the Assembly went completely against the bishops. The next great date is 1592, when the Church was triumphant with the king's concurrence—a state of matters which lasted till 1596. At that date began a new departure in the Episcopal direction. This time, just as earlier in 1572, and later on each like occasion, it was an external force of royalty or Court striving to lead the Church and nation where it had no wish to go.

**Andrew Melville leads the Struggle against it.**—As Knox was the leading Churchman in the early Reformation period (1560-1572), when the First Book of Discipline represented the Church's views, so Andrew Melville was the leading Churchman in this later period, when the Church's views were represented by the Second Book of Discipline. Melville was one of those men of whom any Church might have been proud—one of the most accomplished scholars of that energetic age, when everywhere, almost, the men of the highest learning were arrayed on the side of the new doctrine.

ANDREW MELVILLE, born 1545 at Baldovy, near Montrose; educated there and at St Andrews, where he stayed from age of fourteen to nineteen; then went to Paris for two years, and at twenty-one became regent in the College of S. Marceon, Poitiers. Thereafter at Geneva, in 1568, through Beza's influence, Professor of Humanity. Came to Scotland again in 1574, and was made Principal of Glasgow College; in 1580 Principal of S. Mary's in St Andrews. In 1582 gave offence to the Court by his sermon at opening of the General Assembly. In 1584 was accused of treasonable preaching; fled to London. After twenty months, returned to office at St Andrews. In 1596 the scene at Cupar of remonstrance with King James as "God's silly vassal." On S. Michael's Day, after service in the Chapel Royal, he made a Latin epigram on the altar furniture, for which he was tried before the English Council; sent to the Tower for four years. Released in 1611 to go as professor to Sedan, where he died in exile about 1622. His four famous acts of boldness: with Regent Morton in 1577; with Arran, the king's favourite, in 1582 at Perth; with the king and council in 1584; with the king himself in 1596 at Cupar.

**Committee of Assembly 1575 defines Bishop as in First**

**Book of Discipline.**—A report made to the Assembly of 1575 by a committee of six members, chosen three from each side, bore that they were unanimously of opinion that the name *bishop* rightly belonged to every minister who had the charge of a flock, but that out of these some might be chosen to oversee such reasonable districts as might be assigned them beside their own congregations; to appoint ministers, elders, and deacons in destitute places; and to administer discipline with the consent of the clergy and people. This is simply an adherence to the old idea of superintendent. In 1578 a nearer approach was made to the later Presbyterian system by prohibiting territorial names or titles to bishops, and restricting them to their own proper names.

In 1578, 12th March, Morton resigned the regency, and the king, at twelve years of age, nominally assumed the government. Morton soon regained influence, but was finally got rid of by the king's favourites Lennox and Arran, being executed 2d June 1581. These favourites were the evil genius of James, and counteracted the excellent training given by the Countess of Mar and his classical tutor George Buchanan. The king early manifested an antipathy to the General Assembly and Presbytery, which never left him. Partly this came from the influence of his favourites, partly from his prospect of succession to the English throne—from his innate conceit of arbitrary power, and possibly from the over stern discipline of his school days. The curious personality of James runs through the whole Church history of his long reign. Sully called him "the wisest fool in Christendom," alluding to his name of the Scottish Solomon. "He was, indeed," as Macaulay says, "made up of two men; a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued—and a nervous, drivelling idiot who acted." Buchanan, who knew him best, admitted that in making the king a pedant, it was the best he could make of him.

**Assembly of 1580 declares Bishop's Office unlawful.**—In 1580, at Dundee, no remnant was left at all: "The whole

Assembly of the Kirk, in one voice, found and declared the pretended office of a bishop to be unlawful, having neither foundation nor warrant in the Word of God, and ordained all such persons as brooked the said office to demit the same as an office to which they were not called by God, and to cease from preaching the Word and administering the sacraments till they should be admitted anew by the General Assembly, under pain of excommunication." This measure alike of overstrained doctrine and excessive rigour was submitted to by all the bishops except five. Archbishop Boyd of Glasgow made a protestation, which the Assembly accepted. Adamson, who was presented by Morton as Archbishop to St Andrews, was admitted by the same Assembly.

1581.—28th January is the date of the document, variously called the Second Confession of Faith, the King's Confession, the Negative Confession or First Covenant, chiefly directed against Popery. It was now signed by the king, and was afterwards repeatedly signed during periodic fears or panics of Romish plots. It is printed as the first part of the National Covenant.

On the 2d June Earl Morton was beheaded, ostensibly for a share in the murder of Darnley, but really as a victim to the rivalry of Lennox (Esme Stewart d'Aubigné, the king's cousin, who came from France in 1579). Lennox (on the death of Archbishop Boyd) offered the see of Glasgow to Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, with a simoniacal bargain that the revenue (value £4080) should go to Lennox, all save £1000 Scots to Montgomery. Montgomery was excommunicated 9th June 1582, and his name is of frequent occurrence subsequently. After the Assembly of June 1582 a committee went to Perth, headed by Melville, to lay the Church's griefs before the king. Challenged by Arran, Melville said "*we dare*," and signed the document, and was followed by the rest of the committee.

1582.—23d August, the Raid of Ruthven, when the king was made prisoner at Huntingtower by Earl Gowrie, aided by

Mar, Glamis, and others, with a view to the checking of Lennox and Arran by possession of the king. The Church was too easily pleased by this turn of affairs. John Durie (lately exiled for his visit to the king at Kinneil and his sermon in Edinburgh) returned in popular triumph. But in 1583, 25th August, the king escaped from the confederate lords into the Castle of St Andrews, and the Raid of Ruthven was declared treason. The barons submitted, and were forgiven. Durie was cited—retracts and is dismissed. Melville was cited—defiant and flees. Earl Gowrie was tried on a new charge, and executed 2d May 1584.

**The Black Acts of 1584.**—On 22d May Parliament met and passed a series of five Acts which utterly destroyed the old freedom of the Church, replaced Episcopacy and secured it by penal sanctions. 1. The ancient jurisdiction of the three Estates was ratified (one of the three being the *Bishops*), and to speak evil of any one of them is treason. 2. The king was supreme in all causes and over all persons, and to decline his judgment is treason. 3. All convocations not specially licensed by the king are unlawful (Church courts are thus made to depend on the king's will). 4. The chief jurisdiction of the Church lies with the bishops (who thus take the place of Assemblies and Presbyteries). 5. "None shall presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the reproach of his majesty or council, or meddle with the affairs of his Highness and Estate, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament made against the makers and reporters of lies."

Pont, minister of S. Cuthbert's, made public protestation against these tyrannical acts, and fled with Walter Balcanquhal, another city minister, to Berwick.

In August the Estates again met and added an Act that made the five already passed more practical for mischief—that all ministers, readers, and masters of colleges should compare within forty days and subscribe the Acts concerning the king's



jurisdiction over all estates, temporal and spiritual, and promise to submit themselves to the bishops, their ordinaries, under pain of being deprived of their stipends. For a time the Church was forced into submission by these sweeping oppressions.

**1585.**—5th November, a *revolution* came to the relief of the Church, when the banished lords with armed followers entered Stirling Castle and met the king, offering a homage which was really a victory, Arran having fled northward just before their entry. Now by the Synod of Fife, Andrew Melville being present, Archbishop Adamson was excommunicated as the author of the Black Acts of last year. He was again excommunicated, but finally absolved in 1590, and died in 1591 in extreme destitution.

**Compromise in 1586.**—This royal violence was soon seen to be dangerous to the throne, and a compromise between the Council and clergy was effected and ratified in the General Assembly of 1586, at which the king was present and voted. It was resolved that by bishops should be meant only such as were described by S. Paul; that such bishops might be appointed by the General Assembly to visit certain bounds assigned to them, but subject to the advice of the Synod; that in receiving presentations and giving collation to benefices, they must act according to the direction of the presbytery of the bounds, and be answerable for their whole conduct to the General Assemblies. Also agreed to have annual meetings of Assembly. Archbishop Adamson having made some submission, was absolved from the excommunication.

**Temporalities of Sees annexed to the Crown, 1587.**—In 1587 an Act was passed by the Estates annexing the temporalities of all the bishoprics to the Crown, a proceeding that practically uprooted Episcopacy by leaving mere names without corresponding revenues; and the sacrilegious plunder was mostly squandered among needy and greedy courtiers. Previous to this, on 8th February, the unhappy Queen Mary had been executed by the jealous and cruel Elizabeth. Poor King

James had not the courage to interfere effectively, and the conduct of many ministers in refusing to pray for the king's mother is a dark blot on our Church.

**Extravagant Presbyterian Speech of the King.**—In 1590, in the General Assembly, the king made an extravagant speech in praise of the Church, now thoroughly Presbyterian. The speech is more damaging to the king's reputation (considering the general character of his policy during a long reign) than almost anything he ever said or did. "He fell forth praising God that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the Gospel; to such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule: what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil-said Mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

A mixture of good-humour and light-headedness marked the king at this period. He had recently returned from his odd marriage adventure, having spent the winter at Kronberg, near Copenhagen, after being married at Upsal (Christiania), 23d November 1589 (by his chaplain, David Lindsay, minister of Leith), to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and after the Queen had been crowned in the chapel of Holyrood in May 1590, on a Sunday, by the king's favourite (for the time being), Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.

**Magna Charta of Presbytery, 1592.**—The Assembly met 22d May, in Edinburgh, with Robert Bruce, the king's favourite, as moderator. Four articles were formulated as a petition to the king. Parliament met in June, when the petition of the Church was taken into consideration, and an Act passed ratifying the liberty of the Church, giving a legal jurisdiction to its courts, declaring that the Acts of 1584 were abrogated,

in so far as they impinged on ecclesiastical authority in matters of religion, heresy, excommunication, or collation, and providing that presentations should henceforward be directed, not to the bishops, but to the presbyteries within whose bounds the vacant benefices lay.

Thus were legalised the chief parts of the Second Book of Discipline. Some attribute this wonderful amount of concession to the volatile humour of the king, for the present greatly pleased. Others explain it by the public alarm at the presence of Bothwell (the king's mad cousin), and the horror caused by the recent tragedy at Donibristle,—partly because the corpse of Earl Murray was still lying in the church of Leith unburied, and partly by common rebuke and threatening from the pulpit. This Act was sent by the king as a great gift to the General Assembly of April 1593; and this royal sunshine lasted for four years. Of Assembly 1596 Calderwood says: "Here end all the sincere Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Gospel under the free government of Christ."

**Erection of Presbyteries.**—Although in later times presbyteries have come to be regarded as the basis of the system of the Church of Scotland, they had no existence for above twenty years after the Reformation. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, which was first erected, began in 1581. Others followed by degrees, and were agreed to by the king in 1586. In 1592 they were ratified by Parliament.

"At the Assembly holden in Aprile 1593, the names of all the Presbytries were given up—viz., Dingwall, Kirkwall, Thurso, Dornoch, Taine, the Channorie of Rosse, Invernesse, Forresse, Elgin, Ruthven, Bamff, Deir, Innerourie, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Cowie, Brechin, Arbroath, Meigle, Dundee, Dunkelden, Perth, Dumblane, St Andrews, Cowper, Dumferlin, Kirkaldie, Stirling, Linlithghow, Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Haddingtoun, Dumbar, Peebles, Chirnside, Dunce, Jedburgh, Melrosse, Dumfreis, Kirkudbright, Wightoun, Air, Irving, Pasley, Dumbartoun, Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanark. These

were the townes whereunto the ministers of the kirks nixt adjacent resorted every week for exercise of prophesie, by course and exercising of discipline. The seat of the Presbytrie might not be changed without the determination of the Generall Assembly, as the Act made in October 1581 beareth.” —(Scot of Cupar, Narration, p. 60.) Thus in 1593 there were only forty-eight presbyteries, as compared with our present number of eighty-four.

The more exact subdivision of the Church into presbyteries was the work of Melville and his party. In Assembly of October 1576, it was enacted “that all ministers within eight miles should resort to the place of exercise each day of exercise.” In Assembly of July 1579, it was proposed “that a general order may be taken for erecting presbyteries in places where public exercise was used, till the policy of the Kirk might be established by law;” to which the Assembly answered, “the exercise may be judged a presbytrie.” The name previously in use for those who met in the exercise was “the Eldership,” which is used in the plural in Second Book of Discipline, chap. vii., as equivalent to presbyteries. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638 furnishes a careful list of sixty-seven presbyteries, “the order of the Provinciaill Assemblies given in by the most ancient of the ministrie within every province, as the ancient plateforme thereof.”

**The Second Book of Discipline: its Contents.**—The Assembly of 1576 appointed six delegates (one of whom was Andrew Melville) to draw it up. It was agreed on in Assembly 1578, inserted in the Registers of 1581, recognised by Parliament in establishing the Church in 1592 and 1690. The copy used by the author of this work is a treatise of twenty octavo pages, divided into thirteen chapters, of which the titles are: “1. Of the Kirk and policie thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the civil policie; 2. Of the policie of the Kirk, and persons and office-bearers to whom the administration is committed; 3. How the persons that have



ecclesiastical functions are to be admitted to their office ; 4. Of the office-bearers in particular, and first of the pastors or ministers ; 5. Of doctors and of their office, and of the schooles ; 6. Of elders and their office ; 7. Of the elder-ships, assemblies, and discipline ; 8. Of the deacons and their office, the last ordinary function in the Kirk ; 9. Of the patri-monie of the Kirk, and distribution thereof ; 10. Of the office of a Christian magistrate in the Kirk ; 11. Of the present abuses remaining in the Kirk, which we desire to be re-formed ; 12. Certain special heads of reformation which we desire ; 13. The utilitie that should flow from this reformation to all estates.”

**Arrangement of Ecclesiastical Offices.**—Whereas there were five offices under the First Book, now there are only four—superintendent and reader are dropped, and we have minister (or bishop), doctor (or teacher), elder (or presbyter), and deacon. The weak points here are the rash introduction of doctor or teacher, the splitting up of the one office of presbyter into a teaching and a ruling branch, followed by the degradation of the real diaconate.

The doctor was a university professor or teacher of the higher order, and the proper dignity and use of schools of learning was a great feature of the Reformed Church ; but it was awkward to class them alongside purely ecclesiastical offices.<sup>1</sup> As yet the modern Church courts of Presbyterianism were not fully distinguished. Nowhere in the Second Book of Discipline is a claim made for Presbytery as a divine institution ; the highest claimed for it is conformity to Scripture, but not that it is the only thing conformable.

When minister (or bishop) and elder (or presbyter) are held as two offices, each distinct from that of deacon, this is not

<sup>1</sup> Teacher or doctor retains a like place in the “Form of Presbyterian Church government and of ordination of ministers agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,” and approved by the General Assembly in 1645. It is also vigorously defended, both in theory and practice, as an ecclesiastical office, by so sound an authority as Principal Lee, Lect. XIV.

inconsistent with the view accepted by the best modern critics, that originally bishop and presbyter were convertible terms; and the duality was adopted as a matter of practical convenience to distinguish those bishops or presbyters who *both* teach and rule, from other bishops or presbyters who rule *only*, according to what is said in 1 Timothy v. 17—"Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine." This solitary text, however, even though it were correctly interpreted (which it is not), is far too narrow a basis for the superstructure of our kirk-sessions.

A vast improvement would have been to have confined the synonymous words bishop, presbyter, and elder, to the minister, and to have named our present lay or *ruling* elder by the name of deacon—thus more clearly bringing out the *twofold* office in the Christian Church.

**Deacons.**—Sorrowful has been the lot of deacons in Scotland. The poor men are members of no church court. Their call and election have no clear rules in our Books of Discipline. Their office is degraded to mere finance, "to receive and distribute the hail ecclesiastical guilds." Once they collected stipend, but now the minister does it. In 1886 they existed in only 78 out of 1320 parishes. In short, as concerns the Church of Scotland, their present condition and past history is a sham that ought to be swept away.

Great would be our gain in point of clearness were we to revert to Scriptural treatment of the office, on the basis of Acts vi. 1-8, Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8-13. This would imply discontinuance of the name of "elder," which is a misnomer for members of kirk-sessions, and the substitution of deacons, which is beyond all question the proper name to mark their most useful and honourable functions.

## CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF PRESBYTERY SUCCESSFUL AT GLASGOW  
IN 1638, AND FINALLY AT THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

WHEN we start again from the date of 1596, we enter on a long period of struggle, divided into two parts. The first is from 1596 to 1638, at which point Presbytery was triumphant in the National Covenant and in the General Assembly at Glasgow. The second is from 1638, through the darkest period of both our ecclesiastical and civil history under Cromwell and Charles II., to the Revolution of 1688.

**Events from 1596 to 1606.**—The question of the recall of the exiled earls (Huntly and Errol were already back in disguise) made a permanent and bitter breach between the king and his favourite Bruce. The same topic was the occasion of the scene between Melville and the king at Cupar. On 19th October the Countess of Huntly petitioned the Synod of Moray to receive her husband's penitence. The king and Court allowed the rebel lords to remain till May 1597, in hope of reconciliation to the Church. Meanwhile, on 20th October the Commissioners of Assembly, and certain deputies from synods, appointed a Fast and a Council of the Church, both of which, with a sermon by Black of St Andrews, increased the excitement. The Secret Council retaliated by ordering the members of the Council of the Church to quit Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, and Black to enter himself in ward beyond the Forth.

17th December, a riot in Edinburgh arose from the collision

between the jurisdictions of Church and State, when the king and Court left for Linlithgow, and threatened to remove the law courts there also.

1597.—On 1st January the king returned to Edinburgh in triumph. He worked out his new feelings in an Assembly in March at Perth, and another in May at Dundee, taking up the plausible cry of a minister for every kirk and a stipend for every minister, but aiming really at getting a standing commission of ministers appointed to vote in Parliament as bishops. On 26th June the full restoration of the Popish earls took place in Aberdeen, where they received the Communion as Presbyterians in S. Nicholas's Church. In December a Parliament in Edinburgh received commissioners of the Assembly asking a vote in Parliament for a limited number of ministers. On the part of the Church (by management of a meeting in the *north* and the king's *presence*), in March 1598 an Assembly at Dundee *agreed* to this by a majority of ten. Next year certain propositions drawn from the king's book, 'Basilikon Doron' (surreptitiously procured), were laid before the Synod of Fife by Dykes of Anstruther, and condemned, which ended in the king being forced to publish the book.

1600.—18th March, an Assembly at Montrose agreed to regulations as to election and maintenance of those to vote in Parliament, the chief being that, on a vacancy, the king select one from a list of six names given by the Church. Many *caveats* were appended to the consent of the Assembly. On 5th August occurred the Gowrie plot, in which young Earl Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, were slain, and the king got free. Ministers in Edinburgh refused to believe the story, and five of them were banished for their disrespectful incredulity, but soon restored.

1603.—24th March died Queen Elizabeth, to whom James succeeded at once, and quietly. On 3d April he attended S. Giles's, and at the close of service made a farewell speech. (Thirteen years passed before he returned.) He



held a conference at Hampton Court on 14th January, where nine bishops, seven deans, and one archdeacon represented Episcopacy, and four ministers were for the Puritans. In September 1606 eight Scotch ministers, including Andrew and James Melville, were sent for to London, similarly to be reasoned with. Day by day they were plied with controversial sermons in vain. At last, for a Latin epigram on the Chapel Royal altar furniture, Andrew Melville was convicted of *scandalum magnatum*, and sent to the Tower. James Melville was exiled to Newcastle and Berwick. The other six were put under restrictions in Scotland.

1605.—2d July was held an Assembly at Aberdeen, which gave much future trouble. Straiton, Laird of Laurieston, was present as commissioner with a letter from the Secret Council. Twenty-one ministers met, with Forbes of Alford as moderator. He and Welsh of Ayr were imprisoned. On 24th July called before the Council in Edinburgh, declined submission, and were warded in Blackness. 2d August, Robert Durie (Anstruther), Andrew Duncan (Crail), Alexander Strachan (Creich), and John Sharp (Kilmany), appeared before the Council, and were warded in Blackness. 3d October—other fourteen cited, of whom seven were warded. These six were tried by assize on January 10, 1606, at Linlithgow, for treasonable declination of the king's authority. The jury was tampered with, and gave a conviction. The six were sent back to Blackness to await the king's pleasure.

**Constant Moderators, 1606.**—Parliament in July at Perth confirmed the king's prerogative, and restored the temporal estate of bishops without reference to caveats—against which a protestation was signed by forty-three ministers. On 10th December an assembly or convention met at Linlithgow, consisting of 136 ministers, thirty-three nobles and elders, and agreed to an overture by the king, that bishops should preside in meetings within their bounds where resident, and elsewhere that the oldest, gravest, and most experienced minister should act as fixed and *constant moderator*. It was afterwards ob-

jected that this was not a General Assembly, and that the minute was altered at Court to include synods as well as presbyteries. Synods of Fife, Lothian, and Merse refused constant moderators. The chief recusants were warded or banished, although eight of the ablest ministers were already exiled in England, and fourteen in France and the Highlands. In 1608 the three Popish earls, Huntly, Errol, and Angus, were again in prison, their excommunication renewed, and other measures taken against Romanism.

**Bishops consecrated in 1610.**—Two Courts of High Commission (specially for Church cases) were now set up, one in each archbishopric (the two were made one in 1615). On 21st October three bishops were consecrated in London for Scotland—viz., Spottiswood (Glasgow), Lamb (Brechin), Hamilton (Galloway). Arrived in Scotland, these consecrated Gladstones (St Andrews), Blackburn (Aberdeen), Douglas (Moray), Graham (Dunblane), David Lindsay (Ross), Forbes (Caithness), Law (Orkney), Alexander Lindsay (Dunkeld), Campbell (Argyle), Knox (Isles).

**1617.**—After thirteen years' absence, the king arrived in Edinburgh on 16th May. Parliament met 28th June, when the king submitted to the Lords of the Articles a proposal equivalent to the abolition of Assemblies—"That whatsoever his majesty should determine touching the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the clergy, should have the strength of a law." For making protestation against this, Hewat of Edinburgh, Simson of Dalkeith, and David Calderwood of Crailing, were deprived of office and imprisoned, Calderwood being also banished. An Assembly at St Andrews, 25th November, proved even yet unmanageable in regard of some plans submitted by the king, which they refuse to deal with till a fuller Assembly is met.

**The Five Articles of Perth, 1618.**—Assembly met 25th August—Lords Binning, Scone, and Carnegy, the king's commissioners. Archbishop Spotswood took the chair as of

right. The king's letter was twice read. Open discussion was not allowed, and the Five Articles were voted in slump. Before voting, threat was made to report every recusant's name to the king. Eighty-six voted for the Articles, forty-nine against, three declined to vote. William Scot of Cupar and John Carmichael of Kilconquhar led the opposition. The articles were in substance as follows: 1. Enjoining kneeling at Communion; 2. Permitting Communion in private houses in case of sickness; 3. Permitting private baptism on necessary cause; 4. Enjoining the confirmation by the bishop of children eight years old; 5. Orders for observing as holy-days Christmas-day, Good Friday, Easter-day, Ascension, and Whit-sunday, with abstinence from business and attendance on worship. Afterwards ministers refused to read the order about them from the pulpit, people avoided the churches where they were observed, and the terrors of the High Commission were used to enforce obedience. In 1621 the Five Articles were ratified in Parliament, but even there with a great struggle—seventy-seven voting for, fifty against, the majority being got only by the votes of the bishops and higher nobility. The king died 27th May 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Skinner of Longside, as an Episcopal historian, says of James: "To every sincere lover of ecclesiastical order and purity his memory will be precious. And no person who reads his history without prejudice can well deny him the character which has been often given him, of *James the Peaceful and the Just*." Principal Cunningham says: "He abandoned Presbytery to overturn its government and persecute its ministers. His foolish ideas of the divine right of kings and of the extent of his prerogative, laid the foundation of those disasters which brought his son to the scaffold and drove his race from the throne. His youth was more virtuous than his old age, and profligacy in the old is peculiarly repulsive. He grew fond of eating, drinking, and indolence; and licentious favourites ruled all. He was clever and learned for a king; sometimes he was witty; but he had

little vigour or comprehensiveness of mind, and no true dignity of character.”

DAVID CALDERWOOD, the historian, belongs to this period of scheming and defection. He was born in 1575, and since 1604 minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire. In 1617 he was one of several ministers who sent in a protest to the Scots Parliament against a Bill then before them for granting certain powers to an ecclesiastical Council under the King, which would virtually supersede all General Assemblies. He was summoned before the High Commission at St Andrews, committed to prison for contumacy, and then banished. From 1617 to 1625 he lived in Holland, busy in study, teaching, and preaching. On his return he spent several years in collecting materials for his History, in 1638 became minister of Pencaitland, and died at Jedburgh in 1650. One of the most learned of Scottish books on the subject of Episcopacy and Presbytery, under the name of *Altare Damascenum*, is by Calderwood, published in Holland in 1623. But his fame chiefly rests on his ‘History of the Church,’ which lay in MS. until printed for the Wodrow Society in eight vols., 1842-45. In company with James Melville he is one of the best authorities for the real facts of these years of royal arbitrariness and oppression.

**Accession of Charles I., 1625.**—The death of James in 1625, and the accession of his son Charles I., brought no relief to Scotland. The chief difference lay in Charles being more English and less Scottish than his father, and accordingly, through ignorance of the national taste and temper, more apt to form unworkable plans, and persist in them.

The first collision with his Scottish subjects arose from his project of resuming the grants of tithes and benefices wastefully made by his father to Court favourites. This came up in October 1625, at a Convention of Estates, and greatly stirred a large party of the nobles, so that the Earl of Nithsdale (the king’s commissioner) was very near being stabbed at the table. Ultimately the project was carried through, not so as to recover the Church wealth, but only to revalue it. Yet much mistrust of the king remained. In 1633 parts of the coronation ceremonial, where Archbishop Laud was master over Scottish bishops, gave new offence. Besides this, the Acts of 1606 as to the royal prerogative, and of 1609 as to the apparel of churchmen, were both revived by coercing



Parliament, the king marking on a list all who voted against his wishes. Even with such barefaced intimidation it was said on the spot that the voting was the other way, and that the clerk had exchanged the figures. Lord Balmerino was tried in 1634 for "leasing-making," founded on a stolen or stray copy of a petition to the king stating these grievances. Though condemned to death, a pardon was extorted in November 1635—such was the heat in the country against the king's folly and tyranny, all over a matter of Church tailoring.

**Laud's Liturgy rejected, 1637.**—The greatest heat of all arose from an attempt to force a new Service-book and Canons on the Church. The proposal came out in 1636, and was to have been ripe by Easter 1637, but the books were not printed in time. Among other things a font was appointed to be placed in the entrance of the church; the cross was enjoined in baptism; the water to be changed and consecrated in the font twice a-month; an altar was appointed for the chancel; the Communion-table decorated was placed in the east; the elements were to be consecrated by a prayer expressive of the real presence; the host was to be elevated as an oblation; the confessions of the penitent were to be concealed by the presbyter.

On the 23d July the new book was to be introduced in St Giles's, according to intimation made the Sunday before. But Mrs Janet Geddes, the herb-stall woman, proved too much for dean, bishop, primate, and king. "Villain! daurst thou say the Mass at my lug?" It is amusing to note how diverse are the estimates of Jenny and her stool.

"An ignorant and fanatical woman, whose name has come down to us associated with no other act than that of offering violence to a minister of the Gospel, when engaged in the performance of public worship."—Bishop C. Wordsworth, in "Charge" of September 1886.

"A brave Scotch woman, who struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience, which, after a conflict

of half a century, ended in the establishment of civil and religious liberty."—Lord President Inglis on the Memorial Brass in St Giles's, April 1886.

The form of the check by stool-throwing in church was violent and irreverent; but it indicated how deep and general was the disapproval of the king's ecclesiastical tyranny, that what began so vulgarly went on till it ended not only in a change of Church but a change of dynasty.

A prosecution for disobedience as to the Liturgy was started against Henderson of Leuchars and three ministers in the Presbyteries of Irvine, Ayr, and Glasgow. But bills of suspension were presented to the Privy Council, on the ground that the recent innovations were illegal. The Council found, that while *purchase* of the book was imperative, its *observance* was not enjoined. This slip caused delay, during which the whole country was roused, and the Privy Council, panic-struck, fled first to Linlithgow, then to Dundee. Many lawless acts were committed by the mob. Meanwhile the Four Tables (nobility, gentry, clergy, and burghers) were formed, wherein all classes combined to vindicate their religious liberties. The chief work of this Convention of the Tables was the National Covenant, composed by Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, revised by Balmerino, Rothes, and Loudon.

**National Covenant and Glasgow Assembly, 1638.**—On 28th February 1638 began the signing of the National Covenant in Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. The first signature was that of the old Earl of Sutherland; the whole congregation followed; then in the churchyard, on a flat stone, the signing went on for days. The enthusiasm for signing spread over the country.

The outbreak in St Giles's and the signing of the Covenant prepared the way for the great General Assembly held in Glasgow Cathedral 21st November 1638. No Assembly had met for thirty years or more (those of 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1618 not being owned as free). This genuine and representative Assembly consisted of 140 ministers, 17 nobles, 9 knights,

25 landed proprietors, and 47 burgesses. The Marquis of Hamilton was Lord High Commissioner, and Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, Moderator. The Assembly resolved to put the bishops on their trial. When the Commissioner failed to prevent this, he dissolved the Assembly in the king's name and withdrew. Undaunted, the members continued their business. The Five Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons, and the Service-book were abjured and condemned. All the bishops were deposed, and eight of them excommunicated for special offences. The sittings ended 20th December—the last words of the Moderator's address being, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

Such was the work familiarly known in Scotland as the Second Reformation.

"If there be some things to condemn in the Assembly of 1638, there is also much to admire. Its courage was wonderful; the revolution it effected was complete. Its proceedings were undoubtedly violent; but so are all revolutions. A storm was required to purify the atmosphere. The labour of thirty years was to be undone almost in a day. It is certain in repudiating prelates and prelacy it only fulfilled the wish of the people; for thirty long years had not weaned them from their first love to Presbytery, nor reconciled them to Episcopacy. It has sometimes been objected to it, that it went beyond its own province, set Acts of Parliament at defiance, and abolished a hierarchy which was established by law. This is quite true; but after all, it is only such a legal objection as a special pleader might take. The Assembly of 1638 embraced the Parliament; it was the convened representatives of all the Estates; its voice was the voice of the people. If the nation wished the change, it did not greatly matter whether it was effected by its representatives met in Parliament or met in Assembly. Great movements seldom square themselves with law. It is worthy of remark, however, that the first Reformation in the Scotch Church was effected by the Parlia-

ment, the second by the General Assembly. Fault was found with both."—Principal Cunningham, *History*, ii. 107.

JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, Archbishop of St Andrews and Chancellor of Scotland, born in 1565, was the son of John Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian, and one of the six authors of the *First Book of Discipline*. He studied at Glasgow partly under the two Melvilles, and graduated at sixteen. After assisting his father in Calder in Mid-Lothian, he was ordained, before 1586, to a parish in the Merse, being in that year a member of the General Assembly. In 1590 he removed to his father's parish of Calder. In 1598 he married a daughter of David Lindsay, minister of Leith. His Court tendency appears in 1600 by his support of ministers voting in Parliament. He was in France in 1601 as chaplain to the Duke of Lennox, and being now much at Court, was nominated Archbishop of Glasgow by King James in 1603. Two years later he was made primate, and consecrated at London in 1610. He was in close correspondence with the king in 1605-6, when the six ministers were tried and condemned. In 1633 he set the crown on Charles I.'s head. Same year, 29th September, on his petition, the bishopric of Edinburgh was erected out of the part of the diocese of St Andrews "besouth the river Forth." He had a chief hand in the prosecution of Lord Balmerino in 1634. Appointed Chancellor in 1635. In November 1637 (after the riot in St Giles's), he retired for a time to St Andrews, and in 1638 to England. In Edinburgh, on March 1, 1638, he said, "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once." The king forced him on 9th September to demit the Chancellorship, which he did through the Marquis of Hamilton for £2500 sterling. The king refused to allow him to nominate his successor. Excommunicated 13th December by the Glasgow Assembly. After nine days' illness in London, he died December 27, 1639, aged seventy-four, and was buried honourably at Westminster. His '*Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from A.D. 203 to the death of King James VI.*,' was written by command of the king. First edition in 1655. He and Bishop Maxwell of Ross were Charles's chief agents in Scotland connected with the unhappy Canons and Service-book. In this the older bishops seem to have been driven on by the younger, backed by Archbishop Laud. Spottiswood was a man of good literature, life, and manners, diligent in business affairs, but subservient to royalty for his own ambition, and somewhat blind to the true feelings of his countrymen. Gordon, '*Scotchchronicon*,' i. pp. 360-616, prints Wodrow's Collections on Life of Spottiswood.

The attitude of the Glasgow Assembly so closely portended civil war, that Alexander Leslie (afterwards Earl of Leven), who had been Field-Marshal with Gustavus Adolphus, wrought with Lord Rothes to prepare a Covenanting army. By the



end of May 1639 this army (with Baillie of Kilwinning as chaplain) was planted on Duns Law, the king and his army being just across the Tweed. A pacification, however, took place at Berwick, on the basis of a free Assembly at Edinburgh and a Parliament to follow, each side to abandon their armaments.

According to agreement the Assembly met, and on 17th August enacted "that the Service-book, Books of Canons and Ordination, and the High Commission, be still rejected; that the Articles of Perth be no more practised; that Episcopal government, and the civil powers and places of Kirkmen, be holden still as unlawful in this Kirk; that the pretended Assemblies at Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, at Glasgow in 1610, at Aberdeen in 1616, at Perth 1618, be hereafter accounted as null and of none effect; and that for preservation of religion and preventing all such evils in time coming, General Assemblies, rightly constitute, as the proper and competent judge of all matters ecclesiastical, hereafter be kept yearly and oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require; the necessity of these occasional Assemblies being first remonstrate to his Majesty by humble supplication; as also that kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synodical assemblies be constitute and observed according to the order of the Kirk."

At this stage the Covenant began to be made (instead of a voluntary bond for self-defence) an instrument of oppression and intolerance. The Assembly rose on 30th August, and on the same day Parliament sat, was prorogued 24th October, ditto on 14th November, to 2d June 1640. This delay was injurious to the king's interests. When on 2d June Parliament met, without the king's commissioner, it passed important Acts, and named a committee to transact business. On 21st August the Scots army crossed the Tweed, and on the 30th entered Newcastle. Thus pressed from Scotland (not to speak of other pressure from England), the king agreed to hold a Parliament at Westminster 3d November (the Long Parliament). On August 17, 1641, a Parliament met at Edinburgh, at

which Charles was present, where were confirmed the Acts of Parliament of June 1640, overthrowing Episcopacy, establishing Presbytery, and also approving the desire of the Scots for uniformity of religion and Church government with England. Meantime the king's difficulties in England increased, so that on August 22, 1642, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham in civil war. An Assembly at St Andrews in July of the same year continued the diseased craving for uniformity.

**Solemn League and Covenant, 1643.**—At the Assembly on 2d August this was agreed to, after a speech by Henderson. On 22d September it was subscribed in London by the members of both Houses of Parliament, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scots Commissioners. Then it was circulated over the English counties, as well as over all synods and presbyteries in Scotland.

The Solemn League and Covenant was every way inferior to the National Covenant, being more narrow and less spontaneous, especially objectionable in being forced in England in order to spread Presbyterianism there, where it was never generally or even widely desired.<sup>1</sup>

**Origin of the present Standards of the Church of Scotland.**—This same period is remarkable as giving to Scotland those books that have ever since served as our standards of doctrine and government—the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory of Public Worship. By far the most influential of these has been the most unpretending—the Shorter Catechism—which substantially in its doctrinal part follows the school of St Augustin.<sup>2</sup>

**The Westminster Assembly.**—The Westminster Assembly, whose name is so familiar in Scottish Church history, was con-

<sup>1</sup> The full text of both Covenants is usually printed in the same volume with the Confession, Catechisms, and Directory.

<sup>2</sup> To the same influence we also owe our present Metrical Psalter, by Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, and lay member of the Westminster Assembly. The Psalter was authorised for Scotland by the General Assembly and Commission of Estates in 1650.

stituted by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons of England on 12th June 1643, "that such a government should be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad." The Assembly consisted of 10 peers, 20 members of the Commons—as lay assessors—and 121 clergymen, with Dr Twiss as prolocutor or president; and its meetings were held in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and conducted on the model of Parliament itself.

Commissioners from Scotland were invited to attend the discussions. The clerical commissioners were—Baillie, Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie. Robert Douglas was also named, but did not attend. The lay commissioners were—Johnston of Warriston, Lord Cassilis, Lord Maitland (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale). To these were added Argyll, Balmerinoch, and Loudon, with Robert Meldrum and George Winram.

**The Westminster Confession in its Character and Sources.**

—“The Westminster Confession has taken a firm hold upon the mind of all Presbyterian Churches, not only in Scotland, but throughout the world. And this arises not from its embodiment in statutes of any kind, but from the sources of its own inspiration, and the place which these occupy in the history of religious thought. It is not peculiarly Scotch, nor is it distinctively Presbyterian. There is only a small and comparatively insignificant portion of it which is marked by the influence of local and temporary circumstances. A learned and able defender of it in recent times has said with truth (Lect. on the Westminster Confession, by Prof. Mitchell, D.D., of St Andrews: Edinburgh, 1876): ‘It is lined and scored with the marks of conflict, but the deepest and the broadest lines are those which run through all the Christian ages, and which appear distinctly either in the creeds of the early councils or in the writings of the greatest of the Latin Fathers, or which, if they are not found so prominently there, appear

broad and deep in the teaching both of the Greek and of the Latin Church, and of the ablest theologians of the middle ages.' It is to this fundamental coincidence with the main stream of Christian teaching that it owes its strength and the hold it has acquired over so large an extent of Christian ground. A corresponding width of interpretation must be given to it. This may be gathered from its history as well as from its words. It was not drawn upon the model of the old native Scotch Confession, but on the model of the Articles of the Church of England. And the amplification which it makes of these articles is one which did not come from any Scotch or Presbyterian hands, but mainly from the hands of one of the most eminent divines of the Episcopal Church, Archbishop Ussher. It represents his view, not of any local or provincial controversy, but of the sum and substance of the reformed doctrine."—Duke of Argyll, *Contemporary Review*, January 1878.

**Discontinuance of Book of Common Order.**—It is to the period and influence of the Westminster Assembly that we have to trace the discontinuance of Knox's Liturgy. It was not forbidden, but simply dropped, possibly as a Scottish sacrifice to counterbalance the English sacrifice in passing by the English Prayer-Book. In 1641 a proposal to revise the Book of Common Order and to prepare a catechism was referred to Alexander Henderson, who replied, "Nor could I take upon me either to determine some points controverted, or to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm-book, penned by our great and divine Reformer."

ALEXANDER HENDERSON, born at Creich, in Fife, was educated at S. Salvador's College about 1600. From 1610 he taught for several years as Regent in Philosophy, and in 1615 was appointed by Archbishop Gladstones minister of Leuchars. People being adverse, he had to enter the church by a window to be ordained. He proved an earnest minister—zealous in education, founding and endowing two schools at Creich and Leuchars. In 1618, at the Perth Assembly, he spoke and voted against the Five Articles. He was one of the first to refuse to read the king's Service-book. Thrice he was Moderator of Assembly, 1638, 1641, 1643. At the signing of the Covenant in



1638 he was one of those who prayed and preached, and was the writer of the Solemn League and Covenant. As one of the Scots Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, he laboured with great diligence, and wrote many of the public documents of the period. In 1646, from the middle of May till middle of July, he had a correspondence with King Charles on Presbytery and Prelacy. The same year, in the middle of August, he died at Edinburgh. In 1662, after he had been in his grave sixteen years, Commissioner Middleton, acting under order of the Restoration Government, caused his monument in Greyfriars' churchyard to be defaced.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, born at Crailing, Roxburghshire, about 1600, at seventeen became student at Edinburgh, where he acted as Professor of Humanity from 1623-25. About 1627 he became minister of Anwoth, in Galloway, but without taking the oath of obedience to bishops. He took up the Arminian controversy keenly, and in 1636 was prosecuted before the High Commission for his book on 'Divine Grace,' for resistance to the Perth Articles, and for non-conformity. He was imprisoned for one and a half year at Aberdeen, dating thence many of his famous "Letters from Christ's Palace at Aberdeen." The ascendancy of Presbytery in 1638 brought his release, when, after a short visit to Anwoth, he became Professor of Divinity in the New College, St Andrews. He resided in London, 1643-47, as one of the Scots Commissioners; busy also in controversy, and published 'Lex Rex,' the political text-book of the Covenanters. On return he was made Principal of S. Mary's College, and Rector in 1651. In 1650-51 he embraced the side of the Protesters against the Resolutioners. His 'Lex Rex' was burnt by the hangman after the Restoration; and on deathbed, in 1661, he was summoned to Edinburgh to answer a charge of high treason. "Tell them I have to appear before a superior Judge and Judicatory; and ere your day arrive, I will be where few kings and great folks come." Dean Stanley calls him "the true saint of the Covenant."

ROBERT BAILLIE, born in the Saltmarket of Glasgow in 1602, related to the Baillies of Jerviston, near Hamilton, entered the College of Glasgow 1617, graduated in 1620, became one of the College Regents in 1625, and was tutor to several noblemen's sons—among others, Eglinton, through whom he got the parish of Kilwinning in 1631. He married Lilius Fleming, of the Cardarroch family in Cadder. His Letters and Journal (forming his main contribution to the history of the period, edited in 3 vols. with life, by David Laing) begin in December 1636 and end in May 1662. At first he favoured a limited sort of Episcopacy; latterly, he was decidedly Presbyterian. He was a member of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and in 1640 published his treatise, 'Autokatacrisis,' against Episcopacy. From October 1640 to June 1641 he was in England on public business. In 1642, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow as colleague to Professor Dickson, whom he succeeded in 1651. In 1643 he was made one of the Commissioners to Westminster. He was in Edinburgh again at Assembly of 1645—also in January 1647. Early in 1649 he went to Holland on embassy to Charles II. In January 1661, Prin-

cipal of Glasgow College—now weak in health and grieved in spirit at the Episcopal oppression of the Church. He died at Glasgow, August 1662, at the beginning of the great persecution. “The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.” For twenty-five years Baillie was one of the most judicious and influential churchmen of the age. He sided with the Resolutioners.

GEORGE GILLESPIE, born 1613, at Kirkcaldy, where his father, John Gillespie, was minister. Being Presbytery bursar, went as student to St Andrews at sixteen. After licence, being unwilling to accept ordination from a bishop, he acted as chaplain and tutor with Lord Kenmure and Earl Cassilis. In 1637 he published ‘A dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland,’ which was ordered to be called in and burnt by the Privy Council. In April 1638 he was ordained by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy (the first such ordination for many years) to the parish of Wemyss, and in the same year was selected to preach before the Glasgow Assembly. In 1640 (with Henderson, Blair, and Baillie) he accompanied the Scots Commissioners to London. In 1642 he became one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In 1643 he set out for the Westminster Assembly, where he distinguished himself, especially in a reply to Selden and in his contributions to the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms. It is of him, as the youngest member, the story is told of his prayer containing the answer to the question, “What is God?” His ‘Aaron’s Rod Blossoming, or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government vindicated,’ was published in 1646. At Assembly of 1647 he was in Edinburgh, and made Report on Westminster work. He was Moderator (probably the youngest ever elected) of Assembly 1648, which sat from 12th July to 12th August. Suffering under consumption, he retired to Kirkcaldy, where he died 17th December the same year, aged only thirty-five. In 1661, after the Restoration, a savage order was issued by the Committee of Estates that his tombstone at Kirkcaldy be broken by the hangman; but it was renewed by his grandson and namesake, the minister of Strathmiglo, in 1746. Gillespie’s ‘Notes of the Westminster Assembly from February 1644 to January 1645’ were published in 1846.

#### From the Civil War to the King’s Execution, 1642-1649.—

This period, ecclesiastically as well as politically, turns on a series of five battles—*Edgehill*, 23d October 1642; *Marston Moor*, 1st July 1644; *Naseby*, 14th June 1645; *Philippaugh*, 13th September 1645; *Preston*, 18th August 1648. The first conflict between the royal and parliamentary troops at Edgehill, near Banbury, was indecisive. In the next battle at Marston Moor, five miles west of York, the parliamentary troops, under Cromwell and David Leslie (nephew of the old

Field-Marshal), defeated the king's troops under Rupert. After this battle Cromwell reorganised the army under the name of the "new model," and brought the religious enthusiasm of his "Ironsides" to meet the chivalry of the Cavaliers. The result was a decisive victory at Naseby, north-west of Northampton, when the king's papers were captured. In the next battle, three months later, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, the royal cause was utterly wrecked when David Leslie surprised and defeated the Marquis of Montrose, who had gained so many successes for the king in the Highlands for two years past at Blairathole, Tibbermuir, Aberdeen, Inverary, Inverlochy, Dundee, Auldearn, Kilsyth.

The civil war being thus ended, a new struggle began between the army and Parliament in England, in the course of which the Sectaries, Dissidents, or Independents rose into power and got the better of the Presbyterians. In May 1646 the king took refuge in the Scots camp at Newark, in Nottinghamshire, where he remained for eight months with Lord Leven, who fell back on Newcastle. But in January 1647 the Scots army accepted £400,000 in discharge of their claims, gave up the king to a Committee of Parliament, and crossed the Border homeward. The king escaped from restraint at Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, where from November 1647 to September 1648 he was a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, when an "engagement" was entered into with the Scots Estates, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, to give parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, provided none be compelled to take it against their wills; to establish Presbytery in England for three years, provided king and household were allowed their own mode of worship; and after these three years to establish such a polity as the Westminster divines, with twenty commissioners of the king's nomination, should determine as most agreeable to the Word of God. In a General Assembly at Edinburgh in July 1648 the engagement was opposed, but the Estates took their own way and raised an army (the king's last chance), which, under

the Duke of Hamilton, was defeated by Cromwell on the Ribble at Preston. After Preston, Cromwell marched to Edinburgh, dispersed the royalists, and reinstated Argyll in power, whereon the bitter and narrower faction of Protesters and Remonstrants grew in influence. This was the period of the Whigamore's Raid, when the Covenanters of Ayrshire crowded to Edinburgh, made friends with Cromwell, and passed the Act of Classes, by which they excluded from office and from the army all who had taken part in the engagement. Meanwhile in England, "Pride's Purge," by removing violently 140 members from Parliament, gave the Independents the mastery of the Presbyterians. When Parliament and army were thus made synonymous, the end was that on 30th January 1649 the king was beheaded at Whitehall in front of his own palace. In the same year of blood and revenge by temporary law, took place three most cruel executions of honourable men—the Duke of Hamilton, 9th March (in London); Earl Huntly, 22d March; and the Marquis of Montrose, 25th May.

**Period of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660.**—Three months after the king's death the Commonwealth was formally proclaimed. The Scots, however, at once proclaimed Charles II. king on 5th February, and sent an embassy to the new king to the Hague.

The events of this period (as concerns Scotland) are again sadly determined by battle—*Dunbar*, 3d September 1650, and *Worcester*, 3d September 1651, the latter profanely called by Cromwell his "crowning mercy." From August 1649 to the following March, Cromwell was engaged in Ireland at Drogheda, Wexford, and Clonmel, in butcheries which, though victories, cover his name with infamy. In May 1650 his army crossed the Tweed, and after several shiftings along the east coast from Edinburgh to Dunbar, he at last engaged and defeated Leslie, who had rashly left his strong hill-position. In an eight miles' chase 3000 Scots were slain and 10,000 made prisoners. After this great victory Cromwell visited



Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Kilsyth, and Glasgow, making a sort of mockery of the Covenant as he proceeded. Next year, on the anniversary of Dunbar, he fought at Worcester, when Leslie was made prisoner, the Duke of Hamilton slain, the army annihilated, and Charles forced to flee to France to enter on nine years more of exile, although he had signed the Covenant twice in 1650 (in June at Speymouth, and in August at Dunfermline), and although he had been crowned at Scone on 1st January 1651, Argyll placing the crown on his head, and Robert Douglas preaching the coronation sermon. Since the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell had handed over Scotland to be repressed by General Monk, who, after storming Dundee two days before the battle of Worcester, kept rigorous order as long as the Commonwealth lasted.

On 19th April 1653 Cromwell turned out the English Parliament, and locked the door. After the "Barebones" Parliament, another, called in 1654, was dissolved in January 1655. When offered the title of king in 1657, Cromwell declined it, and took that of Protector. In February 1658 he dissolved another Parliament in a rage, and died 3d September of the same year. His son Richard succeeded as Protector, but being a simple quiet man, he made haste out of a wicked and dangerous place in favour of the king; so that when Monk, with his army from Scotland, marched south in November 1659, the way was prepared for the king, whose entry to London took place 29th May 1660, and 19th June was celebrated in Edinburgh as a thanksgiving for the Restoration.

These years of usurpation were for Scotland years of peace, although not of liberty. The Church had no General Assembly since 1653, when in July, at Edinburgh, in the very midst of a sederunt, the members were turned out of doors by Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel, and marched out of town between two lines of soldiers. It is marvellous how easily Cromwell usually gets off in Church history for all his cruelty, usurpation, and blasphemy over three kingdoms in these years, mainly because of his alliance with the Sectaries in England

and the Protesters in Scotland. The root of the most of our ecclesiastical and political calamities from 1643 to 1660 was, that the legitimate Covenant of 1638 for plain self-defence was degraded into a compulsory League and Covenant in 1643 for the oppression of England—a sin which was avenged on Scotland by the kindred tyranny and wilder fanaticism of the English Sectaries, which turned the tables on us. These excesses of ours from 1643 to 1660 hamper fair-minded churchmen from condemning to the full the cruel retaliations of Charles II. But the saddest and most lasting result that came to Scotland when religion ran to seed in the whims and fanaticism of the Cromwell and Puritan period, is that these oddities and excesses got to be perpetuated among us in the spirit and form of dissent, vexing the Church like a divine judgment in internal strife, and the presence of an unreasonable and irreconcilable element from these days till now; whereas it has been the effort of the National Church for two centuries to rid itself of crotchets, and get back to the good sense and tolerance of the Reformed Church from 1560 to 1596.

Principal Lee, the best authority in such matters in this century, gives the following account of the contending parties, and the ecclesiastical degradation that came from Puritan influence in Scotland in the Commonwealth period (History, ii. 309):—

“The Presbyterians were not, however, dispirited by this disaster [the defeat at Dunbar by Cromwell]. They resolved to provide for the national safety by endeavouring to unite all parties in the public service. They prepared two *resolutions*,—one, that those who had hitherto been obnoxious, either for their neutrality or for their share in the engagement under the Duke of Hamilton, should be allowed and encouraged to make a profession of their repentance; and another, that after testifying their repentance, they should be admitted to share in the defence of the kingdom.

“When these resolutions were adopted by Parliament, the

Malignants and Engagers, eager to be received into the public service, complied with the forms required by the Church for the purpose of obtaining absolution. But this step was followed by new dissensions. The same party in the Church which had opposed the engagement now protested against the admission of any of the disaffected to serve in the cause, and declared that their pretended repentance was a profanation of the divine ordinances, from which no good could be expected. An association was framed against the Sectaries, and a remonstrance against the king by five western counties—Ayr, Renfrew, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries,—and from this period the Church and the nation were divided into *Resolutioners* and *Remonstrants* or Protesters. The Remonstrants considered the treaty with the king as criminal, and proposed that he should be suspended from the Government till he gave clear evidences of his repentance; and they protested that it was unjust to impose on others a prince unworthy to reign in Scotland, or to interfere in the affairs of an independent nation. The remonstrance was condemned by the Committee of Estates as seditious. They, in the meantime, withheld their levies to the number of four or five thousand; and thus, instead of uniting to resist the aggressions of Cromwell, the Covenanters, by their violent divisions, were working out their own destruction.

“It was the great error of the Presbyterian churchmen of that age that they interfered too much in the conduct of civil affairs. But they were the fittest men of those times for the management of public business, and if they had not been unhappily divided from one another, their counsels might have been productive of the most salutary effects. They were far more distinguished for their courage than many of the military leaders; and when the cowardice or treachery of Dundas, the governor of Edinburgh Castle, delivered up that fortress [1650] to the English, the ministers of Edinburgh who had taken refuge in it, protested against its ignominious surrender. The moderate Covenanters, by far the most numerous party, united with the

other royalists to defend the king and the country. But the ill-advised plan of marching into England was ruinous to their cause. The battle of Worcester almost annihilated their army, and compelled the king to abandon his dominions; and while the martial strength of the kingdom was thus wasted on a delirious expedition, Scotland, abandoned by its defenders, fell an easy prey to the ferocious General Monk.

“To ingratiate themselves with Cromwell, the *Protesters* declined praying for the king, and framed their churches after the model of the sectarians. *They introduced a mode of celebrating the divine ordinances, which till that time had been unknown in Scotland, and which came afterwards to be generally practised by those whose meetings were interdicted by the severe enactments of the Government after the king's restoration. They preached and prayed at much greater length and with much greater fervour than their brethren. At the administration of the Communion they collected a great number of ministers, and performed divine service two or three successive days before, and one at least after, the solemnity.* On such occasions not fewer than twelve or fifteen sermons were delivered in the course of three or four days to the same audience; but as the numbers attracted to the spot were often far greater than could hear the voice of one man, it was not uncommon to divide them into two or three separate congregations, to each of which a succession of preachers was assigned, and thus thirty or forty sermons were preached to the different groups of communicants and spectators. Their harangues were generally unpremeditated, and their devotions were supposed by the people, and perhaps by the speakers themselves, to be dictated by a celestial impulse. In this style of preaching, and in the performance of other public exercises of religion, the Protesters were imitated by many of the Resolutioners, who still maintained their fidelity to the king; but as this party was composed chiefly of more reasonable men, they could not allow themselves, for the sake of popularity, to adopt all that vehemence of utterance, and that redundancy of matter, with



that assumption of a prophetic character which distinguished some of their rivals.”

It is well to remember that the first schism in the Church of Scotland originated in 1651, in the Cromwell period, and under the malign influence of English Puritanism, to which is traceable the innovating, captious, and hot-headed party of the Protesters, three of whose leaders, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James Simpson, were deposed in that year. But their party, gaining the alliance of the Puritans, afterwards prevailed and retaliated, and led the way to still worse evils. “On one point [says Dr Sprott, *Introductio ad Librum Ordinis Communis*, p. lxvi] nearly all historians are agreed—that it was their spirit and the course they pursued which rent the Church in pieces, which caused the restoration of Episcopacy in 1662, and drove many into conformity with it who had perilled life and fortune for its overthrow a quarter of a century before. The Resolutioners were wedded to the ‘middle way which standeth betwixt Popish and Prelatical tyranny, and Brownistical and popular anarchy,’ and some of them, like Baillie and Dickson, died of broken hearts, as they saw one extreme inevitably pave the way for the other. Scotland can never forget the Protesters who were martyred at the Restoration, nor those who stood by the Church in her ruins; but it is not less important to remember the lesson taught by the divisions that preceded.”

**Restoration of Monarchy, 1660; and of Episcopacy, 1661.**—Although Charles II. was crowned at Scone in 1651, the monarchy was in abeyance for a period of eleven years, counting from the execution of Charles I. in 1649 to the triumphal entry of Charles II. into London, 29th May 1660.

One of the earliest and clearest tokens of the temper and policy of the Restoration Government lies in a series of three executions.

The Marquis of Argyll was beheaded 27th May 1661, though he had set the crown on the king’s head at Scone. There was treachery in his capture at London when on his

way to pay homage to the king. There was baseness of Monk helping his doom by sending letters he had received from Argyll to his prosecutors in Edinburgh. The chief charges were his having signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell. The next victim was Archibald Johnstone, Lord Warriston. He had been active with legal advice in connection with "The Tables," was clerk to the great Glasgow Assembly and to other Assemblies for above ten years, was one of the Lords of Session and one of the lay commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. The order for his seizure came in July 1660; but he fled to France, was hunted down and brought to Edinburgh, tried, and executed 22d July 1663. Victim third was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling since 1649, and who had given special offence by his connection with two papers called a "Remonstrance" and a "Supplication," and a pamphlet, 'Causes of the Lord's Wrath.' Earl Middleton had also a grudge against him for an excommunication he had pronounced on him. The execution took place 1st June 1661. After his head was placed on the Netherbow Port, drops of blood from it fell on Middleton's coach when passing underneath; and there is a legend of new leather being necessary to avoid the tell-tale stain.

In 1661 the Scottish Parliament passed the Rescissory Act, which at one stroke annulled the legislation of the last twenty years, covering the time of the Commonwealth and civil wars. This Act virtually made return to Episcopacy, so that monarchy and Episcopacy came back together. After bishops had been procured, consecrated, and seated in the Scottish Parliament, severities against the Presbyterians, who formed the great bulk of the nation, especially in the centre and south and west of Scotland, went on steadily increasing. Of the old (1610) race of bishops only Sydserf of Galloway survived, and the new series received their consecration from and in England. In December 1661, Sharpe (for St Andrews), Fairfoul (for Glasgow), Hamilton (for Galloway), and Leighton (for Dunblane) were consecrated in Westminster Abbey, Sharpe and

Leighton having to submit to the indignity of previous re-ordination *in private*. This was a repetition of the foreign manipulation of James's bishops of 1610 when Spotswood, Hamilton, and Lamb were consecrated in London House by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. The poor Tulchans of 1572 were only natives and nominals.

ROBERT LEIGHTON belonged to an old Forfarshire family, of Usan in parish of Craig, and was born in Edinburgh in 1611. (His father, Dr Alexander Leighton, was a Presbyterian minister and also physician, who, in 1629, for a book attacking Episcopacy, was terribly tortured by the Star Chamber, and kept ten years in prison.) Leighton's youth was spent in London with his father, and at age of sixteen he became student at Edinburgh, graduating in 1631. He continued his studies at Douay, where he learned to appreciate the devotional side of Romanism. From 1641 to 1653 he was minister of Newbattle, Presbytery of Dalkeith, where his sermons and Commentary were mainly written. From 1653 to 1662 he was Principal of the University of Edinburgh, where he gave a weekly Latin lecture on divinity to students. From 1662-1671 he was Bishop of Dunblane, and from 1671-1674 Archbishop of Glasgow. Disappointed in his colleagues, and with the government of Charles, and with the prospects of Episcopacy, he resigned his office, and lived for ten years in pious and useful retirement at Broadhurst, Sussex, with a brother-in-law, Mr Lightwater. His death took place in 1684 in the Bell Inn, Warwick Lane, London, according to an old wish. As a bishop, his aims were singularly honest and devout: to inculcate the regular reading of Scripture in public worship; to adhere mainly to Scripture exposition in preaching; to make regular use of Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Doxology in worship; to celebrate the Lord's Supper more frequently; and, as far as possible, maintain a short daily service both in church and house. The wisdom and fine spirit of Leighton's rule in his diocese are best seen in 'Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, 1662-1688,' edited by Dr Wilson of Dunning, 1877.

In 1662 signing of the Covenants was declared to be treasonable, yet the Covenant had been subscribed (reluctantly, it is true) by Charles himself in 1650, when Presbyterian support was of use to him. Another Act of 1662 required that clergymen then in office should remain only on condition of receiving fresh presentation from the lawful patron, and institution from the bishop. From 1649 to 1660 patronage had been in abeyance, and ministers had been elected by kirk-sessions.

**Privy Council at Glasgow, 1662. 300 Ministers ousted.—**

On 1st October 1662, a Privy Council held at Glasgow declared all parishes would be vacant whose ministers had not submitted to the bishops before 1st November. Nearly 300 left their benefices rather than go against their consciences. This was the origin of the subsequent field-preachings or conventicles. The Glasgow Privy Council was presided over by the Earl of Middleton as Lord High Commissioner; and he and his Council, both at Glasgow and Ayr, in daily and nightly drunkenness, more resembled heathen bacchanals than anything even remotely kindred to Christianity. The 300 outed ministers were replaced by the poorest creatures ever known as clergy in Scotland—illiterate, juvenile, drunken, unchaste. This evil of unfitness in character and training was increased by their subserviency and cruelty in generally acting as spies and informers on their own parishioners who were Presbyterian, guiding the savages who marched about the country under the name of soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

**Military Commanders during the Persecution of Covenanters.**—During this long persecution the soldiery were successively under three commanders—viz., Sir James Turner, General Sir Thomas Dalziel, and John Graham of Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee). When an investigation was made shortly after 1667 into Turner's conduct, he was deprived of all his posts on account of extortion and cruelty, being convicted, on a list of sixteen cases, of "fining and cessing for causes for which there are no warrants." Yet, during the investigation, this wretch was zealously defended by the Archbishop of Glas-

<sup>1</sup> It would be very wrong to employ language so condemnatory of a large body of clergy unless the evidence was specially clear. One of the leading authorities is Bishop Burnet. In his 'History of his Own Time' (i. 260), he says: "They were generally very mean and despicable in all respects, the worst preachers I ever heard, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy in Scotland, of which few of the bishops seemed to have any sense."



gow. Dalziel had served as a soldier of fortune in Russia, and it was he who introduced the Russian barbarity of the thumb-screw into Scotland. Claverhouse was a man of a much higher type than Dalziel, who joined refinement and a certain kind of chivalry to ability and diligence, but who reserved his good qualities for those who stood on one side of the line that separated Presbytery from Episcopacy. Measured by unsophisticated popular feeling, the number of executions, and the cold-bloodedness of the circumstances, Claverhouse was the most hateful of the three tools of tyranny.

In January 1664 the king erected a Court of High Commission to deal with ecclesiastical affairs; but it proved so violent and provocative, even in the estimate of Charles, that he suppressed it in a year.

**Affairs of Dalry and Rullion Green, 1665.**—On 12th November 1665, at Dalry in Galloway, a few men overpowered some soldiers, marched to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir J. Turner, then marched with increasing numbers to Lanark, Bathgate, Colinton, Pentland, and Rullion Green, where, 28th November, an engagement took place, the king's troops being led by Sir T. Dalziel. The insurgents, a mere mob of 900, were easily defeated and dispersed with forty-five slain and a hundred captured.

**Torture of Neilson and M'Kail.**—John Neilson, Laird of Corsack, and Hugh M'Kail, preachers, were put to the torture of the "boot," in presence of Lord Rothes, successor of the drunken Middleton. The execution of Neilson and M'Kail was a special barbarity, allowed to go on by the Archbishop of Glasgow even after a letter received from Charles directing the severities to cease for the present. The captives were hanged in groups of ten and seven and sixteen.

**The Assertory Act, 1669: the King's absolute Supremacy.**—On 10th November 1669 was passed the Assertory Act, declaring the king inherently supreme over all persons and in all causes, the aim of the Act being to shorten the road of Covenanters to execution. The severities of special legislation,

however, only had the effect of making field-meetings more frequent, bolder, and larger.

**Conventicle Act, and Compulsory Church-attendance.—**

This was resented by a fresh Act in July 1670 against conventicles, whereby any man might be forced to reveal about them on oath, and every preacher at them was to be punished with death and confiscation. Another Act construed into crime every baptism performed by an outed minister.

Still another Act made criminal simple absence from church (*i.e.*, from the Episcopal service) on three successive Sundays. These Acts were enforced in part by means of fines; and the spoliation that went on may be judged from the single specimen of the small county of Renfrew, where in a few years fines amounted to £368,000 Scots—a sum then so ruinous and impossible that the Government, with all its ferocity and rapacity, was forced to compound.

**Letters of Intercommuning, 1675.**—In 1675 letters of intercommuning (*i.e.*, of civil excommunication) were issued against about 100 persons, whose fault lay in their Presbyterianism when the king had ordered all to be Episcopalian. This intensely personal form of vindictiveness recalls heathen Rome in the proscriptions under Marius and Sulla. Christian men on whose heads a price was thus put, and whose lives were in daily peril from informers, could hardly fail to become reckless. Moreover, men in office who were themselves only legalised murderers and assassins, were hardly entitled to expect consideration from a populace whom they had made desperate.

**Case of Mitchell: Perjury of his Judges.**—A glimpse of the depraved character of the highest councillors of the kingdom is seen in the case of Mitchell, a small Edinburgh shop-keeper, who had fired a pistol at Archbishop Sharpe when entering his carriage. On mere suspicion, Mitchell was arrested, tried, and tortured. There was no proof but his own confession. A solemn promise of indemnity was made to the man, yet he was tried over again through the urgency of the Arch-

bishop, and condemned and executed—the four judges (Lauderdale, Rothes, Hatton, and Sharpe) all joining in an express and public act of perjury in order to clear the way to the scaffold. They denied on oath a promise which stands to this day in the Records of the Scottish Privy Council.

**Ravages of the Highland Host, 1678.**—In 1678 the west of Scotland had 10,000 soldiers let loose on it, of whom 6000 were Highlanders. Their work was intended to be one of desolation, and was so pitiably sweeping that the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Athole and Perth went to London at the risk of their lives to remonstrate with the king. They succeeded, and the Highland Host was recalled.

**Murder of Archbishop Sharpe.**—On 3d May 1679, a small party of outlawed Covenanters committed a great crime and blunder in assassinating Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor. They did unspeakable damage to their cause, by confounding base murder with noble resistance to tyranny. Above all, they raised sympathy with the murdered archbishop, who, had he been allowed to die in natural course, would have come down to posterity as one of the most mercenary, cruel, perjured, and unpatriotic of Scotsmen.

It is vain to attempt even a partial clearance of Sharpe to the extent of supposing that his decision to abandon Presbyterianism was only made *subsequent* to 1661, after it had been overthrown by Parliament. All that is worst about him is still untouched. He can never cease to be known by his contemporary name of “Judas,” and to be associated with the words and estimate of Robert Douglas, who was in company with him in most of the negotiations which ended in the archbishopric, and who was sounded by Sharpe himself on the subject. “James,” said Douglas, “I perceive you are clear—I see you will engage—you will be Archbishop of St Andrews. Take it, then,” laying his hand on Sharpe’s shoulder, “and *the curse of God with it.*”

**Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, 1679.**—On 29th May 1679 (anniversary of the king’s restoration) a declaration

amounting to rebellion was made at Rutherglen by certain of the more desperate of the Presbyterian party, after which they proceeded to Hamilton, and then to Drumclog, while Graham of Claverhouse was marching from Glasgow in pursuit. They met on 1st June, when Claverhouse was worsted, and above thirty of his troopers were left dead on Drumclog Moor. The small scale of this fight was an advantage to the Covenanters, for though [Sir] Robert Hamilton of Preston was leader, he had under him brave and capable men in Hall of Haughhead, Hackston, Balfour, and young Cleland of Douglas. Singing Psalm lxxvi. to the tune "Martyrs," they advanced on the fierce dragoons,—“In Judah's land God is well known.”

The victorious rebels marched to Glasgow, and after a useless skirmish with the military there, returned to Hamilton, being from 4000 to 5000 strong. There they lay till, on 22d June, the Duke of Monmouth (one of the king's natural sons), coming from England with fresh troops, attacked them at Bothwell Bridge and utterly defeated them. The only real fighting was on the bridge itself, which was defended by Hackston with a picked guard of 300, who fought for some time with the butt-ends of their muskets after ammunition failed. It was a sore fight for the Covenanters, as 400 were killed in the flight and 1000 surrendered as prisoners. The place is still shown alongside the Hamilton and Bothwell Road where the prisoners were forced to lie flat on the moor all night. They were then marched to Edinburgh and confined for months in the walled graveyard of Greyfriars', under the open sky, and with guards posted along the walls, ready to shoot down every fugitive. A chief cause of this defeat was an incapable and fanatic commander, Robert Hamilton, who encouraged or permitted on the very field of battle discussions of points of doctrine and policy as between Resolutions and Protesters. The more moderate party knew the friendliness of Monmouth, and but for the obstinacy of the Protesters might on reasonable terms have avoided bloodshed.



The want of common discipline made an orderly retreat impossible and led to the large number of killed and captured.<sup>1</sup>

**The Three Indulgences.**—Fully a month after the battle an Act of Indemnity was passed, but to little purpose. This was the third indulgence of a somewhat similar kind during the long-continued atrocities of Charles. The first was in 1669, after the Rullion Green affair, and the second was in 1672, when about eighty ejected ministers returned on humiliating conditions. These indulgences cannot be interpreted in favour of the good sense or moderation of the king, because the severities immediately preceding and especially following each indicate too surely the same line of policy.

In the language of the period these little pauses of persecution were called the “Blinks” (referring to occasional dry and sunny hours in an otherwise untoward hay harvest). The “blinks” fell between the severities after the Pentland rising and the severities after the murder of the archbishop, which in the same language of the period were called the “Killing time.”

**The Society-men.**—After the date of Bothwell Bridge we trace the rise of the most extreme section of the Covenanters under the various names of Society-men, Cameronians, Hill-men, and Wild Whigs. It was they who, as stormy-petrels, heralded the coming crisis of the great Revolution in 1688. While others contented themselves with murmurs or groans under the tyranny of Charles, the Society-men took the bold and headlong plan of publicly declaring the perjuries and oppressions of Charles to be so shameful that he could no

<sup>1</sup> An ancestor and namesake of the writer, a laird from the parish of Shotts, was among the 300 who fought at the bridge gateway, and it is a family tradition that they were helpless for want of gunpowder, some kegs of raisins being opened instead at the critical moment. Guns being useless, they were pushed by weight of bodies along the bridge, and after being driven ten or fifteen yards, made another stand and wild charge with clubbed guns, and got back half-way to the gate, only, however, afresh to be overborne by the bodily weight of Monmouth's men pushing with the advantage of the brae on the Bothwell side.

longer be counted a sovereign worthy of obedience, and that the throne ought to be held as vacant. One of the earliest of these declarations was an unsigned paper, rejecting the king, seized on 3d June 1680. It was known as the Queensferry declaration, being found on the person of Hall of Haughhead in Teviotdale, who was killed at Queensferry by the governor of Blackness Castle.

**Sanquhar Declaration and Airds Moss, 1680.**—On 22d June of the same year twenty-one men of Hall's stamp made a solemn declaration to the same effect, with drawn swords, at the market-cross of Sanquhar. "We do by these presents disown Charles Stewart, that has been reigning, or rather tyrannising on the throne of Britain these years bygone, as having any right, title to, or interest in the crown of Scotland, for government,—as forfeited several years since, by his perjury and breach of covenant both to God and his Kirk, and by his tyranny, and breach of the very *leges regnandi* (the very essential conditions of government), in matters civil. . . . We do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper, and all the men of his practices. . . . And we hope after this, none will blame us for or offend at our rewarding those that are against us as they have done to us, as the Lord gives opportunity." For this daring anticipation of the Revolution some of them quickly suffered; for on the 23d July sixty-three of the party were surprised at Airds Moss, in the parish of Auchinleck, by the royal dragoons, when the preacher Cameron, from whom they took their name, was killed, and the furious Hackston, who commanded the 300 on Bothwell Bridge, and had been present at the assassination of Sharpe, was captured. Hackston was executed on 30th July 1680.

The barbarity of the Judges and of the Government of the day appears very plainly from a quotation which Wodrow makes from the books of Council, *recorded in preparation on the day before his trial*: "That his body be drawn backwards on a hurdle to the cross of Edinburgh; that there be an high scaffold erected a little above the cross, where, in the first place, his right hand is to be struck off, and after some time his left hand; then he is to be hanged up and

cut down alive, his bowels to be taken out, and his heart shown to the people by the hangman; then his heart and bowels to be burnt in a fire prepared for that purpose on the scaffold; that afterwards his head be cut off and his body divided into four quarters; his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, one of his quarters with both his hands to be affixed at St Andrews, another quarter at Glasgow, a third at Leith, a fourth at Burtisland; that none presume to be in mourning for him, or any coffin brought; that no persons be suffered to be on the scaffold with him, save the two bailies, the executioner and his servants; that he be allowed to pray to God Almighty, but not to speak to the people; that the heads of Cameron and John Fowler be affixed on the Netherbow; that Hackston's and Cameron's heads be affixed on higher poles than the rest."

Even this did not daunt the Society-men; for in October of the same year, at a large open-air meeting at Torwood in Stirlingshire, Donald Cargill (for whose seizure, dead or alive, a reward was offered by the king), after sermon, excommunicated the chief persecutors of Scotland—viz., the king, his brother the Duke of York, the Dukes of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Monmouth, General Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie.

**The Test Act: Eighty Ministers leave their Parishes.**—In 1681 a fresh rigour was laid on the country in the Test Act, requiring every person in public office to swear that he owned the true Protestant religion as explained in the Confession of 1567; that he acknowledged the king to be supreme in all causes, and over all persons, both civil and ecclesiastical; that he would never consult about any matters of State without his Majesty's express licence or command; and never endeavour any alteration in the government of the country. Nearly eighty of the clergy left their parishes rather than thus wound their consciences. The same spiritless Parliament passed a Royal Succession Act, that put the divine right of kings so as to overrule all differences of creed in the heirs to the throne—an Act intended to smooth the way of the Duke of York (a professed Romanist) to succeed his brother. Both of these obnoxious Acts were boldly dealt with by the Cameronians in their own way, being publicly burnt by about fifty of them in the town of Lanark.

The more prominent incidents of this dark period of legalised cruelty and wickedness are the six following :—

The Earl of Argyll (son of the martyr Marquis of 1661) was allowed to take the Test thus, as a Privy Councillor : “ I take it, in as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion ; and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myself, in my station and in a lawful way, to endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the Church or State, not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty.” Yet after this he was tried and found guilty of *high treason* ; but escaping from the Castle of Edinburgh, 20th December 1681, fled to Holland. In 1685 he was executed under the old sentence.

Alexander Hume of Hume in 1682 was executed for attending conventicles, his wife, on her bended knees, when interceding, receiving brutal repulse from the wife of the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth.

Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock in 1684 was imprisoned in the Bass, and deprived of his estate. The very jury was insulted and threatened by Sir George Mackenzie for not finding him guilty, and for showing some satisfaction when a witness shrank from perjuring himself, and the case broke down. Sir Hugh’s case and the next three were supposed to be connected with the Rye-house Plot, but unjustly.

The Rev. William Carstares (afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University) in 1684 was subjected to the torture of the *thumbkins*. When worn out by subsequent confinement, he agreed to make certain disclosures on receiving a promise from Government “ that nothing he said should be brought, directly or indirectly, against any man in trial.” Yet this evidence, by the baseness of the Government, was not only at once published, but used by the Lord Advocate Mackenzie as “ an adminicle of proof ” against Baillie of Jerviswood.

Robert Baillie of Jerviswood (great-grandson of John Knox, and both nephew and son-in-law of Lord Warriston) was executed 24th December 1684. He was apprehended in 1683, and the king and Duke of York were both present at his first



trial before the Privy Council in London. In Edinburgh, at the trial, Sir G. Mackenzie had to confess his baseness thus: "Jerviswood! I own what you say; my thoughts there were as a private man. What I say here is by special direction of the Privy Council." "Well, my lord," said Jerviswood, "if you keep one conscience for yourself and another for the Council, I pray God to forgive you—I do!" When he received sentence of death, his words were: "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp; but I thank my God, who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." Since then there has been in Scotland no more honoured name and line than that of Baillie of Jerviswood.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth was another of the doomed men of the period; but escaping from prison, he secreted himself in the family burial-vault of Polwarth church, till he was able to flee to the Continent, whence he returned at the Revolution, and afterwards earned a noble name as Earl of Marchmont.

Things went on in systematised legal ruin and murder year by year, conducted by Claverhouse in the field, and by "Bloody" Mackenzie in the capital. "It were endless," says a historian, "to chronicle every instance of oppression that occurred. The mind, in fact, turns away with loathing from the recital. Multitudes were ruinously fined; others were sent to the West Indies as slaves; others were hanged. Many, succumbing to these terrors, gave a reluctant attendance at church; others turned their eyes towards America as a place of refuge from their manifold wrongs." At this point the discovery of the Rye-house Plot in England brought new horrors on poor Scottish Presbyterians.

**New Roll of 2000 proscribed Men.**—In May 1684 a new proscription-roll of nearly 2000 names was published, revealing a cruelty in the Government suggestive of absolute madness or demoniacal possession that dealt with Christian men as if they were wild beasts to be exterminated by fire and sword.

Need we wonder that this was replied to by the Society-men

posting several notices at kirk and market that they had resolved to take law into their own hands and avenge their sufferings on their inhuman persecutors? This Apologetic Declaration was resented in turn by the monsters who acted in name of law: and it was in this mutual frenzy of parties that King Charles suddenly died in February 1685.

**James II. succeeds to the Throne, 1685.**—The Duke of York, a professed Romanist, succeeded Charles, under the name of James II. He published an Act of Indemnity; but it was not meant to include those who most needed it, and it was clogged by the condition of an oath of allegiance. Its hollow and superficial character was seen in the fact that the persecutions continued. Some of the most cruel and best known instances belong to this period—*e.g.*, those of John Sempill of Dailly, John Brown of Priesthill, with Margaret Wilson and Widow M'Lauchlan drowned in the Blednock by being tied to stakes within tide-mark.<sup>1</sup> This was the period when Dunnottar Castle was used as a State prison, after the prisons of Edinburgh could hold no more. Two hundred were confined in vaults where they had to take turn of a mouthful of fresh air from a crack in the ground. One hundred of them, after being branded with a hot iron, were shipped to America as slaves, but sixty died on the passage.

**The last of the Martyrs, 1688.**—In April 1686 James began to propose to the servile Scots Parliament a plan for giving certain liberties to both Presbyterians and Papists; but they took alarm at the latter half of the plan, interpreting it as intended to lead to a counter-reformation back to Rome. Next year the king passed the Act without consent of Parliament, and even removed from office the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Galloway and Dunkeld, who had opposed his plan. The moderate Presbyterians made use of this tolera-

<sup>1</sup> An impudent attempt was made by Mr Mark Napier, in his 'Memorials of Dundee' and 'Case for the Crown,' to show that the Wigtown martyrs were a myth, fable, and calumny. But Dr Stewart of Glasserton, in his 'History Vindicated in the Case of the Wigtown Martyrs,' has taught rash Episcopalians a lesson.

tion, and even wrote to the king a letter of gratitude ; but the Cameronian party scorned all favours, and continued defiantly in the field—suffering, however, in the person of their chief preacher, James Renwick, who was captured, and in February 1688 executed, being happily the last of our martyrs.

The memory of these times has been specially preserved for the common people by three books, remarkable more for facts and fervour than for grace of style. The first edition of ‘The Scots Worthies’ by John Howie of Lochgoin—containing seventy-two biographies, from Patrick Hamilton to James Renwick—was in 1775. Of the seventy-two biographies only five belong to the period *preceding* James VI., so that the series is equivalent to a biographical history of the Church during the three Stuart kings who successively troubled our Zion. And the biographical form has some peculiar advantages due to men who counted not their lives dear unto them. ‘Naphtali’ and the ‘Cloud of Witnesses,’ containing the “Last Words and Dying Testimonies” of the Worthies, date from 1668 and 1714.

The main and fullest authority is Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, who, from 1707 to 1721, laboured on his ‘History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution.’

The conclusion of the ‘Scots Worthies’ gives this summary : “During the twenty-eight years of persecution in Scotland, above 18,000, according to calculation, suffered death, or the utmost hardships and extremities. Of these 1700 were shipped to the plantations, besides 750 who were banished to the northern islands, of whom 200 were wilfully murdered. Those who suffered by imprisonment, confinement, and other cruelties of this nature, were computed at or about 3600, including 800 who were outlawed, and 55 who were sentenced to be executed when apprehended. Those killed in several skirmishes or on surprise, and those who died of their wounds on such occasions, were reckoned to be 680. Those who went into voluntary banishment were calculated

at 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood, without process of law, besides 362 who were by form of law executed. The number of those who perished through cold, hunger, and other distresses, contracted in their flight to the mountains, and who sometimes even when on the point of death were murdered by the bloody soldiers, cannot well be calculated, but will certainly make up the number above specified.

“Yet, like the Lord’s Church and people of old while in Egypt, the more they were oppressed the more they grew, the blood of the martyrs being always the seed of the Church. Yea, to the honour of truth and the praise of that God whom they served, they were so far from being spent, wasted, or eradicated, that at the Revolution they could raise a regiment in one day, without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the Church of Scotland, *Nec tamen consumebatur*, being verified now as evidently as ever.”

**Landing of William of Orange at Torbay.**—The same policy of tolerating Popery in England as well as Scotland alienated the English Church from the king, and led many to think of deposition. This party entered into correspondence with William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married Mary, eldest daughter of James, and who was a staunch Protestant. Misgovernment had gone so far, and distrust and hatred of James were so wide and deep, that William had only to show himself to be welcomed. He landed his troops at Torbay on the 5th of November 1688; and in a few weeks the Romanising tyrant and plotter was a fugitive suffering for his own sins and the sins of his brother and his dynasty.

Wonderful for suddenness and completeness was the change that came with the Revolution of 1688. The doctrine of divine right of kings, that had been so disastrous in results to Scotland since the days of James VI., was now cast to the winds. The principles both of Church and State contended for by the persecuted Presbyterians were absolutely the basis of the new system, so far as Scotland was concerned. The



apparently wildest doctrine of the Cameronians as to forfeiture of the crown by both Charles and James for unfaithfulness, was practically ratified by the Parliaments of both nations, and is the basis of the British Constitution to this day.

**Claim of Right of Scots Parliament.**—William and Mary entered on the new system of royalty only after swearing to a Claim of Right, drawn up on behalf of the Scots Parliament and nation. One of William's noblest acts was his interposing to check our Parliament in the day of national triumph from going on to retaliate on the defeated Episcopalians or Romanists. He was the true founder of our modern principle of toleration, one of the best developments of modern Christendom—a development that is still unwelcome to the meaner sort of Christians. The sentiments of William were these: “We never could be of that mind, that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party.”

**“Rabbling” of Episcopal Clergy.**—Though persecution was ended, it took some time before matters in Scotland could be settled in legal form. Meanwhile the people righted for themselves in a few days the wrongs of a terrible generation. William of Orange had landed at Torbay only on 5th November; and on Christmas-day the oppressed peasantry, especially the more violent but also ill-used Cameronian section of the west of Scotland, began a system of local mobs, called “rabbling,” whereby they got rid of above 200 of those subservient and alien Episcopal clergymen who had in so many cases brought fines, exile, and death on their own parishioners by playing the base part of spies and informers to the tyrant's dragoons. But there is another side to this picture no less true, for these curates and their distressed families for many years subsequently received very frequent help from Presbyterian ministers and Presbyterian Church courts.

**Episcopacy abolished, 1689.**—In July 1689 Episcopacy was formally abolished by Parliament, and in April 1690 Presby-

tery was similarly established, reviving the Act of 1592 and appointing a General Assembly to meet. On 16th October 1690 an Assembly, consisting of 180 members, met, being the first for forty years.

Hallam, the English historian, although so dispassionate a writer, says: "There was as clear a case of forfeiture in the Scots Episcopal Church as in the royal family of Stuart. . . . It was very possible that Episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the Gospel had been preached in wildernesses, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had died by the executioner and by massacre and imprisonment, and in exile and slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the sea-shore till the tide rose to overflow them, and some had been tortured and mutilated: it was a religion of the boots and the thumb-screw, which a good man must be very cool-blooded indeed, if he did not hate and reject from the hands that offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that He has set up bishops to have a superiority over presbyters."

By anticipation it may be stated that Presbytery was included in the Articles of the Union of the kingdoms in 1707.

The nation having thus at last got its own will, and being left without serious arbitrary interference, those struggles that had been so frequent and disastrous, from the first forced Episcopacy in the regency of Morton to the last forced Episcopacy under Charles and James, ceased. The violent introduction, time after time, of Episcopacy against the clear and strong wish of the Scottish nation, has only tended to make our system of Presbytery more sharply defined, and to prejudice us unduly, perhaps, against Episcopacy in its better and milder side, as represented by men like Leighton, Ussher, and Burnet. The Presbytery of 1688 was narrowed by controversy and persecution, as compared with the Presbytery of 1596, of

which Principal Lee says: "Till the year 1596 the prosperity and influence of the Church continued undiminished. To this period all true Presbyterians look back as the era of the greatest purity which this National Church attained."

**Literary and Social Position of the Covenanters vindicated.**—We are indebted to Principal Lee (Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. XXIII.) for one of the best vindications we possess of the *literary* character of the Covenanters—a vindication in which he has been followed by Lord Moncreiff in his Lecture on "Church and State from the Reformation," page 104. Two such witnesses may be set over against the depreciation of Sir Walter Scott in 'Old Mortality,' and of Dr Hill Burton in his 'History of Scotland,' generally so excellent, but with an evident Episcopalian bias in many places. Principal Lee says: "No tolerable account of the Scottish Covenanters has ever been published in an extended form, and our National Church ought to feel deeply indebted to any writer of ability who shall supply this vast desideratum in her history. With scarcely an exception the Covenanters had been trained to the habit of disputation from their tenderest years; and at every stage of their lives they were familiar with scenes of contention. After having completed the usual academical course, many of the ablest of their number acted as regents in colleges; and in this capacity they could scarcely fail to acquire a turn for wrangling, and to gain a facility of utterance by the practice of teaching the Aristotelian logic and presiding in the daily examination of the students. Thus Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, James Wood, David Forrest, Hugh Binning, James Guthrie, Robert M'Ward, and several others (of whom the small wits of the succeeding age were accustomed to speak so scornfully), had, at a very early age, signalled themselves as professors of philosophy and the liberal arts, and had been universally acknowledged to be men of no ordinary talents and acquirements. . . . A distinction ought indeed to be made between the earlier Covenanters whose education had been completed before the

constitution of their Church was overturned, and those who did not enter on their vocation till the time of trouble overtook them. But even of those who grew up under the shade of persecution, and whose minds were nurtured amidst alarms and strifes and perils, which rendered it impossible for them to pursue a regular train of study, it has been affirmed that they were men of no mean endowments, and that though their stock of learning was but scanty, they acquired an uncommon degree of shrewdness in the discernment of character and in tracing the connection of events (whence arose the popular belief of their prophetic gifts), while at the same time they became masters of a powerful and impassioned eloquence, to which, though it violated many of the established canons of criticism, it was not possible to listen without being deeply moved."

Lord Moncreiff works out the same idea in another direction: "The Covenanters have generally been looked upon as a somewhat uneducated, rude, fanatical body of the lower orders, and people seem to contrast them with the better birth and better manners of the Royalists. I believe there is in all this a very great delusion. It is true that, in the latter part of this period of twenty years, most of the higher families had ostensibly, if not sincerely, conformed to the tyrannical Government which they could not resist. But the inception of the Covenanters embraced the largest portion of the upper ranks and the whole body of the people. Whatever of birth, of culture, of manners, and of learning or intellectual power Scotland could boast, was at that time unquestionably to be found in the ranks of the Covenanters. The following list of the Scottish peers who were, as ruling elders, included among the members of the Commission of the General Assembly in 1647, corroborates my statement: Archibald, Marquis of Argyll; John, Earl of Crawford; Alexander, Earl of Eglington; William, Earl of Glencairne; John, Earl of Cassilis; James, Earl of Home; James, Earl of Tullibardine; Francis, Earl of Buccleugh; John, Earl of Lauderdale; William, Earl



of Lothian; James, Earl of Finlatour; William, Earl of Lanark; James, Earl of Callendar; Archibald, Lord Angus; George, Lord Birchen; John, Lord Yester; John, Lord Balmerino; James, Lord Cowper; John, Lord Bargany. . . . The subservient spirit which the Restoration produced—the reaction against Puritanism, and indeed against any earnest profession of personal or evangelical religion—has not been without its effect in leading historians of all parties to under-rate and undervalue these men.”

**Vindication of Presbyterian Majority.**—To these vindications another may be added relative to the proportion of Presbyterians in Scotland to Episcopalians at the date of the Revolution. Persistent attempts are being made to obscure and pervert the plainest facts of our history:—

“It was indeed asserted by writers of that generation, and has been repeated by writers of our own generation, that the Presbyterians were not before the Revolution the majority of the people of Scotland. But in this assertion there is an obvious fallacy. The effective strength of sects is not to be ascertained merely by counting heads. . . . If, under the kings of the house of Stuart, when a Presbyterian was excluded from political power and from the learned professions, was daily annoyed by informers, by tyrannical magistrates, by licentious dragoons, and was in danger of being hanged if he heard a sermon in the open air, the population of Scotland was not very unequally divided between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the rational inference is that more than nineteen-twentieths of those Scotchmen whose conscience was interested in the matter were Presbyterian, and that not one Scotchman in twenty was decidedly and on conviction an Episcopalian.”—Macaulay, *History*, ch. xiii.

## CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT TO THE END OF  
THE REIGN OF MODERATISM, 1668-1805.

IN the new epoch that starts from the Revolution Settlement the most prominent ecclesiastical figure is that of William Carstares, minister of Greyfriars', and Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Four times within eleven years he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly. His sagacity and practical piety, together with his intimate confidential terms with King William, were of immense value in helping the Church to recover itself after the ordeal of persecution, and to organise itself for the great work of peace now at last entered on.

WILLIAM CARSTARES, born at Cathcart, February 11, 1649; educated at Ormiston and University of Edinburgh. (His father was John Carstares, minister of Glasgow Cathedral at the Restoration, and one of the 300 outed ministers in 1662.) At twenty-four he went to Utrecht for theology, where his talents commended him to the Prince of Orange, who made him confidential adviser for matters in Britain. When on business in England in 1682, relative to the Rye-house Plot, he was arrested and tortured by thumb-screw to confess. His firmness was of national use in keeping the secrets of the Prince. Returning to Holland in 1685, he gave advice to the Prince preparatory to the invasion of 1688, when he accompanied him as chaplain, and after the settlement of the crown established friendly terms between the king and the Presbyterians. From this to 1702, when the king died, his influence in Church matters was such that he was commonly called "Cardinal Carstares." Being freed from Court duties in 1702, he became Principal of Edinburgh University in May 1703, and also minister of Greyfriars'. He was Moderator of the Assembly in 1705,

1708, 1711, 1715, and was the first to open and close as Moderator by a regularly composed address. In 1711 he was one of a deputation of three to remonstrate (but in vain) against the malevolent Patronage Bill. He was a man of high scholarship, piety, private charity, and political sagacity; and aimed at strengthening the ties of the Church to Continental Presbyterianism, and favoured study at foreign universities as part of our system of education. "I have known him long," said King William, "I have known him thoroughly, and I know him to be a truly honest man." He died in August 1715, three months after his fourth Moderatorship. At his funeral two men were observed to turn aside together, quite overcome by their grief. Upon inquiry, it was found that they were two non-jurant ministers whose families for a considerable time had been supported by the benefactions of him they were laying in the grave. Hill Burton (end of chap. lxxx.) says of him: "All who desired Court influence—and they formed a humiliatingly large proportion of the Scots Estates—paid court to Carstares. Yet he kept his simplicity of character, as one who had no aspirations after the feudal dignity of the Scots aristocracies, and was still further off from such treachery to his Presbyterian predilections as made James Sharpe sell the cause intrusted to his keeping for an archbishopric."

At the revival of Presbytery that followed the Revolution of 1688 two or three things deserve attention.

One is the silent and prudent passing over of the Covenants. The object of this was to avoid resuscitating the old feud of Resolutioner and Protester. What was so wisely suppressed then, broke out in 1733 with the Erskine secession, and has reappeared in every secession since—viz., a grumbling, self-righteous, lawless spirit that insists on fighting out each difference to the bitter end, and magnifies some bit of hair-splitting until it is supposed to involve the whole Gospel and Church. This seed of schism is not Presbyterian at all, but Puritanic and English, although in Scotland it has had so blighting a development.

Another noteworthy occurrence of the period was the Act of Parliament of 1690, whereby about sixty survivors of the 350 ministers who abandoned their livings in 1661 and 1662 when Prelacy was enforced, were restored to their benefices. This body, banteringly called the sixty bishops, formed the nucleus of the restored Church of Scotland.

The same Parliament on 26th May adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith with this preamble, "The Confession of

Faith underwritten was this day produced, read and considered, word by word, in presence of their Majesties' High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament; and being voted and approven, was ordered to be recorded in the books of Parliament."

Further, before the first General Assembly of 1690, an Act was passed abolishing the powers previously given to the hierarchy, but at the end of it was an important little clause repealing "all Acts enjoining civil pains upon sentences of excommunication." This clause (at first scarcely noticed) had the happy result of in future keeping Church sentences apart from civil concomitants and aggravations as to forfeiture of property. A shocking feature of Knox's Liturgy had been the prominence given to a form of excommunication, which all parties seemed to use with gusto in their day of power.

There are few things in the first half of the eighteenth century that call for detailed narrative; but this comparative poverty of interest covers much diligent labour of consolidation and regular discharge of sacred duties throughout the parishes of Scotland.

**Early Assemblies after the Revolution.**—The first Assembly sat from 16th October to 13th November 1690, with Lord Carmichael for High Commissioner, and Mr Hugh Kennedy of Edinburgh for Moderator. A beautiful piece of simple but solemn routine was observed at the opening, when old Mr Gabriel Cunningham, who had been Moderator of the last Assembly forty years ago (just as if a single year had elapsed) presided till his successor was appointed. It was a happy augury of continuity. The chief work of the Assembly consisted in the admission of three Cameronian ministers, appointing a national fast, regulations for public administration of baptism, and celebration of the Lord's Supper and of marriage, supply of Gaelic Bibles and Catechisms to the Highlands, cancelling records of old strife of the Revolutioners and Protesters, and (most important of all) appointment of two Commissions for north and south of Tay to purge the ministry of unfit



persons, and see that all retained should sign the Confession of Faith and a submission to Presbyterian rule.

These Commissioners turned out over-zealous, ejecting some ministers who might prudently have been continued, although not of a very high type, and refusing to meet half-way many of the better Episcopal ministers, whose accession to the Church would have been a gain, and only fair to the men themselves. This undue strictness irritated the king, whose wish was an amalgamation of Presbyterian and Episcopal clergy in a tolerant and liberal form of Presbyterianism. William's displeasure was shown in postponing the next Assembly to 15th January 1692. Only five members appeared from presbyteries north of Dundee. After sitting till 13th February the Lord High Commissioner (Earl of Lothian) dissolved it without naming a day for another. But the Moderator boldly named the third Wednesday, August 1692.<sup>3</sup>

The Scots Parliament, April 1693, tightened the previous Oath of Allegiance into an Oath of Assurance declaring William king—*de jure* as well as *de facto*—and to be taken by all persons holding office, including clergy, Episcopal and Presbyterian. This was aimed to test the former, but unexpectedly the latter were dissatisfied most, not from hesitation as to loyalty, but thinking that the oath interfered with the independence of the Church by Government fixing conditions of sitting as members of Assembly. They applied to the Privy Council for relief from this oath, but their petition was refused, and the Lord High Commissioner (Lord Carmichael) had instructions if the oath were refused to dissolve the Assembly.

Arrived in Edinburgh, Lord Carmichael found the ministers determined against the oath, and seeing the danger sent for fresh instructions. The previous instructions were renewed, making the Oath of Assurance imperative. This was done in absence of Carstares, who, immediately on hearing of it, stopped the messenger, and at risk of his life prevailed on the king, at midnight and in bed, to dispense with the oath.

So close was the crisis that the messenger with the new instructions reached Edinburgh only on the morning of the day of opening the Assembly, 29th March 1694.<sup>1</sup> The meeting was full of joy and gratitude. And no more collision ever occurred between Church and king as to calling Assemblies—the custom being for Commissioner and Moderator to confer beforehand on a day for next Assembly, which each announces separately, leaving the question of the exact right of each still open. The chief work of this Assembly of joy and peace was (1) the appointment of a commission to receive into the Church Episcopal ministers, qualified according to recent Act of Parliament; (2) to ordain Lowland synods to furnish relays of sixteen ministers to labour in the north, each for three months, till next Assembly; (3) to fix *proportion* of ministers who should be sent as commissioners from presbyteries to the Assembly (a proportion still adhered to).

To Assembly of 1697 we owe the Barrier Act, still useful as a check on rash legislation by requiring new proposals in overtures to be sent down to presbyteries for consideration before embodiment in Acts.

In 1703-4 the Assembly began a great home mission work in taking up the religious condition of the Highlands and Islands. The result was that in 1707 was set up the "Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge" (*brevitatis causâ*, S.P.C.K.), established in 1709 by Queen's letters patent, and in 1719 able to maintain forty-two schools. In 1725 George I. signified his intention to help the Society by giving £1000 annually for preachers and catechists. This royal bounty, increased by George IV. to £2000, has been continued by each of his successors, and (like the more recent schemes of the Church) forms part of the business of each General Assembly.

**Restoration of Patronage, 1712.**—In 1712 occurred an event that has ever since strongly influenced the history of

<sup>1</sup> This date was the result of compromise. First a meeting was fixed for 6th December 1693, but in the absence of the king on the Continent, adjourned to 29th March 1694.

the Church—the sudden restoration of patronage, done without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Church,—done for the express end of damaging the Church and promoting Jacobitism. These are facts beyond dispute.

Lord Macaulay gives the following account of the circumstances in which this Act was passed: “In 1712 the Whigs, who were the chief authors of the Union, had been driven from power. The prosecution of Sacheverell had made them odious to the nation. The general election of 1710 had gone against them. Tory statesmen were in office. Tory squires formed more than five-sixths of this House. The party which was uppermost thought that England had in 1707 made a bad bargain,—a bargain so bad that it could hardly be considered as binding. The guarantee so solemnly given to the Church of Scotland was a subject of loud and bitter complaint. The Ministers hated that Church much; and their chief supporters, the country gentlemen and country clergymen of England, hated it still more. Numerous petty insults were offered to the opinions, or, if you please, the prejudices, of the Presbyterians. At length it was determined to go further, and to restore to the old patrons those rights which had been taken away in 1690. A bill was brought into this House, the history of which you may trace in our journals. Some of the entries are very significant. In spite of all remonstrances the Tory majority would not hear of delay. The Whig minority struggled hard, appealed to the Act of Union and the Act of Security, and insisted on having both those Acts read at the table. The bill passed this House, however, before the people of Scotland knew that it had been brought in. For there were then neither reporters nor railroads; and intelligence from Westminster was longer in travelling to Cambridge than it now is in travelling to Aberdeen. The bill was in the House of Lords before the Church of Scotland could make her voice heard. Then came a petition from a committee appointed by the General Assembly to watch over the interests of religion while the General Assembly itself was not sitting.

The first name attached to that petition is the name of Principal Carstares, a man who had stood high in the esteem and favour of William the Third, and who had borne a chief part in establishing the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Carstares and his colleagues appealed to the Act of Union, and implored the Peers not to violate that Act. But party spirit ran high; public faith was disregarded: patronage was restored. To that breach of the Treaty of Union are to be directly ascribed all the schisms that have since rent the Church of Scotland."—Speech in the House of Commons, 9th July 1845.

**Foundation of distorted Histories.**—For forty years the General Assembly year by year protested against the Act, and tried to procure its repeal. Yet this Act has been made the foundation of numberless reproaches against the Church by Dissenters, just as the repeal of the Act in 1874 has been made the occasion of new slanders and assaults. Several volumes pretending to be histories of the Church of Scotland have been written, in which the whole history of the eighteenth century is distorted and envenomed and garbled for the purposes of ecclesiastical partisanship. Of this sort are Hetherington's 'History of the Church of Scotland,' written in the interests of the Free Church; 'The Scottish Kirk,' written from the United Presbyterian point of view, in the interests of the Liberation Society; and 'The Story of the Scottish Church,' by Dr Thomas M'Crie, 1875, an anecdotal narrative, with marvellous accommodations to Free Church convenience. ✓

**"Marrow" Controversy—the Simson Case.**—Besides the Patronage Act of 1712, the only other things specially worthy of mention are the "Marrow" controversy, from 1718 to 1722; and the "Simson" controversy, 1728-29.

The Marrow controversy arose from the reprint in 1717 of a book originally published in 1646 by Edward Fisher, M.A., of Oxford, entitled 'Marrow of Modern Divinity.' The book was ultimately condemned by the Assembly as unsound, to the dissatisfaction of a party called the "Marrow-men."



The subject of the other controversy was Mr John Simson, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, who was "processed" for Arminianism in 1714 by the Rev. James Webster of Edinburgh. He escaped gently after three years' prosecution. But a fresh assault was made in 1728, which had a like easy issue, to the great anger of his enemies. The escape of Simson is largely what is alluded to in charges of want of discipline in the Church at this period.

**First Secession, 1733.**—The first Secession from the Church of Scotland took place in 1733. It originated in a sermon before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, in which Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, had felt it his duty to denounce certain usages or abuses in the Church. He was censured by the Synod, and appealed to the Assembly, which agreed with the Synod. He and three others refused to appear before the Commission of Assembly as required. The four were pronounced to be "no longer ministers of the Church." There was much sympathy in the Assembly, notwithstanding the glaring disobedience, and it was not till seven years of patience on the part of the Church that they were finally deposed. This measure of sympathy and patience has been studiously concealed or misrepresented by Seceders.

**The Seceders fast and pray against Whitfield.**—While the two Erskines, Ralph and Ebenezer, were really honest, devout men, their religious status has been vastly overrated by their friends. When Whitfield came to Scotland, they had the narrowness to desire that he should preach only in connection with them, and sign the Solemn League and Covenant. The latter he had never heard of, and the former he refused; whereupon the Seceders and Cameronians appointed the 4th of August 1741 throughout their body as a day of fasting and humiliation for the countenance given to him, and this in full view of the famous revival scenes at Cambuslang and Kilsyth in connection with his preaching along with the ministers of the Church of Scotland.

The history of the second half of the eighteenth century

resolves itself very much into a history of the struggle between two parties in the Church known respectively as Moderate and Popular.

**Moderates and Populars.**—The name Moderate was rather happily chosen to epitomise the general principles of the party to which it was applied. They were men of a calm and politic disposition, not ready to be carried away by fancies or declamation, or extreme views. Their weakness as well as their strength lay in this very temperateness and reasonableness, for they always tended toward coldness as well as calmness, and from first to last showed a want of enthusiasm.

The Popular party, again, had a no less appropriate name,—not so much that they had the people actually with them, as that rather they sought to have them, and shaped their policy accordingly. Here, then, the strength lay in numbers in one direction, and in narrowness in another.

The two parties represent two phases of human nature, to be found struggling more or less in all Churches and States, in all literature, and partly even in art. The two parties were the continuation of the Resolutioners and Protesters (or Remonstrants) who arose in the Church in 1651. They are also the precursors of the two parties that, after fighting furiously for ten years, separated in 1843.

**Subject of Contention: Call and Presentation.**—The great subject of contention between Moderates and Populars was the question, What is the primary and essential element in the original tie that joins pastor and parishioners?—ought it to come from a *call* by the people, or may it come from a patron issuing a *presentation*?

In the Popular view of the case, the word *call* will predominate; in the Moderate view, the word *patronage* or *presentation*. There are sound arguments and principles on both sides, and it is utterly foolish for either to claim the support of Scripture. It is a matter outside of Scripture almost entirely. History and fitness, and law and usage, are the real guides to be followed in seeking to answer the question. As regards

Scotland itself, it is only fair to acknowledge that the view of the Popular party is that which is more amply justified by the facts and course of our National Church history.

**History of Call and Presentation.**—What can be said in favour of the *call* theory is shortly this : It has the sanction of both the First and Second Books of Discipline, but with the important difference, that the *call* in these cases was much narrower than the call contended for in the last and present centuries. The original idea of call did not extend to all members of the Church in a parish, nor even to all heads of families, but only to the chief men of the community—*e.g.*, heritors, elders, magistrates. Others came in only secondarily. “Judgment” is applied to the chief men ; but only “consent” is applied to the congregation. At the Revolution Settlement there was no patronage, and so the call had the whole field to itself ; but practically it was the leading men of the parish who represented the whole. In 1712 patronage was restored ; we may add, precipitately and fraudulently, and with hostile intention to the Church—certainly also greatly against the wish of the Church. From 1712 to 1730 patrons did not venture to exercise their legal right where any congregational displeasure existed—*i.e.*, the call was still supreme as custom, even after presentations were legal.

The next twenty years, 1730-1750, were intermediate, part of both, sometimes call predominating, sometimes presentation. This latter date marks the separation between the first stage of moderatism under Dr Cuming, and the more rigid form under Dr Robertson, the manifesto of whose party and system is given at length in Morrens’s ‘Annals of Assembly,’ i. 231. The last “Riding Commission” was in 1751.

**Reason of Moderates’ preference of Presentation.**—Then comes a period of half a century, which, roundly speaking, forms the reign of Moderatism, during which it went very hard with the call, and during which, correspondingly, the force of a presentation increased. All this time the call was systematically lowered in position. It is only fair to observe,

however, that the call was not repressed by the Moderates from any dislike to the thing in itself, but only because they saw that it could not go on competing with the presentation. One of the two must go to the wall, and the Moderates made choice to stand by the presentation, mainly because it had the law on its side. To all appearance they would have been sincerely glad to have been able to leave to the call the ancient and honourable place that it had held nearly since the Reformation. This feeling seems to find expression in that instruction which was given to the Commission of Assembly annually from 1712 to 1781, "to make due application to the king and Parliament for redress of the grievance of patronage in case a favourable opportunity for doing so shall occur during the subsistence of this commission." This instruction was withdrawn only when the Moderates had gone so far in repressing the call that it came to be inconsistent in part with their long and successful efforts to vindicate the legality of presentations.

Happily at last this sore subject has been set at rest by the abolition of patronage in the Act of 1874; so that what may be regarded as the tradition of our Church in favour of the call is finally confirmed and triumphant.

There is no more melancholy catalogue in the history of our Church than that of the names and dates of the disputed settlements of this half-century, when parish after parish was weakened and embittered by the successive victories of the Moderate party—the mischief being done by their persistent policy, hoping to suppress what they deemed fanatical resistance: Lanark 1749, Inverkeithing 1752, Nigg 1756, Jedburgh 1756, Shotts 1762, St Ninian's 1766, Eaglesham 1767, Biggar 1780, Fenwick 1780. Yet these disputes, extending over thirty years, bear, after all, a small proportion to a Church of 924 parishes, of which probably almost the whole would be vacant at some time during that generation. It was a sad anticipation of the heartburnings felt in our own generation from the disputes under Lord Aberdeen's Act, although these also



were really few in number compared with the multitude of peaceful settlements.

**Leaders of the Two Parties.**—As regards the leadership of the Moderate party, Robertson's first appearance in the General Assembly was in 1751, while his voluntary withdrawal from it was in 1780. Robertson was preceded by Dr Cuming, and was followed by Dr George Hill, Principal of St Andrews. The Popular party was led by Dr Dick, Dr M'Queen, Dr Erskine, Freebairn of Dumbarton, and Stevenson of St Madoes.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, born in the manse of Borthwick, 1721, was educated at Dalkeith, then at Edinburgh, where he entered College at twelve. Licensed in 1741, he was settled at Gladsmuir in 1743. Acted as a volunteer in the '45. Being a member of Assembly 1751, he seconded the motion made by John Home (Athelstaneford) in the Torphichen Case. In 1758 he defended Carlyle of Inveresk, in relation to Home's 'Douglas.' Same year he became minister of Old Greyfriars'. The publication of his three great histories—of Scotland, Charles V., and America—was 1759, 1769, 1777. He was made Chaplain of Stirling Castle, one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, 1761; Principal of the University, 1762; and in 1764, King's Historiographer with £200 a-year. In 1780 he retired from leadership of the Assembly, after twenty years of service. He survived till 11th June 1793, living in a country house in the Grange. In 1779 he pleaded for relaxation of the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, but was so far in advance of his age that he incurred great odium, and had his house attacked by a mob.

**Literature of the Church.**—The Church of Scotland never stood higher in literature than in its half-century of the reign of Moderatism, partly because of the intellectual and essentially thoughtful and polished character of the system. Aberdeen had Reid, Campbell, Beattie, and Gerard. The South had Robertson, Home, Carlyle, Blair, Logan, Watson, Ferguson, Henry.

Dr Robert Wallace was author of a 'Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times,' which anticipated Hume and Malthus on the same subject. Robert Watson wrote the 'History of Philip II.' Adam Ferguson wrote 'History of the Roman Republic,' and three other works of a philosophic character. John Home acquired fame on his

'Douglas.' Hugh Blair is known by his 'Sermons' and 'Lectures on Rhetoric.' Robert Henry writes a 'History of Great Britain;' while William Robertson has three great histories—of Scotland, Charles V., and America. Thomas Reid founded our Scottish philosophy in his 'Inquiry into the Human Mind,' 'Intellectual Powers and Active Powers.' George Campbell met Hume in his 'Treatise on Miracles,' and his 'Elements of Rhetoric' hold a high place even still. George Hill's learned and sound 'Lectures on Divinity' belong to the same period, though published only in 1821. So James Mac-knight, whose 'Apostolical Epistles' appeared in 1795, had already written good though lesser works in theology in 1756 and 1763.

Such a list may not unfairly be extended to embrace others whose reputation is less exclusively literary, but who were men of great power, social and ecclesiastical, in a brilliant age. Alexander Carlyle has his 'Autobiography.' Alexander Webster did a great work in the founding of the Ministers' Widows' Fund in 1742 and onwards. John Witherspoon published his famous 'Ecclesiastical Characteristics' in 1753. Principal Tullideph of St Andrews, who died in 1777, was a man noted for general talents and eloquence. John Erskine of Old Greyfriars', the colleague of Robertson, and correspondent of Bishop Warburton, is one of the noblest men of his time, although now he is most familiar from his place in 'Guy Mannering.' He was born in 1721, and survived to 1803. His writing was abundant and varied, but unfortunately has been crystallised into no marked book.

With curious perversity of misconstruction, a recent writer, straining an argument in favour of evangelical as against moderate, complains that so many Moderates at this brilliant literary epoch laboured on unprofessional themes. That they were men of so wide culture as to embrace historical research and philosophic speculation, in addition to strictly professional attainments and honest although imperfect work in the Church, is the special glory of the men and period.

**The Leslie Case.**—In 1805 began the Leslie controversy, in connection with which the Moderate party lost its long ascendancy, and the Popular party rose to the surface in the General Assembly. The Edinburgh Chair of Mathematics was vacant, and the candidature for it lay mainly between Mr (afterwards Sir) John Leslie and Mr Macknight, one of the Edinburgh ministers, son of the learned commentator on S. Paul's Epistles. Leslie was a layman, and undoubtedly the best qualified candidate. Macknight, on the other hand, was a good man of the usual kind, for such chairs were then ordinarily held by clergymen, and he had accordingly the support of his friends and party. The Town Council were patrons, and appointed Leslie. Upon this the disappointed Macknight party brought a charge of heresy as to causation against Leslie, whose case was taken up eagerly by the Populars. Here the Moderates were altogether in a false position: they were acting in mortification, revenge, and bigotry; while the Populars, by a sort of happy accident, were on the side of science and toleration. The debate in the Assembly lasted for two days, and ended in a vote of ninety-six against eighty-four, the Moderates being in a minority of twelve. They never recovered the defeat of 1806.

**True Method of estimating the Moderate Party.**—It is impossible to deal justly with this half-century of the history of the Church of Scotland unless we abstain from measuring it by nineteenth-century ideas. Nothing is more easy than to heap abuse on the Moderate party when we criticise it from the present position of Churches. Many things in their social habits, for example, are very inferior to what is now accepted as right. Moreover, not in Scotland only, but in other countries, the period in question was characterised by much spiritual coldness, doubt, atheism, and profanity. Reformation zeal had abated, and the modern spirit of art, science, speculation, toleration, and missions was not yet. Missions specially were ridiculed as Utopian dreams by the vast majority of otherwise good men. For nearly three quarters of a century now the whole Church of Scotland bitterly repents of the issue of

the debate on missions in Assembly 1796, when favourable overtures from the Synods of Fife and Moray were dismissed by a vote of fifty-eight to forty-four. Surely the Christian zeal of the two Synods, and surely the faithful forty-four in the Assembly, belonged to the Church as really as the cold or Laodicean majority; so that mere party denunciations by evangelicals are rather unjustifiable, especially when we consider the zeal and prominence of noble Moderates like Dr Inglis and Dr Bryce in 1824. The melancholy vote of 1796 ought to be made *common* cause of regret, and not degraded to party ends in modern controversy. But 1796 was not wholly a defeat, for Dr Balfour of Edinburgh and Dr Love of Glasgow headed private missionary societies, the noble precursors of our Assembly organisations. Mere party taunting as to the anti-missionary vote of 1796 becomes more evidently unjust, in view of two contemporary facts. In the very same year the Antiburghers in general Synod passed a resolution against missionary societies; and the Cameronians actually excommunicated a member for listening to a missionary sermon by good Dr Balfour.

\* In the same way, while the closing of the pulpits of parish churches against ministers of other denominations, and the Pastoral Letter of Assembly 1799 against itinerants, are regrettable as a narrowing of our old practice, it must not be forgotten how fiercely the Church was then attacked by the two Haldanes and by Rowland Hill in his 'Journal of a Scottish Tour,' although all three were earnest men doing Christian work. Slandering and mocking evangelists have often themselves to blame for peculiar treatment received from quiet Christians.

In Scotland the Moderates had as their contemporary David Hume. In England there was the party of Deists. So low there was distinctive Christianity, that hundreds of English Dissenting congregations, once orthodox in the extreme, became Unitarian. In France it was the atheistical age of the Encyclopedists, followed by the Revolution.



## CHAPTER VII.

DATES, CAUSES, AND COURSES OF SECESSION IN THE  
PRECEDING PERIOD, AND LATER.

ALREADY allusion has been made to the origin of secession or dissent from the Church of Scotland. Although it is no proper part of the history of the Church to trace this and other secessions minutely in their course, yet a short account of them is absolutely necessary to enable us to understand the present position of ecclesiastical parties in Scotland.

**“The Four Brethren :” Associate Presbytery, 1733.**—While the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in 1560, and the Church was established in its present form in 1690, it was not till 1733 that secession began, and then it consisted only of “the Four Brethren,”—viz., Ebenezer Erskine, Stirling; William Wilson, Perth; Alexander Moncrieff, Abernethy; and James Fisher, Kinclaven. This *Associate* Presbytery first met December 6, 1733, at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross. In 1737 four others joined them, the chief of whom was Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, when “The First Act and Testimony” was issued, in which they gave account of themselves.

**Their Original Principles strong for Church and State.**—It is a remarkable fact, true of each of the various seceding parties, that not one of them at first held what is since called the Voluntary principle, that connection of Church and State is unlawful or dangerous: on the contrary, each of them is

found at first strongly testifying in favour of such connection. In the case of the Associate Presbytery, one of the original four (W. Wilson) thus writes: "We will readily agree that the countenance of civil authority is not necessary to the being of the Church, though it is very profitable and useful to her outward and peaceable being. As also, that the countenance and protection of the civil magistrate, given unto the judicatories of the Church in the faithful discharge of their duty, is a great outward blessing promised unto her in New Testament times—Isaiah xlix. 23, lx. 5-10; Romans xiii. 1-9." The Formula of Ordination used by the body clearly indicates in their own words the reason of their seceding: "Do you consider as still valid those reasons of secession from the judicatories of the Established Church which are stated in the Testimonies emitted by the Secession Church—namely, the sufferance of error without adequate censure, the infringement of the rights of the Christian people in the choice and settlement of their ministers under the law of patronage, the neglect or relaxation of discipline, the restraint of ministerial freedom in opposing maladministration, and the refusal of the prevailing party to be reclaimed? And do you through grace resolve to promote the design of the secession?" Thus purification of the Church, not its destruction, was the original policy of the Seceders. For many years after leaving, they entertained an honest, earnest hope of return, if only these stumbling-blocks were removed.

**Associate Synod, 1742.**—In 1742 met the first Associate *Synod*, having three Presbyteries, with thirty congregations, of which, however, thirteen were without ministers.

**Burgher Schism.**—The facility of schism indicated in their origin and progress became more evident by a rent within themselves in 1747, when they separated into Burghers and Antiburghers, on the lamentably petty matter of the lawfulness of the burgess-oath of allegiance to the king. Still, however, no Voluntaryism. This schism was interdenominationally known under the curt technical name of "The Breach." The

clause of the oath that divided the Seceders was this : “ Here I protest before God and your lordships that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorised by the laws thereof ; I shall abide therein, and defend the same to my life’s end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry.”

Meanwhile another small secession takes place. In 1752 the General Assembly deposed Thomas Gillespie of Carnock for refusing to take part in inducting a minister against the will of the parishioners of Inverkeithing. Gillespie was an amiable and conscientious man, for whom many ministers in the Church had a strong friendship, and great efforts were made in his favour, but unhappily in vain.

**First Relief Presbytery, 1761.**—In 1761 met the first Presbytery of *Relief* at Colinsburgh, in Fife, Gillespie being now joined by Thomas Boston of Oxnam and Thomas Colier from Westmoreland. These three, with three elders, constituted the Presbytery of Relief, the relief being to themselves from the evils of patronage. Here too, as yet, Voluntaryism is sought in vain. Simply abolish patronage, and they, like the first seceders, would gladly return to the Church of their fathers.

**Liberality of their Views of the Lord’s Supper.**—A prominent and pleasing characteristic of the Relief body from the first was the wide and comprehensive terms of their communion. They welcomed to the Lord’s Supper devout men of all denominations who chose to join them for the solemn occasion—Independents, Episcopalians, and others—for which Christian liberality they then suffered much unjust reproach. How different was this from the narrow jealousy and resentment shown by the Erskines and their followers in fasting and praying against Whitfield because he associated with ministers of the Church of Scotland !

The whole subject of the causes, position, and possible remedy for recent dissent from the Church of Scotland, came up for very full and earnest discussion in the General Assem-

bly of 1766, on occasion of the Report being given in of a Committee on the Overture of 1765 as to schism. The recommendations in the Report were—that the Assembly should appoint an inquiry into the facts alleged touching the growth of schism; that it should consider whether no remedy could be found for the abuse of patronage, which was one great cause of the evil; and that it should nominate a committee to correspond with presbyteries and gentlemen of property and influence on the subject. The debate lasted from 10 A.M. till 9 P.M., and the vote was by ninety-five to eighty-five to disapprove the Report. This issue was specially to be deplored, as at that date another line of policy would have easily brought back the *Relief* branch of dissent, which had no wish for separation, as the cases of Simson and Baine, both of Paisley, touchingly showed. A great opportunity for pacification and reasonable concession was lost mainly through the blinding influence of the new development of the party led by Dr Robertson. At the same time it is not fair to forget, in making a general estimate of the whole case, that the minority of eighty-five is relatively a very large one, and that this great minority as truly for its good features belongs to the Church, as the majority for its hardness also belongs to it, to its hurt. Here, again, the usual railing accusation on mere party lines as between Popular and Moderate is misleading, especially when done with the view of making modern capital out of it for use in changed names and relations of Church parties and Church branches.

**First Voluntaryism in “New Light” Burghers.**—Not until 1795, and in the Original Secession body, did the evil spirit of Voluntaryism appear and constitute the “New Light” Burghers—the shape it took being a “Modified Formula.”

One result of this was, that in 1799 these innovators were left by the “Old Light” Burghers, who still held fast by Establishment principles, but kept aloof from the Church of Scotland because of its real or supposed corruptions, as above quoted in their Ordination Formula. Thus this member (the



Burgher Synod) suffered a sort of compound fracture, exhibiting a schism in a schism.

Turning next to the Antiburghers, the other limb of the original body, we find a similar compound fracture in it. The change, beginning in 1796, was consummated in 1804 by the adoption of a certain "Narrative and Testimony." But this failed to secure unanimous approval; and in 1806 those who were not lovers of change appeared as an Old Light Antiburgher Presbytery of at first four members, who called themselves "The Constitutional Associate Presbytery." This body still adhered to the Establishment principle, and had within it no less a name than that of Thomas M'Crie, the biographer of Knox.

**Five small Unions.** — After this prolific development of schisms, diverging ceased and approaches began.

In 1820, after seventy-three years of separation, the Burghers and Antiburghers (especially the "New Lights" of each) coalesced as the United Secession.

In 1839 the Original Burghers' Synod, or "Old Lights," returned to the Church of Scotland.

In 1847 the two prime offshoots from the Church of Scotland—viz., Secession of 1733 and Relief of 1761—amalgamated as the present United Presbyterian Church.

In 1852 the Original Seceders joined the Free Church.

In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterians or Cameronians (the majority of them) joined the Free Church also.

The Secession (more strictly so called) which began in 1733 with four "meeting-houses," had attained to thirty-two in 1747 at the date of the division into Burghers and Antiburghers. In 1766 the number was 120; in 1773 it had risen to 190; and in 1820, at the date of the conjunction of "New Lights," to 262. Again, the Relief Church (the other branch), starting with three "meeting-houses" in 1761, had risen to 115 in 1839.

At the formation of the United Presbyterian Church in 1847 the number of congregations was 518, of which 402

belonged to the Secession share and 116 to the Relief; but omitting congregations in England and Ireland (as we are here dealing with Scotland only), the numbers were respectively 342 and 111—in all, 453. In 1853 it had 446 (several small congregations having been incorporated), in 1863 it had 457, and in 1867 it had 493 (with 103 more in England and Ireland).

The membership of the whole United Presbyterian Church (the 103 in England and Ireland *included*), as reported at Synod 1867, was 174,947, to which it had risen from 163,554 in 1860.

Of this curiously seceding and uniting family of Churches there still remains by itself in Scotland the “Synod of United Original Seceders,” with about twenty-five places of worship. This last body, small as it is, is a living testimony to old unchanged opinions of early Seceders, for it is still firm in its adherence to Establishment principles. The like testimony is faithfully borne by the minority of the Cameronians that refused to join the Free Church.

**Reformed Presbyterians: their History.**—The Reformed Presbyterian Church, to which allusion has been made repeatedly, occupies or occupied a peculiar position. It may be said to be a dissenting Church without being a seceding one. It dissents not only from the Church of Scotland but from the State itself—two of its chief articles of communion being, that it is a sin against God to take an oath of allegiance to the present Government, and that it is a sin also to exercise the elective franchise. The Reformed Presbyterians are descended from the sterner section of the Covenanters immediately preceding the legal establishment of the Church in 1690. Three of their ministers, named Lining, Shields, and Boyd, being all that they then had, joined themselves to the Church of Scotland at the Revolution Settlement; but the people stood out and procured others. There is no denomination, perhaps, in Christendom, whose peculiar opinions were more definite and inflexible than those of the Reformed Presbyterians; yet by

the influence of time and modern thought even they have been modified.

**Change of their Fundamental Principle in 1863.**—In 1863 their Synod practically agreed to abandon the two distinctive principles above mentioned. The change was glossed over “as a mere matter of discipline.” Their own way of putting the matter is: “Synod . . . enacts that, while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the Church shall cease.” Thus what was admittedly visited with the heaviest penalties which their Church could inflict is henceforth to be passed over without notice. Because the Government of Great Britain was not bound by Solemn League and Covenant to the Presbyterian Church and to Jesus Christ its Head, the Reformed Presbyterians from 1690 till 1863 persistently described our civil rule as “immoral and anti-Christian,” and refused to take part in it. Now these strong words are eaten in, and the original *raison d'être* of the denomination is by a deliberate vote laid aside.

**Schism in their Body in 1863.**—The change was resisted by a minority. The majority had forty-four places of worship and about forty ministers; while the minority had eleven places of worship, but only five or six ministers to these. Those who have made this change are disowned by the R. P. Synods of Ireland, America, and Nova Scotia—all of which bodies, previous to 1863, were in communion with the R. P. Church in Scotland. No sooner was this revolution accomplished than it was put to the peculiar use of entering into negotiations for union with both the Free Church and the United Presbyterian, whose position during negotiations was to leave the subject of the National Establishment an open question, but whose true position has since come to light after the union negotiations failed. Yet a direct union with the Free Church alone was entered into by the majority of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1876.

**Expediency the True Reason of the Voluntary Principle.**

—Thus it is clear, as regards the Reformed Presbyterian Church, when and how its position became changed from being absolutely in excess as to the proper idea of Establishment, to being able to unite with the chief enemies of Establishment.

The list may be completed by alluding to the Free Church by anticipation. Within the memory of this generation, and before our very eyes, we see the Free Church (in a large majority of its ministers at least) yielding to the same temptation. The constant tendency of being aloof from a National Church, in point of fact, is to drift into a position of direct antagonism, and elevate the separate state on the fictitious height of a principle and new discovery in Church government ; while really the whole change is one of expediency and policy, based on some of the worst feelings of human nature—rivalry, hatred, revenge.



## CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE LESLIE CASE TO THE FREE CHURCH SECESSION,  
1805-1843.

RETURNING to the main line of the Church's history, we find that at the beginning of the present century, and on to 1816, Principal Hill of St Andrews was the leader of the Moderate party, having become the successor of Robertson in 1780. Principal Hill was succeeded by Dr George Cook of St Andrews in 1816, and he continued till 1843. The other side had for leader Dr Erskine, at whose death in 1803 the leadership passed to Sir Harry Moncreiff.

Early in the century the attention of the Church was strongly drawn to education. Parliament improved the schoolmaster's position, and the Church supplemented the improved system by other voluntary improvements of her own. Annual Presbytery examinations were made of schools, and a series of Reports from 1819-1872. For sixteen years the Church's efforts in the Highlands were superintended by Principal Baird and Dr Norman Macleod, who brought out a Gaelic translation of the Bible and a schoolbook called the 'Celtic Collection.' It was a Highland Home Mission in fact, as well as system of schools.

Within the first quarter of the century arose two ministers of surpassing power, whose gifts and work made a glory to their generation. Dr Andrew Thomson came to Edinburgh in 1810, and laboured till February 1831. Dr Chalmers came

to Glasgow in 1815, and in May 1847 died, amid a national sorrow deeper than all Church controversies.

The year 1811 was notable for two events: 1st, the start of Dr Thomson's magazine, 'Christian Instructor,' which, during its existence, played a prominent part in the advocacy of the views of its editor, and was the means of quickening religious feeling; and 2d, the publication of Dr M'Crie's 'Life of John Knox,' followed in 1821 by his 'Andrew Melville,' works by which Scottish literature has been enriched, and which are of singular use in dispelling the popular ignorance which confounded the early liberality of the Church with the narrow ideas of the subsequent Protesters and Populars. M'Crie died in 1835.

From 1800 onwards, with special vigour in cases that occurred in 1813 and 1823, the subject of Pluralities came before the Church, with the result of their almost total abolition. A much more exciting controversy, although only secondarily connected with Churches and Church parties, was from 1824 to 1830 on the question of the impropriety of printing the Apocrypha in the same volume with the inspired Word of God. Robert Haldane discovered the delinquency of the British and Foreign Bible Society in this, and the matter occupied the 'Christian Instructor' and a vast host of pamphleteers, who succeeded in proving that the evil had been in existence since 1812, and had been concealed and was in direct violation of one of the Society's rules, and had been associated with needlessly large salaries to those Continental agents who were most blamable. The result was that the bulk of the Scottish subscriptions was withdrawn and new Bible Societies of our own originated. A curious feature of the controversy was that the Church of Scotland sided with Haldane against the London malpractices, while the bulk of Dissenters in Scotland adhered to what was called the "Earl Street Committee."

Another of the electric forces of the period is seen in the deposition of two ministers in 1831 and 1832, whom men

now regard as prophets rather than heretics. John M'Leod Campbell, minister of Row, a man of holy life, and a preacher whose gospel took the form of love and peace instead of rigid dogmatism, was libelled for certain speculations on the Atonement, which were then misunderstood or viewed in the light of fear, but are now largely recognised as a just and Scriptural tempering of, without contradicting or undermining, the doctrine of our Confession, on lines parallel to the 1st Epistle of S. John as compared with the Gospel of S. Matthew or S. Luke.

Edward Irving, born at Annan in 1792, was licensed there in 1815, and four years later became assistant to Dr Chalmers in Glasgow. Called in 1822 to Caledonian Chapel (afterwards Regent Square) in London, he was for several years one of the most prominent clergymen of the metropolis, passing through phases of subjects and excitement that have been classified as moral, doctrinal, millenarian, and miraculous, wherein finally the *Charismata* of apostolic times were re-asserted and claimed. His book of 1830, 'Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature,' was made the basis of a charge of heresy. Extravagances connected with the alleged *Charismata* led the trustees of his chapel to appeal (and with success) to the Presbytery of London. In 1832 he was deposed by the Presbytery of Annan, and died at Glasgow 8th December 1834. Of stainless life and noble intellect, and a prophet-like denouncer of modern vice and vanity and assertor of eternal verities, his name and work, though so irregular in one aspect, bid fair to eclipse even those of Chalmers himself, whose writings are now almost unread, while Irving's strange story attracts to it biographer after biographer.

**The Voluntary Controversy, 1832.**—In 1832 began, and for three or four years continued, a struggle, prosecuted in press, platform, and pulpit, between the Church of Scotland and the Voluntary dissenters. It was the latter who threw down the gauntlet, especially Mr Marshall of Kirkintilloch, and Dr

Ritchie of Potterrow, Edinburgh. When the Church took up the gage, it was in a remarkable degree the same persons who afterwards became leaders in the Free Church who were most prominent. In their arguments against Voluntaryism, many of the well-meaning champions of the Church took up too high ground, and overshot the mark in their keenness to repel the charge that the Church was the mere creature of the State. What was for a while harmless as theory became impracticable when applied to actual cases in dispute, simultaneously prosecuted in civil and ecclesiastical courts, and which arose ere the war of principles between Churchman and Voluntary had well ceased. The temper and drift of these discussions may be gathered from the following samples of titles to pamphlets: "Apostasy and Perjury of Voluntary Leaders;" "The Principle of Voluntary Churches, and not the Principle of an Establishment, proved to be the Real Origin of Romish and Priestly Domination: an Historical Essay;" "The Principle of Establishments not essentially persecuting; that of Voluntaryism shown to be so."

**Church Extension Scheme.**—About this same time there was great and laudable activity in multiplying what were called Chapels of Ease. The Church Extension Scheme was mainly managed by Dr Chalmers, and its success may be judged from the fact that while in 1833 only sixty-two chapels had been erected since 1798—when they were first sanctioned by the General Assembly—the number of chapels built or in progress of building in 1838 was 187. A natural result of this extension was the question of the status of the ministers of these chapels as regards the courts and business of the Church. Discussions on this subject took place in the Assemblies of 1832 and 1833.

**Chapel Act, 1834.**—In 1834 was passed a Chapel Act, declaring the ministers of *quoad sacra* chapels to be "constituent members of the Presbyteries and Synods within whose bounds the said chapels are or shall be respectively situated, and eligible to sit in the General Assembly; and shall enjoy



every privilege as fully and freely, and with equal powers, with parish ministers of the Church." This was kindly and reasonable in itself; but it was clearly pointed out by the Moderate minority that it was incompetent for the Church by itself to alter the constituent elements of each of its courts, inasmuch as these had a civil as well as ecclesiastical sanction, and had to deal often with matters that had a civil bearing. Every decision of a court thus altered was liable to be called in question. This in point of fact was verified.

**The Veto Act.**—In the same Assembly the ruling majority of the Popular party (now pharisaically called the *evangelical*), on the motion of Lord Moncreiff, passed the *Veto Act*. By a majority of 184 to 138 it was made an interim Act, and confirmed next year "that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly." Far more directly did this second Act encroach on civil rights, especially those of patrons and presentees. Here was done by the Church, *brevi manu*, the very thing that the Assembly's instruction to its Commission from 1712 to 1781, to seek redress of the grievance of patronage from the *king* and *Parliament*, had acknowledged the incompetence of the Church of itself to do. The aim perhaps was good, but no excellence of a purpose can justify neglect of proper means for its attainment. It has always been the weakness of this well-meaning party to make its good intentions a justification for any amount of summariness in the means.

**Its Trial in the Auchterarder Case.**—Shortly after the Veto Act was passed, the parish of Auchterarder became vacant; and on 14th September 1834, the patron, the Earl of Kinnoull, issued a presentation in favour of Mr R. Young. The presentee was vetoed, and the Presbytery refused to sus-

tain the call, which bore only three signatures. Mr Young appealed to Synod and Assembly, both of which confirmed the decision of the Presbytery. The case was carried before the civil courts by the patron and presentee, to ascertain whether the Presbytery were not bound, on the strength of the presentation they had themselves sustained, to try Mr Young's qualifications, and if they were satisfactory, to ordain him.

**The Veto declared *ultra vires*.**—It was pleaded that the Presbytery had acted *ultra vires* in delegating to third parties (the congregation) the trial of the presentee's qualifications; that this duty and its sequents devolved by law on the Presbytery themselves; and that the veto was illegal, and invaded the rights of patrons, presentees, and presbyterial courts. The case was heard before the whole court of thirteen judges; counsel took seventeen days to plead, and the judges seven days to state their opinions,—the result being that, on 8th March 1838, they decided for the pursuers by a majority of eight to five. The next General Assembly authorised the Presbytery to appeal to the House of Lords, which on 3d May 1839, after long discussion, confirmed the decision of the Court of Session.

**How it might then have been dealt with.**—There were various ways in which this serious collision between Church law and State law might have been righted. The simplest would have been for the General Assembly to rescind its own Act and return to the position occupied in 1833, before the Veto was passed. In point of fact, this was virtually what was done in 1843, after the Free Church Secession had taken place. Or an effort might have been made to get the Veto Act confirmed by Parliament, so that it might have been *made* constitutional, although not so at first. It was an approach to this which was effected in 1843, when Lord Aberdeen's Act was passed, giving to congregations greater freedom in the settlement of ministers than had been before under patronage. By Lord Aberdeen's Act a presentee could be

rejected on grounds *additional* to the old three of life, literature, and doctrine. A complete solution of the difficulty of the Veto Act has been given (but, alas, a generation too late!) in the Patronage Abolition Act of 1874.

**Extravagant Language used in the Veto Controversy.**—

It is proper to state that almost all narratives (especially contemporary ones) of the events of these years, from the Veto to the Secession, that represent the Seceders' views of the controversy, are characterised by a marvellous fury of strong and offensive words. The State is described (especially the law courts) as if it were some heathen persecutor glorying in harassing the Church. Correspondingly, those who remained in the Church after the Secession were spoken of as if they were not Christians at all, but mere State slaves and police. A frightful desecration of Scripture was constantly made in order to convey and insinuate and illustrate these perversions.

The whole matter, reduced to its elements, was simply the question as to the competency of the Veto Act of 1834. All along the Moderate party had warned the Populars that it was *ultra vires* of the Assembly, and amounted to an attempt by the Church to abrogate or evade the Patronage Act of 1712. The warning was unheeded; and when trial of the point came to be made in the proper way in the ordinary civil courts of the country, clear and repeated decisions were given in conformity with the views of the Moderates. The Populars, elated by their voting majority and their excessive belief in their own virtue, seem to have counted on coercing the Government. As matters approached the crisis, the Popular majority melted away, so that neither in numbers nor in anything else were they able to appear otherwise than simply a large secession.

**Real Extent of the Secession of 1843 in the Assembly and over the whole Clergy.**—The entire General Assembly of 1843 consisted of 456 members, of whom the Free Church had only 193. Of these 193 only 120 were ministers, the remainder being elders. But of the 120 ministers only eighty-

nine were parish ministers, the other thirty-one being *chapel* ministers who had no legal right to sit or vote in the Assembly at all.

Over the Church at large, matters were even worse for the Free Church party than in the Assembly itself, as the following extract from Dr Turner's 'Scottish Secession of 1843' (p. 359) very clearly establishes; and here also, the figures are beyond dispute: "In 1844 was published 'a list of the clergy of the Kirk of Scotland, as on the 18th of May 1843, showing those who adhered to, and those who have since seceded from, the Establishment.'

"I. From that list the following facts are apparent:—

1. The number of the clergy in the Kirk of Scotland, including the <i>quoad sacra</i> ministers, was . . .	1203
2. The number which adhered to the Church was . . . (including 23 assistants and successors)	752
3. The number which seceded was . . . (including 17 assistants and successors)	451
4. Thus showing a majority remaining of . . .	301

"II. An analysis of this list further shows that—

1. Among the outgoers were included a great number of <i>quoad sacra</i> ministers, amounting to . . .	162
2. The <i>quoad sacra</i> ministers remaining were . . .	71
3. So that of parish ministers remained . . .	681
4. While of parish ministers seceded only . . .	289
5. Thus showing a majority remaining of . . .	392."

**Extravagant Self-praise of the Seceders, and Calumny of the Brethren of the Majority.**—A persistent series of attempts has been made to show that this outgoing minority was something wonderful for every excellence as compared with the majority from which they separated. Here, again, it is right to point out how far the Seceders are deficient in the spirit of charity. While they eagerly represented themselves as martyrs, the real truth is, that they were guilty of persecuting and slandering a far larger body of peaceful, meek, industrious Christian ministers, whose true character has since



appeared in their not returning railing for railing, but settling down to every kind of good word and good work, without even blowing their own trumpet.

What an amount of silly self-praise on the one hand, and slander on the other, is contained in the two sentences following, that present respectively Dr Hetherington's<sup>1</sup> and Dr Buchanan's<sup>2</sup> estimates of the Secession!—"Dr Welsh, on leaving S. Andrew's Church, was closely followed by all the men of distinguished genius and talent and learning, and piety and faithfulness, and energy and zeal,—by all whose lives and labours had shed fresh grace and glory on the Church of Scotland as honoured servants of her Head and King." "The life departed from the Establishment, and those who remained gazed upon the empty space, as if they had been looking into an empty grave."

**Contemporary Journal of the Secession by Norman Macleod.**—The following extract from the Journal of Dr Norman Macleod gives a lively and also critical contemporary account of the great Secession:—

"*June 2, 1843.*—I have returned from the Assembly of 1843, one which will be famous in the annals of the Church of Scotland. Yet who will ever know its real history? The great movements, the grand results, will certainly be known, and everything has been done in the way most calculated to tell on posterity (for how many have been acting before its eyes!); but who in the next century will know or understand the ten thousand secret influences, the vanity and pride of some, the love of applause, the fear and terror, of others, and, above all, the seceding mania, the revolutionary mesmerism, which I have witnessed within these few days?

"It was impossible to watch the progress of this schism without seeing that it was inevitable.

"To pass and to maintain at all hazards laws which by the highest authorities were declared to be inconsistent with and

<sup>1</sup> History, vol. ii. p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 442.

subversive of civil statutes, could end only in breaking up the Establishment. So Dr Cook said. So Dr M'Crie said in his evidence before the House of Commons. The Procurator told me that when the Veto Law was first proposed, Lord Moncreiff gave it as his opinion that the Church had power to pass it; that he was unwilling to go to Parliament for its approval until it was certain that its approval was necessary, but that should this become apparent, then unquestionably the Church ought to apply for a legislative enactment. This advice was not taken, and all the subsequent difficulties have arisen out of the determination to force that law.

“The event which made a disruption necessary was the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers for obeying the interpretation of statute law given by the civil court, instead of that given by the Church court. The moment one part of the Church solemnly deposed them, and another as solemnly determined to treat them as not deposed, the Church became virtually two Churches, and their separation became inevitable.

“Thursday the 18th was a beautiful day, but a general sense of oppression was over the town. Among many of the seceding party, upon that and on the successive days of the Assembly, there was an assumed levity of manner—a smiling tone of countenance, which seemed to say, ‘Look what calm, cool, brave martyrs we are!’ There were two incidents which convinced me that the old and soberer part of the Seceders had a very different feeling from the younger and more violent regarding the magnitude and consequence of this movement. I was in St Giles’s half an hour before Welsh began his sermon. Two or three benches before me, — and —, with a few of this *hot* genus omne, were chattering and laughing. During the singing of the Paraphrase, old Brown (dear, good man), of St John’s, Glasgow, was weeping; but — was idly staring round the church. So in the procession, some were smiling and appeared heedless, but the old men were sad and cast down. Welsh’s sermon was in exquisite taste, and very calm and dignified; but its sentiments, I thought, were a century

ahead of many of his Convocation friends. His prayer at the opening of the Assembly was also beautiful. The Assembly presented a stirring sight. But still I was struck by the smiling of several on the seceding side, as if to show how light their hearts were when, methinks, they had no cause to be so at the beginning of such a great revolution. The subsequent movements of the two Assemblies are matters of history. The hissing and cheering in the galleries and along the line of procession were tremendous.

“Never did I pass such a fortnight of care and anxiety. Never did men engage in a task with more oppression of spirit than we did, as we tried to preserve this Church for the benefit of our children’s children.

“The Assembly was called upon to perform a work full of difficulty, and to do such unpopular things as restoring the Strathbogie ministers, rescinding the Veto, &c. We were hissed by the mob in the galleries, looked coldly on by many Christians, ridiculed as enemies to the true Church, as lovers of ourselves, seeking the fleece; and yet what was nearest my own heart and that of my friends was the wish to preserve this Establishment for the wellbeing of Britain. While ‘the persecuted martyrs of the Covenant’ met amid the huzzas and applauses of the multitude, with thousands of pounds daily pouring in upon them, and nothing to do but what was in the highest degree popular—nothing but self-denial, and a desire to sacrifice name and fame, and all but honour, to my country, could have kept me in the Assembly. There was one feature of the Assembly which I shall never forget, and that was the *fever* of secession—the restless, nervous desire to fly to the Free Church. No new truth had come to light, no new event had been developed, but there was a species of frenzy which seized men, and away they went. One man (—— of ——) said to me, ‘I must go: I am a lover of the Establishment, but last autumn I signed the Convocation resolutions. All my people will leave me. I never will take a church left vacant by my seceding brethren. If I do not, I am a beggar;

if I stay, I lose all character. I must go.' And away he went, sick at heart; and many I know have been unconsciously led step by step, by meetings, by pledges, by rash statements, into a position which they sincerely lament but cannot help. There are many unwilling Latimers in that body; this I know right well. It amuses me, who have been much behind the scenes, to read the lithographed names of some as hollow-hearted fellows as ever ruined a country from love of glory and applause. But there are also many others there who would do honour to any cause."



## CHAPTER IX.

(1.) GRADUAL RECOVERY AND EXTENSION OF THE CHURCH  
SINCE THE SECESSION OF 1843.

It was undoubtedly a great injury that the Church of Scotland sustained in the Secession of 1843. The best friends of the Church were saddened and anxious at the state of matters. The enemies and traducers of the Church (any milder names would fail to indicate the temper of the Seceders at that period) had done their utmost beforehand to secure the success of their own experiment, and on the other hand to thwart and discredit the cause they had left. When one looks back calmly on the real figures that measure numerically the proportion of the Secession to the old Church, it is evident that frantic efforts must have been made when so decided a minority managed to make so great a noise. Over the whole Church only 289 parish ministers seceded, while 681 remained, so that not nearly one in three went out. It is a curious token of how the new Free Church was swelled out, to find that an entirely different ratio prevailed among younger ministers in chapels, who, having less to lose, cast in their lot more readily; so that while 162 of these joined the Free Church, only seventy-one remained. Thus the Free Church got more than two to one of chapel ministers, while she got less than one to two of parish ministers. Doubtless one reason of this different ratio is, that it was the Popular party that was most prominent for some years past in promoting chapel-building and the Chapel Act of 1834.

**Systematic Abuse of the Clergy by the Seceders.**—The position occupied by the clergy of the National Church at this period was a peculiarly trying one. They had to fight their way, in every public association or corporation, against an organised system of reproach. In one case that found its way into newspapers and pamphlets, a Free Church majority in a Bible society refused to sit at the same table with some of the best clergymen and laymen of the Church, simply on the ground of their belonging to the Church. In whole districts, at funerals, the company would walk out of the house or refuse to enter if a parish minister were invited to pray. In few towns or villages would the Seceders buy any commodity from a shopkeeper who was a Churchman. The common representation, plausible and superficial, was as to there being sacrifices and difficulties on the side of the Seceders. But there never was a more unjust mistake. Those who stayed in, whether ministers, elders, or people, were daily and weekly loaded with every abusive epithet that could be applied to the basest of men. At that period there were in Scotland several newspapers entirely in the interests of the Free Church party, whose regular and chief work was to call all men and things on the one side black and foul, while all on the other side was pure, sweet, and noble.

**Christian Spirit of Patience and Speaking by Good Works.**

—This systematic and sanctimonious abuse is alluded to, not for the purpose of reviving the memory of evil days and evil tongues, but for the purpose of helping to explain how it was that the ministers of the Church of Scotland managed to change a period so disastrous and bitter into the commencement of a new period of prosperity and of steady progress in every direction. In their inmost soul they knew that neither they nor their Church deserved this storm of reviling that was let loose upon them. They knew that the old Church of Scotland was the same in its constitution and the same in its Divine Head as before. They knew that they themselves officially had a conscience void of offence, that they were wish-

ful and able to preach the Gospel to the poor, and that the Gospel preached by them was as pure and free as that of any branch of the Church in all Christendom. It was as if by a universal resolve of our ministers a silent vow had been registered—We will not return railing for railing; we will let controversy alone; we will try by steady work and unceasing prayer to serve our God and our parishioners. Let our persecutors make distortions, or forge lies, or hurl threats, or spurn our society, we will turn neither to the right hand nor to the left: enduring all reproach, and prosecuting our own straightforward course, we will leave God to judge between us, having confidence that a series of years of this Christian endurance and diligence and devotion will cause the tide to turn, so that the meek shall yet in Scotland inherit the earth.<sup>1</sup> For a number of years past the blessed fruits of this most Christian method have become so plain and plentiful that the Church of Scotland is generally recognised as being clearly ahead of all others, both in good work and right spirit. It is towards her that many in the changing and political sects around are turning as the centre and germ of the Church of the future. Not that we expect others to accept our entire system, or that we expect our framework to remain without change in details and externals; but that as we have lived down a great controversy

<sup>1</sup> Professor Robertson (of the Endowment Scheme) gave noble expression to the common feeling: "There is no necessity of turning to the right hand or the left on account of anything that may be said or done against us. We take our stand on the great principle of our religion, and it is the genius of that religion that it abounds to all men. Many statements have been put forth with the object of weakening the respect of the people for their venerable Establishment, but by the grace of God the hearts of the people have been steeled against any such attempts. Now that the Church is saved from destruction, let the pulse of every Christian heart throb with an eager desire to promote the extension of Christ's kingdom. This will be the best and most effectual way of refuting the calumnies which have been cast upon us. Rather than again enter upon the bitter waters of contention, and return railing for railing, let us study to be more earnest in the discharge of our Christian duties; let us take the matter to our hearts and consciences, and strive to correct what is amiss within ourselves."

and slander by patience, and tolerance, and sober intelligent piety, and gradual consolidation since 1843—so by simple continuance in well-doing, the old historic Church of Scotland, the bush that burned but was not consumed, may gradually commend itself to the more quiet and devout portion of the presently outside community. This is a basis of enlargement entirely lawful and charitable, free from the baser alloys of proselytism, politics, revivalism, sacerdotalism, or controversy. Such is the spirit and method whereby the Church has achieved her gradual but sure recovery from the disaster of the Secession of 1843. She has been sadder and wiser; she has been moved by a godly sorrow and a godly zeal: sowing in tears, she is now reaping in joy.

To set forth briefly the career of the Church in the way of recovery and extension since 1843, the plan may be adopted of enumerating certain things that have taken place, sometimes little connected one with another, but all tokens of progress.

**Church Recovery and Extension in Glasgow.**—Previous to the Secession, and in no small degree through the zeal of Dr Chalmers, there was a special church-building society in Glasgow that did a great work in that city. In many of these new churches, where the minister with a following of people sided with the Free Church, a claim was made to hold on in spite of the change of Church government. This usurpation of buildings was believed to be contrary to the title-deeds of the property, and accordingly was tried at law, and ultimately decided by the House of Lords in favour of the Church of Scotland. There were thirteen Glasgow churches so situated. The question evidently was a pure matter of lawful ownership, and ought to have been discussed apart from sectarian controversy; but from first to last the main part of the Free Church argument, through their counsel, turned not on the trustees and the terms of the trust, but on an abusive picture of the Church of Scotland as so poor in members that it could not use the churches although it had them. Every conceivable taunt was made the more readily, as relevant argument was unavailable.



Look now at these recovered churches. Year by year, steadily, has proved the capacity of the Church to use them for the original purpose of the subscribers. These thirteen churches, received back empty, some of them burdened with debt, and after years of alienation, have now a total membership of 8957. Moreover, by their endowment (costing £3000 each), they have been raised permanently to the full status of parish churches, and with all their advantages are able to influence the densely populated and poor localities where most of them are placed far more powerfully than when they were mere chapels. The case of these chapels, however, only represents a small part of the recovery and growth of the Church in Glasgow; for whereas in 1843 there were within the city thirteen parish churches and thirty-three chapels, and the ministers of seven of the former and nineteen of the latter seceded, carrying with them (as was common) a large portion of their flocks, now there are sixty-five parish churches and thirteen chapels, with a membership of 54,000.

The same vigour of growth is to be seen in every considerable town in Scotland in refilling parish churches, especially those in which the desolation in 1843 was worst.

**Growth of the Church in Paisley.**—The minister who left the High Church of Paisley spoke of it abusively in his farewell sermon as a place thenceforth to be occupied by owls and bats. That very church, for a number of years past, has had above 1100, and at present has 1200 communicants; besides which, the congregation has recently spent £4000 in improving their place of worship. The Middle Church has gradually risen to a communion-roll of 640. St George's in nine years increased from 300 to 1118 communicants, and £2000 have been expended in improving the building. Martyrs' Church, which for some years was altogether disused, has now a crowded congregation, 697 communicants, and has been endowed as a parish church. The South Church has similarly been endowed in 1877, has 476 communicants, and 450 seats let. Within the last few years this is the fourth new parish in Paisley.

Meanwhile the glorious old Abbey enjoys a green old age, for besides the beautiful restoration (largely at the expense of the congregation), it has a communion-roll of 1011.

**In Greenock.**—On the first Sunday after the West Parish Church had been left by the excellent Dr Patrick M'Farlan, one of the ablest of the seceding ministers, a congregation of only a few dozens assembled. Not only has the communion-roll steadily increased till now it reaches 800, but the same congregation has been the nucleus for other congregations and parish churches. The Middle Church, also nearly emptied at the Secession, has for a number of years been filled to overflowing, and voluntarily doubles the minister's stipend—the communicants being 1096. The Gaelic Chapel, which was closed for a few years after 1843, gradually prospered on being reopened, till now it is an endowed parish church with 600 communicants. The Old West Kirk, which in 1865 had been a deserted ruin for twenty-three years, was restored at a cost of above £3000, besides receiving a series of painted windows scarcely surpassed in Scotland, and has since been endowed. Starting with nothing, it has now 536 communicants. Since 1875 four new churches have been built, and three of them endowed and erected into parishes. As regards the whole town—in 1843 it had the three old parishes and five chapels. The ministers of two of the former and four of the latter seceded, the seceders permanently retaining three of the chapels, while one was discontinued and sold. Now the Church of Scotland in Greenock is represented by nine parish churches and two chapels, with a total of 5593 communicants.

**In Aberdeen.**—The Free Church leaning there in 1843 was so marked, that it was made the seat of a Free Church College. In 1843, six of the eight parish ministers and all of the chapel ministers (ten) seceded, yet so marvellous has been the recuperative power of the Church that now the Church of Scotland has seventeen parish churches and two chapels, with 19,107 communicants. So strong is the current of success in

Aberdeen, that a few years ago a great scheme was started for adding five new churches, all of which are now in operation, and some of them completely filled. Thus is Aberdeen now a Church of Scotland stronghold.

**In Dundee.**—Great recent increase is apparent in the simple fact that whereas fifteen years ago Dundee had only five parish churches, now it has sixteen, with 15,000 communicants. This extension is largely due to the earnest work and wise counsels of the late Dr Watson. Of the eleven additions thus made, six have been built and endowed within the period, three that were chapels have been endowed, one was purchased and gifted to the Church by an earnest layman, one came to the Church along with its congregation by their own option.

**In Edinburgh.**—The same thing holds good of Edinburgh. Nowhere save in Ross-shire was the Free Church so successful at first as in Edinburgh; but now the once thinly attended parish churches are refilled. In 1843 there were seventeen parish churches, with twenty-two ministers, and of these eleven seceded, several of them emptying the churches which they left. There were fourteen chapels, of which the ministers of thirteen seceded, in three cases permanently retaining their churches.

Now Edinburgh has thirty parish churches and six chapels, with a total of 28,117 communicants. Nine of its churches have each above 1000 communicants, and two above 2000.

The towns thus singled out are not exceptional in rallying round the old Church once more. It is only consideration of space and avoidance of repetition that prevents Stirling, Dumfries, Perth, and other towns from being dealt with in like manner. Nor is there any real omission, for we have to deal with these and all else—country as well as town, Highland as well as Lowland—when we come to statistics. By anticipation, these instances of detail serve to indicate the distribution and genuineness of the subsequent statistics.

**Specimen of Recovery in two Country Parishes.**—To illustrate the recovery of a like kind that has taken place in

country parishes of the class that suffered most severely in 1843, may be named Comrie, which had a mere skeleton of a congregation left at the Secession, the parish minister having gone out and taken most of his flock with him. A minister of the right sort, alike in talent, temper, piety, and diligence, began the hard work. Scowled at, jeered at, undermined and countermined, he held on the even tenor of his way, until prejudice and bigotry were comparatively overcome, and there was a communion-roll of 400 members (in a total population of less than 2000); and the memory of the good Dr M'Donald is a tower of strength in his parish and Presbytery. Auchterarder has a like story of recovery, although the very name seems to have a pugnacious Church militant ring about it. At first the name of Mr Young was accidentally associated with bitter papers and bitter speeches, and days of desolation and mourning. Now, and for many years past, his name commands the respect of the whole district. He suffered and conquered; he laboured as a quiet and holy man, the very type of one fitted to retrieve a great disaster, more fruitful in deeds than words, building up the waste place until he had something like 600 communicants in a total population of 3795.<sup>1</sup> Simple truth speaks Dean Stanley (Lect. IV., "On Church of Scotland"): "Auchterarder, the scene of the original conflict, after a few years settled into a haven of perfect peace; the pastor whose intrusion provoked the collision between the spiritual and civil courts lived and died respected by the whole parish.

**Lord Aberdeen's Act, 1843.**—In the history of the Church of Scotland from 1843 to 1874—*i.e.*, for the long period of thirty years—a place of great importance was filled by Act 6 & 7 Vict. c. 61, commonly known as Lord Aberdeen's Act: "An Act to remove doubts respecting the admission of minis-

<sup>1</sup> A well-known local story goes of the old beadle being one day questioned by a Free Church neighbour: "Weel, Willie, how's the Auld Kirk getting on?" The answer was quick and gleeful, like a prosperous bee-keeper: "Man, we'll sune be ready for *anither* swarm."



ters to benefices in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland." The object of this Act (most kindly meant for the relief of the Church) was to give to parishioners greater freedom in opposing an unwelcome presentee. For this purpose it was ordained that the presentee should preach in the church of the vacant parish, and that afterwards, if written objections were made by one or more parishioners, being members of the congregation, these should be considered by the Presbytery, and if proven to their satisfaction, should be given effect to in declaring the presentee unsuitable for the parish. No mere dissent or dislike was to be valid, but only "some just cause of exception;" and the Presbytery were to "have regard only to such objections and reasons as are personal to the presentee in regard to his ministerial gifts and qualities, either in general or with respect to that particular parish, but shall be entitled to have regard to the whole circumstances and condition of the parish, to the spiritual welfare and edification of the people, and to the character and number of the persons by whom the said objections or reasons shall be preferred." This so well-meant Act proved unworkable, or at all events caused great irritation year by year as long as it existed. While it did, perhaps, considerable good in leading patrons to try to satisfy the people with a presentee, yet when collision did take place the Church suffered greatly (1) by the disappointed party in the parish being more or less alienated, but especially (2) by the publication of the objections and the evidence in support of them. Many objectors seemed to think of nothing but how to damage a presentee whom they disliked. Ridicule and buffoonery and exposure of the character of adverse witnesses led to gross personality and scandal, which was eagerly circulated and turned to the disadvantage of the Church, and even of religion itself. The following is a summary of the melancholy proceedings under the Benefices Act of 1843 for the thirty years of its operation: There were sixty-four cases of disputed settlement, of which the issue was that twenty-nine ministers were settled, fourteen rejected, fifteen

withdrew, one died ; in five cases the issue is not known. Four cases came up to two successive Assemblies before decision—viz., Hoy and Græmsay, Banff, Rhynd, Girvan. One parish, Kilmalcolm, had three disputed settlements ere a minister was inducted ; and another parish, Scoonie, had two. In thirty-one cases the patron was a private individual, of which fifteen were cases of settlement, and seven withdrawals. In seventeen cases the patron was the Crown, of which eight were settlements and four withdrawals. In six cases the patron was a municipal body, of which five were settlements. Taking the expense of each disputed settlement at £500 for both parties, the sum expended on the Act has probably been about £32,000 in thirty years.

**The Patronage Abolition Act, 1874.**—These most recent hardships for the Church, extending over thirty years ; the immediately preceding hardships, from the passing of the Veto Act on to 1843 ; the earlier hardships that embittered nearly the whole of the eighteenth century,—were the terrible experience of the Church which laid the basis of the Patronage Abolition Act of 1874, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 82, entitled, “An Act to alter and amend the laws relating to the appointment of ministers to parishes in Scotland,” which received the Royal assent on 7th August, and took effect from 1st January 1875. After abrogating and repealing the Acts of Queen Anne (1712) and Lord Aberdeen (1843), it declares that “the right of electing and appointing ministers to vacant churches and parishes in Scotland is to be vested in the congregations of such vacant churches and parishes respectively, subject to such regulations in regard to the mode of naming and proposing such ministers by means of a committee chosen by the congregation, and of conducting the election and of making the appointment by the congregation, as may from time to time be framed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. . . . Provided always, that with respect to the admission and settlement of ministers appointed in terms of this Act, nothing herein contained shall affect or prejudice the

right of the said Church, in the exercise of its undoubted powers, to try the qualifications of persons appointed to vacant parishes; and the courts of the said Church are hereby declared to have the right to decide finally and conclusively upon the appointment, admission, and settlement in any church or parish of any person as minister thereof." Under the provisions of the Act private patrons who claimed compensation are, on the occasion of the first vacancy, to receive a sum equal to one year's value of the living. This is to be paid by way of deduction of one-fourth of the stipend otherwise payable to the minister for each of the first four years of his incumbency. The Crown patronages, and those held by corporations and other bodies, amounted to 373. For these, as well as *quoad sacra* churches, no compensation is payable. The private patronages in the Church amounted in number to 626. Of these, compensation has been claimed in 242 cases. For 384 livings no compensation was claimed. The exact amount of compensation required has now been ascertained to amount to £59,160—only payable, however, as vacancies occur. From 1876 to 1886 the amount paid as compensation has been £15,158. Many of the 242 compensation claims originally made have since been departed from, especially fourteen by the Dowager-Countess of Seafield, so that now about £22,500 of the £59,160 is already extinguished. This Act, as has been so conclusively shown by the Duke of Argyll, is a just satisfaction to a historical claim of the Church, replacing the Church on its best and earliest basis, which is essentially popular. At the same time, this full measure of popularity has its own difficulties, which it will require some effort to avoid or overcome—the chief danger being the temptation for ministers to cultivate disproportionately those arts that are best fitted to procure promotion and applause, as contrasted with those more solid and unobtrusive qualities that secure true and durable efficiency. Moreover, it has already been found that even this Act, with all its freedom, does not abolish that painful branch of the work of Church courts that

consists in adjudicating upon disputes connected with settlement of ministers. The tendency to local faction or prejudice is common to all branches of the Church, and can be diminished only by the gradual leavening of communities by the principles of Christian forbearance and intelligence.

(2.) THE SIX PRINCIPAL SCHEMES OF THE CHURCH.

**The Endowment Scheme.**—The greatest single work which the Church has done since 1843 is that which is known under the name of the Endowment Scheme—one of the six principal branches of ecclesiastical and missionary enterprise directed by the General Assembly through the agency of separate committees that render an annual report to the Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

The basis of the Endowment Scheme is an Act of Parliament passed in 1844, and known as Sir James Graham's Act. This Act provides that when an income of £120 per annum is secured, the church and district may be erected into a parish *quoad sacra* on application to the Court of Teinds (a branch of the Court of Session), which investigates the security of the endowment, and adjusts the boundaries with due regard to the interests of neighbouring parishes. To provide £120 per annum, £3000 must be invested for each *quoad sacra* parish. The old parishes in contradistinction are *quoad civilia*.

There are three names connected with the vitality and expansion of the Church of Scotland whose several contributions have been thus distinguished: "The attempt to prevail upon the State to come to the rescue was the first form of the movement for Church extension, directed by a Committee of which Dr Brunton was convener. When it was found that

<sup>1</sup> Besides these six principal Schemes, there are other excellent works established and supervised by the General Assembly which are exhibited from year to year in the annual volume of Reports, and summarised in the 'Year-Book.' Among these, special importance attaches to the nine following—Education, Aged and Infirm Ministers, Aid of Highlands and Islands, Royal Bounty, Correspondence with Foreign Churches, Sunday Schools, Young Men's Guild, Christian Life and Work, Church Interests.



the State would not build new churches, the Assembly resolved to build them by voluntary effort, hoping to obtain endowment from the State. This was the second period of Church extension, and is linked with the name of Dr Chalmers. But when all hope of obtaining even endowments from the State was abandoned, the Church endeavoured to provide them by voluntary contribution, and it is this period which is associated with Dr Robertson."

Thus the third and most difficult part of this work is that which the Church boldly entered on within three years of the Secession, for in 1846 appeared the "Committee of Endowment," with Dr James Robertson as convener. He was then Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, and had previously earned a high reputation as minister of Ellon, near Aberdeen. At the Assembly of 1847 subscriptions amounting to £8000 were reported, of which commencement no less than £5000 was given by the clergy. Large public meetings were held in the chief towns of Scotland, as in Aberdeen in November 1851, when the Earl of Aberdeen was chairman, and in Glasgow in January 1852. Up to 1854, besides extinction of debt of £30,000 on the recovered Glasgow churches, thirty new parishes were endowed and £130,000 had been collected.

In 1854 the work assumed a new form under the name of the Provincial Endowment Scheme. Scotland was divided into five provinces (afterwards six), each with a group of about thirty chapels. The principle was, that £40,000 was to be raised locally in each, and that the Central Committee should give £2000 to each of the first twenty chapels in each province. In 1855 the subscriptions were £30,000. In 1856 meetings were held at Dumfries and Elgin, the latter producing £12,000. In 1857 a great meeting was held in Edinburgh, and £61,000 were reported to the Assembly as the year's contribution. In 1858 the province of Lothians had completed its share of £40,000. In 1860 the south-western province was in the same position.

At Dr Robertson's death in 1860 upwards of sixty new parishes had been added to the Church, and the whole sum subscribed fell little short of £400,000.

For sixteen years this great enterprise was superintended by the late Dr William Smith of North Leith, whose zeal undoubtedly hastened his end in 1877, at the early age of fifty-seven. To the Assembly of 1870 he was able to report that the work begun by Dr Robertson—viz., the endowment of fifty churches as originally proposed, and of the one hundred under the Provincial Scheme—had been accomplished.

In the interval the population of the country had largely increased, the Church had been compelled to encourage the building of additional chapels, and the Assembly of 1871 authorised the Committee to undertake the endowment of an additional one hundred churches within the next ten years. The Committee offered one-half of the sum needed for the endowment, or £1500 in each case. So successful was this new undertaking, that by the month of December 1876 the whole of those additional one hundred churches were endowed, and the way prepared for the endowment of "yet another one hundred," as sanctioned by the Assembly of that year. In 1886 this last undertaking was completed, and the number of new parishes is now 356, costing for endowment £1,257,000, and for building (churches and manses) at least £1,800,000.

Parishes existing in 1843 were, . . . . .	924
Parliamentary churches erected into <i>quoad sacra</i> parishes, . . . . .	40
Endowment Scheme <i>quoad sacra</i> parishes, . . . . .	356
	<hr/>
Total of parishes up to June 1887, . . . . .	1320

No disendowing of the Church can ever touch these new parishes, which now form fully one-fourth of the strength of the Church, and show that the Church is not idly enjoying State benefits without liberally repaying spiritual benefits to the country. This kind of endowment does not provide a full income for a minister, but it provides such an aid as secures

permanency and comfort better than hand-to-mouth and year-to-year Voluntaryism.

The only regret in connection with the Act of Parliament regulating the erection of these new parishes is, that it had not been in operation at least two generations earlier. In that case it would have averted most of the struggles connected with chapels and chapel ministers—struggles which had a melancholy share in preparing for the calamity of the Secession of 1843.

### 356 New Parishes, 1847-1887.

ABERDEEN—	
1879	Ferryhill.
1852	Gilcomston.
1867	Holburn.
1880	John Knox's.
1882	Mannofield.
1879	Rosemount.
1877	Rubislaw.
1880	S. George's West.
1877	Trinity.
1862	Woodside.
1867	Airdrie.
1860	Alloway.
1866	Alexandria.
1871	Amulree.
1868	Appin.
ARBROATH—	
1869	Abbey.
1855	Inverbrothock.
1865	Ladyloan.
1886	S. Margaret's.
1862	Ardallie.
1874	Ardentiny.
1885	Ardler.
1855	Ardoch, <i>q.o.</i>
1875	ArdriSHAIG.
1851	Ardrossan, New.
1886	Armadaie.
1872	Arnsheen.
1856	Auchencairn.
1886	Auchmithie.
1874	Ayr, Wallacetown.
1872	Baillieston.
1867	Bannockburn.
1880	Banton.
1876	Bargeddie.
1862	Bargrennan.
1868	Barrhead.
1863	Belhaven.
1878	Bellshill.
1876	Birsay.
1879	Blackhill.
1879	Blairgowrie—S. Mary's.
1860	Blairingone.
1881	Boddam.
1878	Bonnybridge.
1879	Braemar.
1885	Braes of Rannoch.
1874	Brechin—East Church.
1863	Brodick.
1863	Broughty-Ferry.
1875	Do. S. Stephen's.
1868	Bridge of Allan.
1887	Bridge of Weir.
1853	Brydekirk.
1876	Buchlyvie.
1876	Buckie.
1867	Burghead.
1874	Butter's Ch., Glenapp.
1867	Caddonfoot.
1885	Calderbank.
1872	Calderhead.
1853	Camelon.
1863	Carnoustie.
1873	Castle-Douglas.
1871	Catrine.
1883	Cellardyke.
1876	Chapelton.
1870	Chryston.
1869	Clarkston.
1882	Cleland.
1860	Clova.
1874	Coats.
1885	Cockenzie.
1865	Coll, <i>q.o.</i>
1875	Colliston.
1861	Colonsay, <i>q.o.</i>
1879	Coltness Memorial.
1883	Condorrat.
1859	Cookney.
1874	Corgarff.
1863	Corsock.

- 1886 Craigiebuckler.  
 1864 Craigrownie.  
 1864 Crieff—West Church.  
 1854 Crosshill.  
 1882 Crosshouse.  
 1853 Cumlodden.  
 1864 Dalbeattie.  
 1853 Dalkeith—West Church.  
 1873 Dalreoch.  
 1881 Dinnet.  
 1854 Dumfries—S. Mary's.  
 1860 Duncansburgh.  
 DUNDEE—  
 1872 Chapelshade.  
 1885 Clepington.  
 1877 Logie.  
 1875 Rosebank.  
 1873 S. Andrew's.  
 1876 S. Enoch's.  
 1871 S. Mark's.  
 1885 S. Matthew's.  
 1874 Wallacetown.  
 DUNFERMLINE—  
 1855 North Church.  
 1851 S. Andrew's.  
 1882 Duntocher.  
 1882 Eday.  
 1855 Edgerston.  
 EDINBURGH—  
 1876 Abbey.  
 1859 Buccleuch.  
 1870 Dean.  
 1850 Gaelic.  
 1862 Lady Glenorchy's.  
 1864 Morningside.  
 1859 Newington.  
 1882 Old Church.  
 1871 Robertson Memorial.  
 1887 S. Aidan's.  
 1851 S. Bernard's.  
 1874 S. David's.  
 1881 S. Leonard's.  
 1863 S. Luke's.  
 1886 S. Margaret's.  
 1887 S. Michael's.  
 1873 Tolbooth.  
 1871 West Coates.  
 1862 Elderslie.  
 1851 Enzie.  
 1884 Erchless.  
 1876 Fairlie.  
 1872 Fauldhouse.  
 1886 Fergushill.  
 1862 Fisherton.  
 1882 Flotta.  
 1875 Flowerhill, Airdrie.  
 1872 Forfar—S. James's.  
 1883 Fort Augustus.  
 1881 Forth.  
 1873 Fortrose.  
 1877 Fraserburgh—West Church.  
 1880 Freuchie.  
 1870 Friockheim.  
 1874 Fullarton.  
 1874 Galashiels—West Church.  
 1885 Gardenstown.  
 1873 Garelochhead.  
 1869 Gartmore.  
 1858 Gartsherrie.  
 1870 Garturk.  
 1860 Gilmerton.  
 1875 Girvan—South Church.  
 GLASGOW—  
 1877 Abbotsford.  
 1875 Anderston.  
 1879 Barrowfield.  
 1868 Bellahouston.  
 1873 Bluevale.  
 1876 Blythswood.  
 1871 Bridgegate.  
 1853 Bridgeton.  
 1849 Calton, *q.o.*  
 1855 Chalmers.  
 1886 Dalmarnock.  
 1876 Dean Park.  
 1875 Greenhead.  
 1882 Hillhead.  
 1871 Hutchesontown.  
 1873 Kelvinhaugh.  
 1876 Kingston.  
 1876 Kinning Park.  
 1853 Laurieston.  
 1873 Macleod.  
 1876 Martyrs.  
 1850 Maryhill, *q.o.*  
 1867 Maxwell.  
 1869 Milton.  
 1878 Newhall.  
 1877 Newlands.  
 1864 Park.  
 1867 Parkhead.  
 1869 Partick.  
 1875 Do. S. Mary's.  
 1875 Plantation.  
 1878 Pollokshields.  
 1876 Port-Dundas.  
 1875 Queen's Park.  
 1875 Robertson Memorial.  
 1876 S. Bernard's.  
 1851 S. Columba.  
 1866 S. George's-in-the-Fields.  
 1863 S. Luke's.  
 1863 S. Mark's.  
 1852 S. Matthew's.  
 1853 S. Peter's.  
 1857 S. Stephen's.  
 1881 S. Thomas's.  
 1879 S. Vincent.



- GLASGOW—  
 1864 Sandyford.  
 1847 Shettleston, *q.o.*  
 1854 Springburn, *q.o.*  
 1879 Strathbungo.  
 1866 Townhead.  
 1877 Wellpark.  
 1876 Whiteinch.  
 1882 Glenbuck.  
 1863 Glegairn.  
 1867 Glegarry.  
 1865 Glenlivet.  
 1874 Glenprosen.  
 1865 Glenriunes.  
 1858 Glenshee.  
 1876 Gordon Mem., Barthol.  
 1857 Gourock.  
 1884 Govan—S. Kieran's.  
 1875 Grahamston.  
 1880 Grangemouth.  
 1883 Grantully.  
 1873 Greenknowe.  
 GREENOCK—  
 1866 Cartsburn.  
 1855 Gaelic.  
 1882 Ladyburn.  
 1872 North.  
 1875 South.  
 1881 Wellpark.  
 1875 Haggs.  
 1882 Hamilton—Burnbank.  
 1879 Do. Cadzow.  
 1878 Harthill and Benhar.  
 1881 Hawick—S. John's.  
 1860 Do. S. Mary's.  
 1862 Helensburgh.  
 1883 Do. West Ch.  
 1879 Hillside.  
 1885 Hogganfield.  
 1863 Holytown.  
 1851 Houndwood.  
 1874 Hurlford.  
 1875 Hylipol.  
 1873 Innellan.  
 1869 Inverallan.  
 1854 Inverallochy.  
 1869 Invertiel.  
 1873 Jamestown.  
 1865 Johnstone.  
 1868 Kelso, North.  
 KILMARNOCK—  
 1867 S. Andrew's.  
 1862 S. Marnock's.  
 1879 Kilry.  
 1874 Kinninmonth.  
 1872 Kirkcaldy—S. James's.  
 1884 Kirkfieldbank.  
 1851 Kirkhope, *q.o.*  
 1873 Kirkintilloch—S. David's.  
 1874 Kirn.  
 1870 Kirriemuir—South Church.  
 1883 Kirtle.  
 1886 Knoxland.  
 1863 Knoydart.  
 1855 Ladhope.  
 1882 Ladybank.  
 1873 Lanark—S. Leonard's.  
 1875 Langbank.  
 1860 Largoward.  
 1855 Larkhall.  
 1885 Law.  
 1867 Leadhills.  
 LEITH—  
 1869 S. John's.  
 1847 S. Thomas's.  
 1876 Lenzie.  
 1866 Lavern.  
 1880 Linwood.  
 1884 Loanhead.  
 1880 Lochee.  
 1868 Lochgelly.  
 1858 Lochryan.  
 1854 Logiealmond.  
 1887 Lybster.  
 1866 Macduff.  
 1878 Marykirk.  
 1871 Maxwelltown.  
 1862 Maybole—West Church.  
 1876 Methil.  
 1858 Millbex.  
 1873 Milngavie.  
 1876 Milton of Balgonie.  
 1855 Montrose—Melville.  
 1879 Mossgreen.  
 1855 Newark.  
 1867 New Byth.  
 1886 New Craighall.  
 1859 Newhaven.  
 1877 Newmill, Keith.  
 1853 New Pitsligo.  
 1875 Newport.  
 1877 Norriston.  
 1859 North Esk.  
 1868 North Yell.  
 1867 Oban.  
 1880 Do. S. Columba's.  
 1869 Ord.  
 1876 Overtown.  
 PAISLEY—  
 1874 Martyrs'.  
 1874 North.  
 1874 S. Columba.  
 1878 South.  
 1859 Pathhead.  
 1877 Patna.  
 1859 Persie.  
 1865 Perth—St Leonard's.  
 1877 Peterhead—East Church.

1879 Plean.	1880 South Church, Dalziel.
1862 Pollokshaws.	1880 South Yell.
1856 Portlethen.	1865 Springfield.
1861 Portobello.	1877 Stanley.
1871 Portsoy.	1878 Stennes.
1878 Pulteneytown.	1859 Stobhill.
1884 Raith.	1882 Strathfillan.
1870 Renton.	1860 Strathkinness.
1872 Rickarton.	1884 Strone.
1874 Rosewell.	1864 Tarbert.
1863 Roslin.	1851 Tenandry.
1871 Rothesay—New Church.	1850 Teviothead, <i>q.o.</i>
1868 Rutherglen, West.	1878 Thornton.
1876 S. James's, Clydebank.	1882 Tighnabruaich.
1876 S. Luke's, Lochee.	1876 Torphins.
1875 S. Mary's, South Ronaldshay.	1878 Troon.
1876 Sandbank.	1866 Trossachs.
1877 Sauchie.	1874 Uddingston.
1851 Savoeh.	1883 Walkerburn.
1885 Seafield.	1861 Wanlockhead.
1885 Selkirk—Heatherlie.	1875 West Wemyss.
1868 Sheuchan.	1868 Whalsay.
1860 Skelmorlie.	1855 Wishaw.
1870 Skipness.	1869 Ythan Wells.

**Parliamentary Churches**, 42 in number, with stipends of £120 each, were erected in 1826, to supply destitute districts in the Highlands and Islands. The money so paid, £5040, comes out of the bishops' rents and teinds, partly restored by the Crown. The need for them was proven as far back as 1758, through a school report by the S.P.C.K. to the General Assembly:—

Aucharacle.	Keanlochluichart.	Quarff.
Ballachulish.	Keiss.	Rothiemurchus.
Bernera.	Kilmeny.	Salen.
Berriedale.	Kinlochbervie.	Sandwick.
Carnoch.	Kinloch Rannoch.	Shieldag.
Croick.	Kinlochspelve.	Stenscholl.
Cross.	Knock.	Stoer.
Deerness.	Lochgilphead.	Strathy.
Duror.	Muckairn.	Strontian.
Foss.	North Ronaldshay.	Tobermory.
Halin-in-Waternish.	Oa.	Tomintoul.
Inch.	Plockton.	Trumisgarry.
Innerwick in Glenlyon.	Poolewe.	Ullapool.
Iona.	Portnahaven.	Ulva.

**Home Mission Scheme.**—Next in importance to the permanent establishment of new parishes is the planting and fostering of chapels, which the General Assembly prosecutes by the agency of another of its leading committees, under the convenership since 1870 of Dr Phin, who then resigned his

parish of Galashiels, and who without any public income devotes himself exclusively to his onerous office.<sup>1</sup> The Endowment Scheme and the Home Mission are really one Scheme at an earlier and later stage. The aim of the Home Mission is to start and foster places of worship with a view to their being matured into parishes. In a few cases this idea is not applicable, but these are exceptions. The Scheme originated in 1828.

For some years after the Secession of 1843, there was no necessity for new places of worship, but simply to attend to those that were in an enfeebled condition. Gradually, as these got into order and were endowed, and the Church generally began to rally and population to increase, and especially to settle in new localities in connection with mines and manufactures and health-resorts, a wider sphere opened before the Committee, which the zeal and liberality of the members of the Church enabled it to face. Home Mission vitality and progress are seen in the state of the revenue decennially:—

1843, . . . . .	£2289	0	0
1853, . . . . .	4300	0	0
1863, . . . . .	4765	0	0
1873, . . . . .	9509	0	0
1883, . . . . .	10,480	0	0

Of late years an important element of the Scheme is a system of grants toward the erection of new chapels, in many cases at the rate of 15s. per sitting. In 1876 alone a special sum of £15,247 was thus voted toward erection or enlargement of thirty-three churches, to cost over £95,000, and to contain 21,638 sittings. For the six years ending in December 1883 the sum of £31,973 was similarly voted to eighty-one churches with 44,768 sittings, at a total cost of £290,122.

Every year chapels are passing by endowments out of the charge of this Committee, while others start into existence to occupy their place. All along it has been a special aim to

<sup>1</sup> While this is in the press, Dr Phin died 12th January 1888. In any future edition his noble work will fall to be classed with that of Chalmers, Macleod, and Tulloch, at p. 304.

plant new stations in overgrown parishes, and in the more destitute and degraded districts of large towns; for with a Church claiming to be national, and having a history to maintain and anticipate, it is more to the purpose to meet pressing spiritual wants than to search for sunny spots in suburbs where a new church may prove a profitable mercantile speculation. Thus sixty-four of the chapels and preaching-stations that stood on the Home Mission list in 1876 have in 1883 been erected into parishes, with a population of 180,000 under their care, and 22,000 communicants connected with them.

Home Mission 1886, total income £8540.

I. Mission Stations, 64; attendance, 6496; communicants present, 1827; grants in aid, £1650.

II. Mission Churches, 72; attendance, 14,300; communicants present, 9475; grants in aid, £2815.

III. Church Building or Enlargement, 15; additional sittings, 6462; grants in aid, £3017; total cost, £25,915.

**Augmentation of Smaller Livings.**—In December 1866, at a meeting held in Glasgow under the presidency of the late Lord Belhaven, an Association was formed—principally by laymen, under the sanction of the General Assembly—for the further strengthening of the Church, by providing, through voluntary contribution, for the increase of the stipends of such parishes as fall below £200 a-year. It is called the “Association for Augmenting the Smaller Livings of the Clergy.”

The aim of the Association was to raise a Capital Fund of £100,000, the interest of which, along with annual subscriptions, might reach £15,000 a-year, which was estimated as necessary for the augmentations proposed. In 1887 the Capital Fund amounted to £78,000. From inquiries carefully made, it was ascertained that about 356 parishes were in the unfortunate position of having less than £200 of stipend. The number of small-livings parishes cannot be quite exactly set down, for two reasons: (1) that stipends vary from year to year according to the price of grain, or “fiars prices,” so that the same parish will sometimes be on one side of £200 and



sometimes on the other ; while (2) yearly additions of *quoad sacra* parishes take place, sometimes as many as twenty, most of which have only £120, as required for endowment.

The first distribution took place in 1869, and a quinquennial view of the subsequent distributions will show how steadily the fund has progressed.

YEAR.	GRANTS.	AMOUNT.
1869, . . . . .	139	£1844 0 0
1870, . . . . .	163	2575 0 0
1875, . . . . .	267	5240 0 0
1880, . . . . .	313	8138 0 0
1885, . . . . .	316	8596 0 0

This sum of £8596 distributed in 1885 consisted of—(1) Interest on Capital Fund, £2842 ; (2) Annual Subscriptions to Association, £1454 ; (3) Income of General Assembly's Committee, £4300. But this is above £5000 short of the annual sum required to raise all the 316 livings then dealt with up to £200 each. In 1886 the amount distributed was £8441, and in 1887, £8110.

Up to 1877 the fund was dependent on local or special subscriptions, superintended by the Association ; but at the General Assembly of 1877 it was resolved to enjoin on all parishes an annual collection on its behalf. This change had a material influence for good, increasing the amount divisible in one year from £5556 to £7851. Since 1878 the Assembly's Committee annually appoints a Sub-Committee to co-operate with the Association in the distribution of grants, and in 1881 the Assembly constituted the Small Livings one of the regular Schemes of the Church. The Church cannot too fully recognise the value of a Scheme that involves the social status of hundreds of its clergy, and the future of ministerial supply.

It is proper to remember that only a part of the new *quoad sacra* churches can be considered as "small livings." All such churches have a special freedom as regards funds from seat-rents and church-door collections ; so that in scores of cases, although the fixed stipend is only £120, the actual stipend ranges from £200 or £300 up to, in some cases, as much as

£900. And this feature in these churches is growing in importance.<sup>1</sup>

**Foreign Mission.**—The chief field of our Foreign Mission is India.<sup>2</sup> It was not till 1813 that, in a new charter granted to the East India Company, a clause was introduced (by the influence of Mr Wilberforce) securing permission for Christian missionaries to land and carry on their work in India; but with the exception of this permission, Government gave no aid or countenance to the missionaries. The first interest shown by the Church of Scotland in the cause of Indian mission-work was in 1818, by Dr Inglis pleading its claims before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Dr Bryce, then an East Indian chaplain, wrote from Calcutta pleading the

<sup>1</sup> A well-known passage on this subject, quoted by Dean Stanley, deserves to be re-quoted here: “ ‘ I must confess,’ said Dr Alexander Carlyle in 1747, on the question of the augmentation of poor livings, ‘ that I do not love to hear this Church called a poor Church, or the poorest Church in Christendom. . . . I dislike the language of whining and complaint. We are rich in the best goods a Church can have—the learning, the manners, and the character of its members. There are few branches of literature in which the ministers of this Church have not excelled. There are few subjects of fine writing in which they do not stand foremost in the ranks of authors, which is a prouder boast than all the pomp of the hierarchy. . . . Who have written the best histories, ancient and modern? It has been clergymen of the Church of Scotland. Who has written the clearest delineation of the human understanding and all its powers? A clergyman of this Church. Who has written the best system of rhetoric, and exemplified it by his own writing? A clergyman of this Church. Who wrote a tragedy that has been deemed perfect? A clergyman of this Church. Who was the most perfect mathematician of the age in which he lived? A clergyman of this Church. Let us not complain of poverty. It is a splendid poverty indeed. It is *paupertas secunda virorum.*’ ”

<sup>2</sup> In 1699 the General Assembly “missioned” four ministers to accompany the ill-fated Darien expedition, not only to labour among the Scotch settlers, but also for the conversion of the natives, and in 1700 touchingly encouraged them. In 1709 the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge was incorporated, at the instance of the General Assembly. David Brainerd was its missionary to the North American Indians in 1743, and John Martin was sent by it to the Cherokee Indians. Yet the attitude of the Church generally toward missions was hostile, as seen in the vote of Assembly 1796. (See p. 239, above.)

same cause; but no steps were taken in the matter till 1824, when the subject was brought before the Assembly by Dr Inglis.

Five more years passed before the members of the Church had subscribed a sufficient sum to enable the Committee to commence their enterprise, and then they were fortunate enough to be able to send out one whose name will ever stand in the front rank of Christian missionaries to the heathen—Dr Duff. For thirteen years, aided by others who followed, he carried on his self-denying labours; but in 1843, he and every other Scotch missionary in India, with one exception, having joined the Free Church, the Church of Scotland had to begin anew—had to find new missionaries and teachers, losing the benefit of all the experience which had been acquired. In proof of the gross inaccuracy of ascribing all that is spiritual and energetic to one party within the Church, reference may be made to the dedicatory page of Dr Duff's book on India, where he gives the names of his Committee—viz., Brunton (Convener after Dr Inglis), Gordon, Chalmers, Ritchie, W. Muir, James Grant, John Hunter, John Paul, and John Bruce, “under whose wise, paternal, and prayerful counsels the missionary enterprise of the Church has hitherto been conducted with such unbroken harmony of design and such multiplied tokens and pledges of the Divine approbation.” Of these nine men only three left the Church in 1843.

To show the general position of all branches of Christians in India, and the hopeful nature of their labours, we have the statistics of the Allahabad conference in 1872, that at that date there were in India 225 ordained native ministers, 1985 catechists, 2278 native congregations, nearly 53,000 communicants, and about 225,000 native Christians. Besides these mission schools, there are Government schools, attended by upwards of 3,000,000 Hindoos and 90,000 Moham-medans; and though there they receive only what is termed secular education, still the change is clearly seen that this, combined with all the forces of Western civilisation, is producing on their intellectual and moral condition.

The stations and staff of our Indian Mission are at present—

I. Calcutta, founded 1830. Five European missionaries, one college, 365 students.

II. Madras, 1836. Sub-stations, Vellore and Arkonum, 1867. Four European missionaries.

III. Bombay, 1835. Two European missionaries.

IV. Punjab, with four stations—Sialkot, 1857; Gujrat, 1865; Wazirabad, 1863; Chamba, 1863. Five European missionaries.

V. Darjeeling, 1870; Kalimpong, 1873; Universities' Mission in Independent Sikkim, 1885. Three European missionaries.

Besides the nineteen European missionaries, there are seventy-five native agents, 1517 baptised Christians, 215 native teachers, 5393 scholars.

This great Indian Mission, with its twelve stations grouped in five sections, is managed by a Committee of eighty members, increased by a representative from each Presbytery, these being formed into eleven Sub-Committees (including those for Africa and China). Hitherto the work has been mainly teaching, but a feeling is growing in favour of a larger proportion of direct evangelisation.

The revenue of the Foreign Mission consists of three elements, which stand thus for recent years:—

	Church at home Contributions.	Legacies and Interest.	In India, total.
1881, . . .	£11,822	£13,623	£22,853
1883, . . .	11,290	14,570	13,337
1885, . . .	11,092	12,885	21,398
1886, . . .	12,960	14,639	28,806

**East African Mission.**—In 1875 a mission at once evangelistic and industrial was originated for *East Central Africa*, in the neighbourhood of the river Shiré and Lake Nyassa. The station is named Blantyre, after Livingstone's birthplace, and is in lat.  $15^{\circ} 45' S.$ , long.  $35^{\circ} 30' E.$  The site is in a high degree salubrious, and the native tribes friendly. Dwelling-houses, a church, and three schools, have been erected, roads made, water introduced, several acres of land brought under cultivation as a home farm. The staff consists of three ordained missionaries, two medical missionaries, lay teacher, general agent, lady teacher for girls, two gardeners and joiner (who also act as teachers): six native teachers assist in the three schools. Sub-stations have started in 1884 at Domāsi, sixty miles north of Blantyre, and in 1879 at Zomba, forty miles, near lake Shirwa.



There is a regular attendance of about 200 natives at the Sunday service at Blantyre. A daily service is also held. About 150 children attend school. Recently the station has been made the headquarters of a British Consul; and the Messrs Buchanan Brothers have started plantations of coffee and sugar, and act as traders in Christian interests, avoiding rum and gunpowder.

**China Mission.**—In 1877, a mission party started for China, consisting of a clergyman and three colporteurs: a medical missionary afterwards joined them. The mission is planted at Ichang, a treaty port of 20,000 inhabitants, on the Yang-tse-Kiang river, 360 miles above Hangkow, which is 600 miles inland. A second station is contemplated at Itoo, thirty miles below Ichang. The staff consists of two ordained missionaries and a medical missionary, aided by three native agents, who act as catechist, dispenser, and teacher respectively. On Sunday afternoon is a service in Chinese for the small native church. Also a Sunday-school, a daily service in Chinese in the dispensary, and a prayer-meeting every Wednesday evening.

**Ladies' Association for Foreign Missions, including Zenana Work.**—This agency dates from 1837. Previous to 1883 it bore the name of "Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India." The present name indicates the aim of the Association to equip all the Foreign Mission stations of the Church with female agencies. The work is carried on at Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Sealkote, and in East Africa at Blantyre. Miss Letitia C. Bernard, M.B. of London University, is at work in Calcutta in zenanas as a medical missionary, with a dispensary for women and children. The organisations of the Association at home now number thirty-eight Presbytery Auxiliaries, and over 220 Parochial Auxiliaries for raising of funds and supply of ladies' work for sale or transmission to their orphanages and schools. They publish an excellent quarterly journal, *Sd. per annum*—'News of Female Missions.'

In 1885 the agencies consisted of thirty-three schools and two orphanages, where 2463 pupils are taught, besides which 1400 zenanas are visited. The agents employed by the Association are—twelve European ladies, eleven Eurasian ladies, seventy native female teachers, thirty native schoolmasters and Pundits.

Up to 1873 the average income of the Association was about £1800. In recent years there has been a great increase of funds, arising from increase of zeal and improved organisation:—

1879, . . . . £2945		1885, . . . . £4392
1881, . . . . 3231		1886, . . . . 5287
1883, . . . . 4831		

A Ladies' Missionary Conference is held annually during the sitting of the General Assembly.

**Colonial Scheme.**—About 1817 the Church first seems to

have directed attention to the desirability of direct intercourse with its members in the colonies; and in 1819, at the request of the Scotch settlers in Jamaica, the Presbytery of Edinburgh selected and sent out a clergyman there, for whom the Scotch settlers built a church at the cost of £15,000. No step was taken, however, towards any organisation till 1833; and it was not till 1836 that the Colonial Committee as it now exists was constituted, with Principal Macfarlan of Glasgow as Convener, and the Colonial Mission adopted as one of the Schemes of the Church. Since then it has afforded assistance by which congregations have been formed and ministers settled in districts where, but for the aid of the parent country, given through this Scheme, no such could have been.

In the earlier days of the Scheme the work lay chiefly in Canada and Nova Scotia; subsequently it has been extended to the West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand. In 1884 the Assembly enjoined special attention to emigrants in Australia and the North-West Provinces of America.

In India—Mhow and Meerut are the centres of ministerial work to soldiers and civilians of all classes who are not attended to by commissioned chaplains. The ministers have a wide area to go over.

In Fiji a Presbyterian minister has been sent out at the request of Scottish colonists who at the end of three years relieve the Committee of the share of his support (£200) they have undertaken.

In Cyprus a chaplain is maintained for the Presbyterians, with the prospect of the burden on the Committee being lessened in a few years.

In the Mauritius part payment of stipend is given to two Presbyterian ministers who have four churches and ten mission stations with large congregations under their charge.

In America grants are given to Queen's College and Manitoba College to help our countrymen to educate a ministry in

the North-West Provinces, besides small grants for Home Mission work there. In British Columbia several ministers are partly supported, because their congregations are poor.

In Australasia grants are given, on the same principle as to the above-mentioned colleges, to Brisbane Divinity Hall, and to New Zealand for Home Mission purposes.

In Ceylon there are four chaplaincies in connection with the Committee, but supported mainly by grants from Government. In 1886 these grants ceased, vested interests, of course, being respected. An additional chaplaincy is supported by the Committee.

In the West Indies there are five ministers sent out by the Committee, to three of whom grants are given. They are carrying on important work not only among our countrymen but among the coolies. Grenada may be specially mentioned in regard to the latter. Schools, &c., have been opened in connection with this branch of their work.

Most of these churches will no doubt in time become self-supporting, but in the meantime they depend to some extent upon aid from the mother country; and so long as Scotchmen are enterprising, energetic, courageous, as they are, so long will they continue to make new homes for themselves in the colonies, and so long will they look, and not vainly, for help from their fathers, brothers, and kinsmen in the old country to aid them in erecting their tabernacles and worshipping the God of their fathers, as these had done before them.

The income of the Colonial Scheme for 1886 was £4176.

Some years ago, unions entered into in certain colonies (Australia, New Zealand, Canada) between different branches of Presbyterians, gave such concentration and strength that they no longer required help or were not in a position to ally themselves specially with any one branch of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

At the Assembly of 1878 the Army and Navy Chaplains Committee and the Committee on Continental and Foreign Churches were annexed as branches to the Colonial Scheme.

**Army and Navy Chaplains.**—With the view of providing for the wants of Presbyterian soldiers, Government appoints and pays five Church of Scotland chaplains and two Irish Presbyterians. Their work lies at the larger military stations. The Church has reason to be proud of the reputation for bravery and devotion to duty gained by the Rev. John M'Taggart, one of her officiating chaplains in the Soudan campaign of 1885, and now stationed with a commission at Aldershot. At many other places there are Presbyterian soldiers and sailors where there is no Government chaplain. In these cases it is the practice that Government gives a small sum, according to the number of men at each place; and the Church, by means of this fund, supplements the sum, so as to enable them to have a resident Presbyterian chaplain. In 1887, our seven officiating Presbyterian chaplains were stationed as follows:—1. London, including Chelsea Hospital, Duke of York's School, and Windsor. 2. Colchester. 3. Netley Hospital and Winchester. 4. Portsmouth Harbour, Gosport, Haslar Hospital, and neighbouring forts. 5. Parkhurst. 6. Shoeburyness. 7. Caterham.

For the year 1886 the sum drawn from the Colonial Scheme was £535 for payments to officiating chaplains over and above Government allowances.

**Continental Chaplaincies.**—This branch of the Colonial Committee maintains, in a number of places on the Continent specially frequented by tourists or invalids or scholars, services according to the form of the Church of Scotland. In Paris and in Dresden the service is permanent, under a fixed chaplain, in buildings purchased in 1884. At Geneva and Homburg a service is conducted during about four months, according to the season. These Continental stations are too few in number for the interests of our Church, but there are others occupied by the Free Church and by American Presbyterians which, looked at from a wider point of view, give a better representation to Presbyterianism as a whole.

**Mission to the Jews.**—Our Church maintains a special Mission for the conversion of the Jews. In 1838 the Assembly first turned its attention to the subject, appointed a committee to report, and despatched a deputation to inquire into the condition of the Jews in Europe and Palestine. Their report led the Assembly to adopt a Jewish Mission as one of their Schemes, and two missionaries were established at Jassy and Pesth. In this, as in other cases, a check was given by those missionaries joining the Free Church in 1843; but the Mission was soon reconstructed under the convenership of Dr Hunter, Edinburgh, and has since been carried on unremittingly. In 1844 the Committee selected as stations Cochin, on



the Malabar coast of India, and Tunis. The former place was occupied till 1857, when Dr Yule, who had been appointed to it, was transferred to Alexandria. The work at Tunis was brought to a close in 1848 in consequence of the persecution to which our missionary, Mr Davies, and his inquirers and converts, were exposed. In 1846 the Committee began a Mission in the west end of London, which was continued to 1854. From 1847 to 1856 the principal sphere of the Committee's operations was in Germany, where Karlsruhe, Darmstadt, Speyer, and Würzburg were occupied by their agents. After 1856 the German Mission was gradually abandoned on the advice and with the approval of old friends of the Jewish cause in that country, in order that the Committee might be free to enter on a new field now opened up to them. That field was Turkey. In 1856, after the termination of the Crimean war, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, having determined to devote all their energies to work among other races in Turkey, proposed that the Church of Scotland should take up their Jewish Mission. This proposal was accepted by the General Assembly of 1856, and in the same year Salonica and Smyrna—stations originally recommended by the deputation of 1839—were occupied by missionaries of the Church of Scotland. In 1858 Alexandria was handed over to the Committee by the Glasgow Society of Friends of Israel. In 1859 a station for Spanish Jews was opened at Hasskioy, a suburb of Constantinople. In 1864 Beyrout was added to the list of the Committee's stations. From 1861 to 1867 our Mission carried on an important and interesting work among the Falashas or Jews of Abyssinia. Its agents, Messrs Staiger (now of Beyrout) and Brandeis had many converts among them, but were thrown into prison along with the other Europeans in that country by the Emperor Theodore. On their being brought back in safety by the British army they at once returned to Mission work in the service of the Committee.

In 1881 an interesting medical mission was begun at Smyrna

under Dr Prinski Scott, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and a converted Jew.

The stations now occupied are—Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, Beyrout, and Alexandria. At the three first-named stations the prevailing language of the Jewish community is Judæo-Spanish; at the other two it is Arabic. At Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria there are suitable Mission buildings, the property of the Committee; at Beyrout and Salonica, school accommodation has to be rented. At all the stations the Ladies' Association for the Education of Jewish Females are in correspondence with the teachers of the girls' schools, and at Salonica they are responsible for their appointment and salaries. Though the conversion of adult Jews is not lost sight of, and prosecuted where possible, yet the principal means relied on is the education of the young. These schools are, of course, not reserved solely for Jews, but do good work among the children of the British residents (who are numerous in Constantinople), and among Greek and Armenian children.

The revenue of the Jewish Scheme for 1886 was £5264. The expenditure was thus subdivided: Salonica, £418; Smyrna, £734; Alexandria, £1379; Constantinople, £1054; Beyrout, £770.

In the five stations are six ordained European missionaries, eight teachers, eight female teachers, three native evangelists, one medical missionary, and one lady nurse. Besides the Sunday services, there are ten schools with 378 Jewish children and 1804 others. Each of the five Jewish stations is under the special charge of a sub-committee of six or more members at home for correspondence.

The grievous wrongs heaped upon the Jews for so long by Christians may well explain the difficulty which is met with in overcoming their prejudices against Christianity; and yet it is believed that important direct results have been accomplished by missions to them, and that indirectly much has been done to shake old prejudices, and to leaven the mind of

Jews with Christian ideas. It is no real objection to such missions, but rather an additional argument in their favour, that those who take part in them have the opportunity, in the great cities of Turkey, of doing good among a very mixed population, including many of our own countrymen—merchants, artisans, and sailors—who might otherwise be deprived of Christian ordinances, at least in the form to which they have been accustomed.

**The Baird Trust.**—An account of the several Schemes of the Church of Scotland would be incomplete and ungrateful without some details of the “Baird Trust,” the most handsome donation on record by any private person to any branch of the Christian Church. The deed of trust bears date 24th July 1873. It is by James Baird of Auchmeddan, residing at Cambusdoon House, in the county of Ayr. He was chief partner in the Gartsherrie Ironworks, and died in 1876. By the deed of trust £500,000 is made over to a body of trustees, not less than seven nor more than nine, only one of whom is to be a clergyman. Nothing is to be assisted save what is “based and carried on upon sound religious and constitutional principles,” which are very specifically described with reference to the Standards of the Church of Scotland. The duties of the trustees are,—(1) to assist in building and endowing new churches and parishes where required; (2) to augment stipends of active and evangelical ministers; (3) to ascertain religious condition of special districts, and help in arranging constitution and boundaries of new churches and parishes; (4) to assist in the production and dissemination of sound literature in connection with the principles, purposes, and institutions of the Church of Scotland; (5) to assist divinity students preparing for that ministry; (6) to assist in raising religious teaching and the use of Christian books in schools according to the use and wont of the schools of Scotland; (7) to establish relations with the Central Home Mission, Education, and Endowment Schemes of the Church of Scotland; (8) to found a lectureship to be called “The Baird Lecture,” with £220 of annual revenue.

Thus this great Trust, while so heartily for the Church, is to be quite distinct from all Church courts and committees. It is constructed so as rather to watch over the Church in what are called evangelical interests than to be itself watched and influenced. It even goes so far as to erect its own creed, to which no objection can be taken so far as it goes. Yet it is not the full and free doctrine of our Standards, but these tied down to one line of interpretation. Even with these two restrictions, it is a most noble and practical gift—all the more practical perhaps for the donor’s purpose because thus limited.

No annual report of the Trust is published, but the benefits of it are distributed on principles so just and prudent that we scarcely

hear of a new church or endowment where a Baird Trust grant does not form an element as large, or nearly as large, as the contribution from one of the great Schemes of the Church itself.

An idea of the extent and manner of the operations of the Trust may be formed from the following facts, applicable to the year 1877 : Eight grants were paid towards endowment, nine towards church-building, and six towards both combined, amounting in all to £20,000. Besides this, £1100 were expended under the three heads of augmenting stipend, assisting students, and promoting religious instruction. This was exclusive of the expenditure under the lectureship, and for working expenses of the Trust. In 1883 the grants paid towards building and enlarging churches and mission halls, and towards endowing churches, amounted to £23,600. Besides this, £480 were expended in augmenting stipend. In September 1887 an official statement was made that the Trust expenditure for thirteen years since its foundation amounted to £285,000, mainly in church-building and endowment.

**Baird Lecture.**—Annual value, £220. The Lecturer shall be a man “of piety, ability, and learning, . . . reputed sound in all the essentials of Christian truth,” and shall be a minister of the Church of Scotland “who shall have served the cure of a parish for not less than five years, or a minister of any other of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches who shall have served as pastor of a congregation for a similar period in his own Church.” The Lecturer shall be appointed annually, and shall deliver a course of not less than six lectures on any subject of “Theology, Christian Evidences, Christian Work, Christian Missions, Church Work, and Church Organisations, or on such subject relative thereto”—the lectures to be delivered in Glasgow, and also, if required, at another Scotch University town. The Lecturer must publish, at his own cost and risk and to the satisfaction of the Trustees, not less than 750 copies. The Trustees may for one year omit the appointment of a Lecturer and devote the sum of £440 for the purposes of the Lectureship of the succeeding year ; but in the event of their failing to appoint a Lecturer after the lapse of two years, the Moderator of the General Assembly for the time being and the next last ex-Moderator alive are authorised to insist on an appointment being made.

**Croall Lecture.**—This was founded by John Croall, Esq. of Southfield, who died in 1872. £5000 are vested in trustees, not to exceed twelve in number, among whom are the following and their successors in office—viz., the ministers of Tron, High, S. George’s, and S. Cuthbert’s (1st charge), Edinburgh ; Moderator and senior Clerk of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland ; Procurator of the Church ; Professors of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Lecturers selected to be licentiates of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, or a clergyman occasionally of any Reformed Church other than Presbyterian—in the latter case agreed to by two-thirds of trustees accepting and acting. Lectures to be delivered biennially in Edinburgh during winter, not less than six in number, and confined to the following subjects : Evidences of Natural



and Revealed Religion; Person, Work, Atonement; Divinity, and Resurrection of Christ; Person and Work of the Holy Spirit; Doctrine of the Trinity. The same lecturer not to be appointed twice in succession. Lecturer to publish not less than 1000 copies at his own risk.

**Lee Lecture**, in memory of Dr Robert Lee, of Old Greyfriars', began in April 1886, and the principal provisions of the trust-deed are: 1st, That the lecture or lectures shall be delivered in S. Giles's, Edinburgh, at such time of each year as may be fixed by the Trustees on arrangement with the minister and kirk-session. 2d, That the Lecturer shall be a clergyman or layman of the Church of Scotland; but the Trustees are not precluded, in exceptional circumstances, from inviting an eminent clergyman of the Church of England to lecture. 3d, That the Lecturer shall deal with questions of Biblical Criticism, Theology, or Ecclesiastical History or Policy, with reference more particularly to the circumstances of the time when the lecture is delivered.

### (3.) SOME POINTS OF IMPROVEMENT.

**Taste, Tolerance, and Literature.**—It is not merely in flourishing congregations, in new parishes, in missionary zeal, that the vitality and progress of the Church of Scotland are to be traced. Fanaticism might accomplish or explain a large portion of such prosperity if the prosperity was one of mere popularity and arithmetic. Interpenetrating all the religious activity of the Church is to be found another kind of activity, intellectual and æsthetic, that shows the Church, especially in its clergy, to be in unison with the best culture of the age. In Church architecture, for example, Scotland, especially in its Established Church, has made great advances in the last generation. The merits of our older pre-Reformation architecture are far more widely and heartily appreciated, one result of which has been considerable expenditure in delivering our old churches from the galleries and obstructions of last century. Many of the churches so restored have been adorned with painted windows of high artistic character. Of churches so treated may be specified Glasgow Cathedral; Paisley Abbey; S. Giles's and Greyfriars', Edinburgh; the High Church, Stirling; the old West Kirk, Greenock; Dunblane Cathedral;

the Old Church, Ayr. In the case of scores of ordinary parish churches large sums have been spent by congregations in tasteful renewal of pews and of windows, and in arrangements conducive to comfort.

Nowhere has progress been more marked than in church music. Since 1870 the Scottish Hymnal, with 200 carefully selected pieces, has been in use with the sanction of the General Assembly; and since 1874 a Children's Hymnal, with 100 pieces. The characteristic of both of these is the maintenance of a high standard of devotional poetry. The music published for these, including chant, anthem, and sanctus, is of a similar type, genuinely ecclesiastical.

In 1884 the Assembly sanctioned an appendix to the Hymnal, together with a more special selection for the young. The new volume, containing 442 hymns in all, together with revision of and additions to former music, cannot fail to exercise a most beneficial influence on the whole character of our Church service.

In the same period a corresponding attention has been paid to the literature of prayer. The General Assembly has issued a series of small books of devotion, that have had an immense circulation among Presbyterians at home and abroad. The titles are: 'Family Prayers,' 'Prayers for Social and Family Worship,' 'Prayers for Soldiers and Sailors.' Besides this, since 1864 there is a special Church Service Society, at present consisting of 566 members (of whom 466 are clergymen), whose efforts have been directed towards a compilation of prayers from sources ancient and modern, with a view towards the improvement of the public prayers of the Church.

In the province of literature, as distinguished from the mere printing or preaching of sermons, the Church of Scotland has taken a position of no small honour, not only in solidity of matter, but in variety of subject and grace of style. Without going back beyond a single generation, we find among the recently departed such names as those of Dr Chalmers, Principal Lee, Nathaniel Morren, Dr Memes, Dr Robert Lee,

Professor M'Gill, Professor Crawford, Dr Norman Macleod, Dr John Cook, Principal Campbell, Dr J. M. M'Culloch, Dr M'Vicar, Dr Jamieson, Dr Service, Principal Tulloch, and Professor Lee. Besides these, a very considerable list can be presented of living clerical authors, not a few of whom are familiarly known far beyond Scotland itself. Such are the names of Caird, Flint, Story, Boyd, Cunningham, Donald Macleod, Charteris, Mitchell, Lees, Milligan, Macduff, Gloag, Matheson, Dickson, Sprott, Leishman, Gregor, W. W. Tulloch, E. Edgar, Knight, A. Stewart, A. Menzies. In point of broad sense and tolerant views, whether in historical, philosophical, social, or theological subjects, the writers just named will compare favourably with modern English Churchmen.

**Improvement of Church Service** already in many cases effected, and in many more quietly progressing, is a matter of high importance in any estimate of the Church of Scotland as it is and as it is growing. The particular points embraced in this are mainly these :—

More frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper.

A more public and definite service on occasion of receiving Catechumens for First Communion.

Use of the Creed as part of every service in the same way as the Lord's Prayer.

Chanting of the Prose Psalter.

Transfer of the collection or offertory from the church door to a place in the service.

Help where convenient of a Reader (minister, licentiate, student, or deacon) at a Lectern.

More orderly and comprehensive reading of Scripture according to a Lectionary, authorised but not compulsory.

Celebration of Marriage as well as Baptism in church ; together with a Burial Service at the grave.

Daily prayer in towns and populous places.

Commemoration of the Birth, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, as also of Pentecost.

Restoration of a Book of Common Order, in addition to free prayer.

Not one of these involves any point of doctrine, or is even chargeable with novelty as regards our own history since 1560. They are restorations of things displaced to the great injury of the Church, when English Puritanism under and after Cromwell invaded Scotland. Their restoration therefore makes us more Scottish, and also re-assimilates us to the Reformed Churches of Continental Europe. They are lawful elements of order, dignity, and edification, proper for a National Church that preserves the best of the past, and keeps pace with advancing taste, culture, and tolerance.

**Improvement of Church Architecture and Freedom of Seats.**—Connected with the fabric of churches, two points require attention: to make the sittings more available for all worshippers in common, and to make the building internally and externally worthy and convenient for divine service.

It is very questionable whether even in *quoad sacra* parish churches, over which the Church itself has larger control, it is wise to have seats let from year to year, when we consider the claims of the Church to be both territorial and for the poor. The loss of revenue might easily be made up in the offertory or otherwise.

Certainly in the case of landward parish churches the let or sale of seats is a glaring abuse. Allocation of sittings among heritors implies no exclusive right entitling the owner to reserve such sittings when and for whom he will. It is simply a preference claim, Sunday by Sunday at canonical hours when the owner is present, or tenants are present to whom he has delegated his right. All space not occupied by them at the beginning of public worship becomes free for that occasion to the first comer. Moreover, such right as there is, cannot be held to apply to additional services which a zealous clergyman may institute in the afternoon or evening of Sunday, or during the week. These principles would be plainer were all pews divested of doors and bars, as they ought to be ;



and plainer still were the old usage reverted to of movable chairs instead of pews.

In church architecture we require greatly to curtail resort to galleries for accommodation. Where adopted at all, they should be kept low, shallow, and remote, so as to avoid the necessity of an inconveniently and unseemly high pulpit. In new churches the degraded fashion of horse-shoe galleries should be altogether avoided as too suggestive of theatre and circus. A pulpit should never have more than one stair, and it is a semi-profanity to substitute a platform. The Communion-table ought to occupy a fixed and central place, and to be kept for one use, totally apart from choir and music-books. Pulpit, Communion-table, and baptismal font should stand at one end of the church, the east end if convenient, on an elevation of one or two steps; the best place for pulpit being at one side, the Communion-table in the middle, with the font and lectern opposite the pulpit. The choir should be so placed as not to crowd round the pulpit or immediately in front, interfering with space that ought to be specially reserved for the reverent administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. An organ should not be put central and conspicuous as if the church were a concert-room. Pews should be without doors, and, if possible, wide enough for kneeling, best of all if movable like a row of chairs. It is advantageous to have the sill of church windows a considerable height above the floor so as to give better light, and at the same time avoid distraction by sight-seeing.

In populous places a hall to hold from 150 to 300 is an almost indispensable adjunct to a church, especially for Sunday-school and Bible-class purposes. Where there is a hall there should also be a church-officer's house, if possible; or better still, a manse, as part of the group—remote and would-be fashionable residence being a serious hindrance to clerical efficiency in towns.

For a really good new church it is necessary not only to

have an architect, but to select one who has made churches a special study, and to get the building outlined on the spot to suit the site with its surroundings. An earnest revival of church architecture on pre-Reformation models, adapted to our simpler service, is really more needed in Scotland, and would do more lasting good in helping devotional feeling, than the wasteful and vulgar method of multiplying raw mission stations, especially when these are based on denominational competition. Many of our old country churches are capable of great improvement by renewing the interior in an inexpensive manner, within reach of congregations independently of heritors, if these are poor or unfriendly. But special knowledge and taste are required to spare all genuine tokens of local antiquity and to avoid what is incongruous.

**Improvement of Parochial Organisation.**—1. NEED, ON PRINCIPLE, OF HIGHER LIVINGS OR PRIZES IN THE CHURCH.—While the Home Mission and Endowment Schemes have for forty years past done a work that has greatly extended and strengthened the Church, and a work which no true Scotsman would wish to see arrested, yet their joint work has affected the Church in a manner that calls now for some considerable modification of both Schemes. The difficulty consists in this, that by creating above 350 ministerial charges with very small income, the status of the ministry has been perceptibly lowered, and the whole Church is being subjected to a process of gradual pulverisation, as if the pastoral and parochial ideal were one minister and one church to about every 2000 of population, without endeavouring, at least in a moderate proportion of cases, to work larger masses by means of one better or older building served by two, three, or four junior clergymen working under one senior. Presbyterian parity, in short, has been both misunderstood and overdone. What is the good of parity in poverty and obscurity? There is a safe and useful medium between lordly prelates and a multitude of very struggling ministers. A hint of this intermediate plan we see in the Celtic Church, which managed Scotland from fifty

monasteries as centres. The hint is renewed in the fifteenth century when, supplementary to the thirteen cathedrals, above forty collegiate churches, each with a provost and clerical staff, were instituted. In the best form of all was the hint renewed after the Reformation, and in Knox's lifetime, under the several names of superintendent, visitor, and commissioner, of whom there were from ten to twenty-six in number at one time between 1560 and 1580.

Instead of our having only a very few better livings (four in Edinburgh, two in Leith, three in Glasgow, one in Govan, one in Greenock, and one or two more elsewhere), if these twelve or thirteen were increased to fifty or sixty, and distributed over Scotland in the chief centres of population and influence, and each such minister of a strong old parish were aided by one or more assistants, the best of whom might be ordained after a year or two of good work, many advantages would accrue. Services could be multiplied, and also more carefully conducted, within each mother-church and dependent chapels. A fair and natural ambition would be set before all junior ministers. A class of clergy would be fostered fitted to take a due social position, and fitted also to attract to the ministry the sons of better-class families, and the best talent of the universities, whether of gentle or humbler birth.

In corroboration of these views may be quoted Dr Sprott ('Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland,' p. 266): "Such an amount of work as is done in many English parishes would be impossible in Scotland without a large increase of our clerical staff; and I am only saying what is borne out by the wisdom of ages, when I add that this would be best effected, not by the excessive subdivision of parishes, but by the employment of assistants. Experience shows that a population of from 5000 to 10,000 can be much more efficiently worked from one than from several centres, while it is the very genius of Christianity never to divide people into classes when it can by any possibility be avoided."

Again, there are many places in Scotland where meetings

for worship are necessary and practicable without endowment or even agency of licentiates. Were the old method revived of readers for such places we would escape the unsatisfactory nomenclature of student or lay missionaries, and preserve the old parochial unit consistently with pastoral efficiency far better than by multiplying starved clerics. In places of this sort it might be well to utilise an already located schoolmaster, to whom an addition of £15 or £20 yearly for reader's work would be a great boon, and not inconsistent with his week-day duties. Or an intelligent and pious farmer, shepherd, or fisherman, especially if also a member of kirk-session, might without any salary at all, and in a simple dwelling-house, edifyingly conduct social worship with a few neighbours. This was done extensively for two generations following the Reformation, when the reader was guided by Knox's Liturgy, and periodically visited by parish minister or superintendent.

2. HOW FIFTY HIGHER LIVINGS MAY BE CREATED.—As regards the Smaller Livings Scheme, while its original aim was mainly to benefit *old* parishes with stipends under £200, it has been extended to *quoad sacra* parishes, which, though equally requiring help, are being indefinitely multiplied, so that the original aim is postponed in attainment. Without alienating any part of the fund or collection from either class of small livings, a great impetus might be given to the Special Fund, and to the whole Church, by extending the Committee's province so as to include an entirely new branch dealing with the augmenting of forty or fifty livings (as above suggested) up to £800 or £1000, chiefly by local and congregational effort; while the Endowment and Home Mission Schemes might provide the funds necessary for endowed or other assistant ministers in these larger parishes. In dealing with this branch, the work of the Committee would consist, not in collecting or allocating money, but simply in propounding the theory in the selected parishes, helping its attainment by common action, and obtaining an annual report of such stipend augmentation without interfering with its administration.



All this would quickly lead to what is greatly needed, a system of universal supplementing of both Teind and Endowment stipends wherever there is energy and organisation in a congregation. Even were this wider movement made, the creation of fifty or sixty prizes in the Church would operate wholesomely downwards through every grade of living, and thus accomplish the more special work of the Smaller Livings Committee, perhaps quicker than by working exclusively from below upwards, as at present.

The writer ventures to invite the special attention of the Baird Trustees to this idea of creating fifty or sixty prizes in the Church. For thirteen years they have nobly helped by contributing the bulk of their revenue of £20,000 toward chapel-building and endowment of *quoad sacra* parishes. If there is any soundness in the view here propounded that this has been enough done, if not overdone, for the present at least, one way of counterbalancing the extension work would be to start now a consolidation programme. Suppose one-half of their revenue were offered in sums of £500 or £1000 to selected parishes, on condition of their adding as much themselves for the additional endowment of their respective parishes. Or the help might be put in grants of £50 or £100 a-year for five or ten years, over against, at least, a like amount of local supplement. At once a powerful stimulus would be given towards creating a front line of clergy, specially representative of those social and literary qualities which are needed to make the Church more thoroughly what it ought to be, as a national institution fitted to meet and attract all classes.

3. EVILS OF COMPETITIVE LEETS IN VACANCIES, AND OF ROTATION IN PRESBYTERIES.—While the Patronage Act of 1874 ended a long and serious irritation, our present popular system of election of ministers requires more care for its wholesome working. In the more important parishes it is extremely desirable that the electors should, of their own accord, limit their choice to already ordained men who have done ten or fifteen years' good work in some smaller sphere; and in addi-

tion to this, that the congregation should seek the man, rather than the man the congregation. Even in very ordinary parishes it would be well to have a general understanding that no licentiate under two or three years' experience was to be eligible. Of late years (partly from too easy admission of students and ministers from other Churches) the number of applicants for vacant churches has grown to a sort of scandal. Scores of the most inferior men, instead of seeking promotion by study and faithfulness, seem to fly like vultures to the death column of the daily paper, and finding an entry, "At the Manse of ——," forthwith pester the vacant parish with applications and testimonials, both directly and through wire-working friends, to the neglect of their present charge by frequent absence for competitive preaching.

The Moderator of Assembly 1887 wisely drew attention to a weakness of the supreme court of the Church that arises from an abuse of Presbyterian parity, which leads to appointing representatives to the Assembly by rotation, whereas the law of the Church distinctly specifies "election." By absolute rotation it is extremely difficult for a minister, who is present only once in four or five years, to learn the forms of business and the necessary method of speaking. The result is, that the bulk of the Assembly speaking falls to a small circle of professors and elders who have permanent seats, while the great body of the working clergy are silent because comparative strangers. Even if the humdrum or mill-wheel system of rotation were preserved as a basis, it might be so modified by friendliness and common-sense as to give ministers of special fitness and experience more frequent opportunities of representing aright, in voice as well as vote, the real sentiments of their brethren.

Another glaring evil of the tread-mill system of rotation is in weakening presbyteries by causing the moderator so elected, and changeable every six months, to be a mere name to which no respect is paid, except (if there be an exception at all) within the walls of the presbytery room, and during the sit-

ting of the court. The clerk of a presbytery is its only reliable official, as the moderator may be only a stripling or an evergreen cipher with lifelong incompetency. The moderator of synod is a shade, and only a shade, less haphazard and machine-made, so that here also the clerk is the most potent member. Surely it would be possible to devise a plan that would provide an experienced and really representative moderator to a Church court without disturbing the reasonable part of ministerial parity. Why should parity be made a fetish of for the benefit of striplings and ciphers, but to the injury of the whole Church? Wiser in their generation are the children of this world. No other body of business men has its chairman provided on a plan so idiotical. Parochial board, school board, road trustees, harbour trust, town council, commissioners of supply, directorates in banks, insurance companies, and railways, all select the man considered most fit to preside, and never trouble themselves with the tender feelings or self-conceit of the weaker and commoner members, who just remain for what they are worth to take the part which each is fit for. Equality of vote for the members is parity sufficient among themselves, and safeguard sufficient against the chairman. Even in other Church business done through *committees* of Assembly, synod, or presbytery, each committee is provided with a convener selected for his fitness; but mill-wheel or wheel-of-fortune rotation is good enough to provide a button-head for a poor presbytery, with the consolation or aggravation of a new button every six months! Even worse than the folly of rotation-moderators, is the common custom of appointing the last ordained presbyter to preside at the ordination of a new presbyter. Were there not a craze as to parity, the supreme perverseness of this usage would at once be seen, for it puts one of the most solemn functions of the Church on the least suitable presbyter present.

4. NEED OF MORE PUBLIC SPIRIT AND LESS CONGREGATIONALISM.—While one of the great needs of the Church of Scotland is to get out of the rut of excessive and machine-

made parity by proper honour in Church courts to experience, talent, and worth, by raising forty or fifty parishes to twice or thrice the average stipend, and by having these prizes spread as fairly as possible over all Scotland and accessible to deserving men, there is an evil connected with increase of stipend which may here be noted and exposed. There are already not a few cases in which considerable stipends are made up for inferior men and by unfair means. The reference is to those cases where almost the whole strength of a congregation is guided toward augmentation of stipend, to the gross neglect of the just claims of the National Church on every *endowed* parish. In this way a church comes to be "run" like a shop for the selfish benefit of the tenant, or if not for pecuniary benefit, for sham popularity, to the injury of the higher prosperity of the parish, and especially to the loss of the Church of Scotland as a national institution.

Such is the case where a minister with £120 of endowment manages to secure £700 of stipend for himself, while he can only get £50 a-year for all the Schemes of the General Assembly from over one thousand communicants. Such is again the case where a minister can in three years collect £500 for an organ for congregational gratification, while for the whole corporate mission-work of the Church he can only furnish £10 a-year. A third case is seen where the minister of an old parish, with from £300 to £400 of stipend, can raise £40 for a Sunday-school trip for one day's horse-play, but only £35 a-year for all the six principal Schemes of the Assembly. Such disproportion and lack of public spirit is very sad. Still another scurvy trick that is occasionally played on the poor old Kirk is when minister or session takes a sovereign or half-sovereign, splits it into half-crowns, and distributes these over the Schemes, filling the columns, as it were, with smoke to hide the real blank. Not an uncommon form of failure consists in exercising ingenuity or caprice in criticising one or more of the Schemes as unnecessary or ill-governed, and making this individual disapproval a ground of disobeying eccle-



siastical superiors, and compelling a congregation to co-operate in disobedience. Or, on the plea of local work enough to do, they take up only one or two Schemes from which they themselves profit. One other source of barrenness recurs year by year in vacant parishes, which may average from twenty to thirty yearly. Even though there be no minister for half a year, public worship is maintained; and where are elders, congregation, or interim moderator that they cannot among them keep up this branch of Christian duty? Without unduly pressing the matter of collections, there can be no doubt that it is the duty of every parish conscientiously and methodically to aid the Church (whose endowments give themselves stability and comfort) to extend and improve Christian ordinances both at home and abroad. So to do is the plainest of all tokens of gratitude for inherited benefactions. Such is the true idea of the Church offertory.

#### FIVE GREAT CHURCHMEN OF RECENT DAYS.

THOMAS CHALMERS, born at Anstruther in 1780, was educated at St Andrews, licensed when only nineteen, and ordained at Kilmany in 1803. In 1811, writing Article *Christianity* for 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' had his religious impressions deepened. (Not conversion but *promotion*, like Isaiah in chapter 6, a prophet already, but receiving a higher call in a fresh vision.) Tron Church, Glasgow, 1814; S. John's, Glasgow, 1819; Professor of Moral Philosophy, St Andrews, 1823; Professor of Theology, Edinburgh, 1828; Principal of New College, 1843; died, 1847 (May 30). From 1803 to 1843 the place and work of this great and good man were in the National Church. These forty years were inside, only four years were outside, and his true fame rests on the inside work, in his theory and practice of parochial economy in Glasgow, in S. John's, and in his exposition and exemplification of the endowed territorial system, in his church extension and otherwise. Scotland never had a better patriot Churchman. His well-earned statue in George Street of Edinburgh is in testimony of this. The testimony of the year of his death is a dying testimony to the soundness of the essential principles of the old Church of his forty best years. "My hopes of an extended Christianity, from the efforts of Voluntaryism alone, have not been brightened by my experience since the Disruption. We rejoice, therefore, in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a National Establishment, and most sincerely do we hope that she will never fall away from it."

JAMES ROBERTSON, born at Pitsligo in 1803, became student at Aberdeen at twelve, and was licensed in 1825. Appointed in 1829 head-master of Gordon's Hospital in Aberdeen; in 1832, minister of Ellon; 1843, Professor of Divinity and Church History in Edinburgh; died, 1860. Although a man of solid literature, he wrote no books, but laboured with a mighty faith to take up the work of Christian patriotism at the point where Chalmers had left it. In his own work he even excelled Chalmers, for the task was vastly harder when the good old Church was both temporarily weakened and slandered. In mere Church polity he was a Moderate, but in soul and preaching and enterprise there was no truer Evangelical in all Scotland. His bold, sound, and triumphant Endowment Scheme revived the spirit of the Church in the mere conception, extended the Church as it advanced, confounded the Church's gainsayers, and furnished an example in one line which the Church had wisdom and zeal to apply all round.

ROBERT LEE, born at Tweedmouth, 1804, studied at St Andrews 1824-32. Principal Haldane certified: "This University has not for many years sent forth a more distinguished student. He has gained during a succession of years the highest honours which the University can award." He advanced step by step. Chapel of Ease at Arbroath, 1833; Campsie, 1836; Old Greyfriars', 1843; Professor of Biblical Criticism, Edinburgh, 1847. His special contribution to the Church had nothing to do with Missions, Home or Foreign, had little to do with doctrine, but was almost wholly in the direction of improvement of the Church service in point of taste and order. In 1859 he was put on his defence for *reading* of his prayers. He was enjoined to discontinue the book and conform to the Church custom in prayer. His course was to read prayers from MS. In 1863 was appointed a Committee on the laws and usages of worship. When the Committee reported next year, Dr Lee in substance gained a victory, in that such innovations were to be put down only when they produced dispeace in the Church or any particular congregation. The question was reopened in 1865-66, and was to have been rediscussed at Assembly 1867; but on May 22d, the very day before the Assembly, Dr Lee fell from his horse in a fit of paralysis, and lingered on till 12th March 1868, so that no debate or decision took place. Meanwhile his views were gaining support, both because in themselves seen to be a real improvement, and not less because they were found to have a historical root in the best period of our Church, before the narrowing influences of Puritanism under Cromwell. It was a prolonged hunt or the life of a baited bear that this man endured from at least 1857-67, drawing upon himself the prejudice and routine of the Church, forced into long-continued strife, yet at heart a man of peace and piety, as a man of taste and varied culture.

NORMAN MACLEOD, born at Campbeltown, 1812 (son of the distinguished minister of the same name, who served so nobly the Church in the Highlands and Islands). His parishes were—Loudon, 1838-43; Dalkeith, 1843-51; Barony, Glasgow, 1851-72. End of 1867 and beginning of 1868 he spent four months in India as Commissioner

from the Assembly, in company with Dr Watson of Dundee. In 1869 he was Moderator. From 1860 onwards he was editor of 'Good Words,' and also a frequent contributor. During his last eight years he was Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee. An early experience after '43 was to have attempts made by Scottish Dissenters to boycott him out of the Evangelical Alliance meetings. This he survived so effectively as soon to be reckoned a prize, both there and in the May meetings of Exeter Hall. His strength lay in all movements of a popular, evangelic, and patriotic nature; so that through his noble enthusiasm he was a champion for his Church as well as for truth and tolerance. A second attempt at boycotting was made against his Magazine, on the alleged ground of its not being *all* Sunday reading, the real ground of offence being its great circulation, arising from its excellent union of what was evangelical, varied, solid, and liberal. Another experience was a curious storm in his own Presbytery by his New Testament views on real Sunday observance as against Sabbatarianism. In a striking way he won his greatest successes among the working men of Glasgow in the great Barony parish and as a Court preacher at Balmoral. The same frankness and manliness in presenting Gospel truth commended themselves alike in these so different spheres. Equally remarkable was his double enthusiasm and success in Missions, Home and Foreign. Such a personality was a mighty blessing from God to the Church of Scotland in the rallying years subsequent to the Secession of '43.

JOHN TULLOCH, born 1823 in the manse of Tibbermore, was student at St Andrews at fourteen, and at end of Arts course took the Grey prize. Went to Divinity Hall in Edinburgh 1842. Licensed at Perth 1844, and next year became minister of East Church, Dundee. In 1847 visited Germany for health. Wrote in 'British Quarterly Review' on German Theology, and in 'North British Review' on Sterling and Bunsen. In 1849 translated to Kettins. In 1854 became Principal of S. Mary's, St Andrews, on Lord Palmerston's nomination, under recommendation of Baron Bunsen. Gained second Burnett prize for essay on "Theism." Appointed 1856 Dick Examiner; 1859, one of her Majesty's Chaplains; 1862 and 1875, Depute and Principal Clerk of General Assembly; 1872, member of Education Board for Scotland; 1878, Moderator of General Assembly; 1882, Dean of the Order of the Thistle. Chief writings were: 'Theism'; 'Leaders of the Reformation,' 1859; 'English Puritanism and its Leaders,' 1861; 'Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century,' 1872; 'Croall Lecture on Sin,' 1876; 'Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century,' 1885. Died at Torquay 13th February 1886. He laboured for improvement of the Church service, and was an enthusiastic upholder of the connection between Church and State, both in magazine articles and great speeches, year by year in the Assembly, where he acted since 1882 as Joint-Convener of the Committee on Church Interests. He was a Churchman of the highest rank and best type in modern days, a leader trusted and respected by all parties in the Church. A handsome pension was conferred on

Mrs Tulloch by the Queen as a special token of appreciation. His strength lay not in classics, erudition, or original speculation, but in careful study, gathering up historical and biographical theology, so as to bring out the succession and development of honest religious thought, century by century, in the direction of freedom from traditional, priestly, and artificial systems which obscure and clog the original Christianity of the Four Gospels. Good for the Church of Scotland if his combination of reverence and reason secure his continued leadership as a still living power speaking in his books.



## CHAPTER X.

## THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

*Century of Jacobite Episcopacy, 1688-1788.*

MOST conveniently at this point, when the career of the National Presbyterian Church and its two offshoots has been traced, may an outline be given of the various and curious fortunes of Episcopacy in Scotland from the date of its overthrow at the Revolution of 1688.

**Three Dates of Episcopacy.**—Modern Episcopacy began in Scotland in 1572 in the Concordat and Convention of Leith in the Tulchan bishops, whose Episcopal character has been rejected even by those who succeeded them in the same dioceses, and was from the first a butt for popular ridicule. Thus the first bishops after the Reformation whom modern Episcopalians recognise date only from 1610, when by order of James I., Spotswood, Hamilton, and Lamb were consecrated, *without* reordination in London by three English bishops. The pure apostolic gift or *depositum* supposed to be vested in these three came to grief in the strong hands of the free Scots who composed the General Assembly of Glasgow in 1638; so that a fresh London supply was required in 1661, when, by order of Charles II., Sharpe, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton were consecrated, after reordination in *private*. Worthy of notice is the development of the Episcopal theory at these three stages. At first it was a *name* wherewith to draw the old Church revenues for *lay* lords. Then it was a sort of upper

storey of building added on to a Presbyterian foundation, which was either directly recognised or which men dared not yet reject. Then, under the union of bigotry and tyranny, Presbyterian orders were altogether disowned or ignored.

**The deprived Bishops of 1688.**—The fourteen bishops who were deprived at the Revolution died off as follows: The Primate Ross of St Andrews, 1704; Archbishop Paterson of Glasgow, 1708; Halyburton of Aberdeen, 1715; Hay of Moray, 1707; Drummond of Brechin, 1695; Douglas of Dunblane, 1716; Hamilton of Dunkeld, at his death “one of the ministers of Edinburgh”; Ramsay of Ross, 1696; Wood of Caithness, 1695; Bruce of Orkney, 1700; Gordon of Galloway, after seceding in 1704 to Rome + 1726; Graham of the Isles was alive in April 1702; Argyle was vacant, but Principal Munro of Edinburgh had been nominated to it; Rose of Edinburgh, + 1720.

Bishop Rose of Edinburgh was the only one of the fourteen who really bestirred himself to help or guide his Church. In 1689 he laboured in London in consultation with Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Lloyd of St Asaph. He also endeavoured, through Bishop Burnet, to get a check put on the rabbling of curates in the west of Scotland. At an interview with the Prince of Orange before the bishop left London for the north, the Prince, hinting at political support from the Episcopal ministers in Scotland, said, “I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England.” Bishop Rose answered, “Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me.” This honest and cautious reply contained the germ of the difficulties of Episcopacy for a century to come. The Stuarts had made their Church, and the Church so created repaid by politics what it had got from politics; it staked its all on a Stuart restoration, and secretly laboured as a Jacobite club.

On 14th March 1689 the Estates met at Edinburgh, when the President, the Duke of Hamilton, tried in vain to get the bishops to side with William. Viscount Dundee and others

then left the convention and entered on a course which ended at Killiecrankie. When James had been set aside, and the crown, coupled with the Claim of Right, offered to and accepted by William and Mary, an Act was passed on 13th April enjoining ministers to pray for William and Mary as King and Queen of Scotland, and to read a proclamation to that effect under pain of deprivation of benefice. Under this statute many were deprived, many fled, and many were rabled. On 22d July a statute was passed abolishing Prelacy, following up the Claim of Right of 11th April, which declared "that Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from Popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished."<sup>1</sup>

In 1690 a Commission visited the four Universities to remove those who declined the oath of allegiance and subscription to the Westminster Confession. In St Andrews, where the Earl of Crawford presided, the victims were Dr Skene, Rector of the University and Provost of S. Salvator's, Dr Wemyss of S. Leonard's, Dr Lorimer of S. Mary's, and all the Regents save four. In Glasgow the victims were Principal Fall, Dr James Wemyss, Professor of Divinity, and one Regent. In Edinburgh Principal Munro, Bishop nominate of Argyle, and Dr Strachan, Professor of Divinity, suffered deprivation. Practically there were no victims in Aberdeen, through the good influence apparently of the Earl Marischal as chairman of committee. In June 1694 the ministers of the north met in the Chapel of King's College, Aberdeen, to consult in preparation for the visit of the Commission of Assembly, and drew up a paper of queries and protestation against its authority. A similar protestation was presented by fourteen ministers at Inverness. Three of the signers of the Aberdeen protestation were afterwards deprived and imprisoned. It was

<sup>1</sup> See further on this subject at p. 52.

only now that possession was obtained of the Cathedral of Old Aberdeen. In 1695 more than 100 ministers in the north qualified by taking the oath of allegiance apart from conditions as to ecclesiastical conformity. From the first it had been King William's idea to make easy terms for Episcopal ministers being included in the Presbyterian Church by not asking them to renounce Episcopacy, and asking them to subscribe the Westminster Confession only as a bond of peace and not as a personal profession. The Westminster Confession had never been displaced during the Episcopal period from 1661 to 1688. But in some cases their conscientious disbelief of William's title, and in most cases their hope of James's restoration, stood in the way of subscribing.

**Continuance by Bishops without Dioceses.**—The primacy of the Stuart Church ended with the death of Archbishop Ross in 1704, when no attempt was made to appoint a successor. As only five of the old bishops then survived, there arose an anxiety as to the maintenance of the order. Lest the line of 1661 should die out like that of 1610, two *secret* consecrations, John Sage and John Fullerton, took place at Edinburgh in 1705, and with the same secrecy two more, John Falconer and Henry Chrystie, at Dundee in 1709. Likewise in 1718 Arthur Millar and William Irvine were consecrated in Edinburgh. Bishop Irvine had the peculiar qualification of having preached to Dundee's army just before Killiecrankie, and having repeated his sermon in 1715, at Kelso, to a Jacobite army under Lord Kenmure. These consecrations, and others that followed, were made on a new plan, that afterwards was regretted and condemned—viz., that of bishops at large without dioceses. This was done by consultation with the *Pretender*, so as not to interfere with the royal prerogative. Of these consecrations it has been said: "The prelates celebrated with a mournful privacy the most august solemnity of the Catholic Church. Their rites were shorn of the old cathedral splendour; their 'Veni Creator' must be murmured like a voice out of the dust." Surely a little less of



the "high falutin" would have been more congruous to a group of elderly men engaged in deliberately dodging British laws of loyalty.

As this co-operation with the Pretender has been somewhat slurred over, two later cases of it may be noted here by anticipation. (1) In a concordat of six articles in 1731, between the two sets of bishops called Collegers and Usagers, there was a seventh *secret* article, "that as on the one hand no person was to be recommended by the Chevalier for consecration, so on the other no bishop was to be consecrated without previous intimation to him." (2) Subsequent to this concordat of 1731, the bishops obtained permission from the Chevalier to keep up the Episcopal succession, and to appoint bishops to certain districts, not exceeding seven in number, as they might select without consulting him; but it was agreed that the metropolitan sees of St Andrews and Glasgow should remain vacant, and that no election should take place for Edinburgh unless with his express consent. This last stipulation caused an Episcopal vacancy in Edinburgh of forty years' duration, 1736-1776, to the great discontent and confusion of that district as concerned the remnant of Episcopalians.

With the death of Bishop Rose in 1720 diocesan bishops ceased, and their place was taken by what called itself "The Episcopal College," a body altogether subservient to the political advisers of the Pretender, the chief of whom was Lockhart of Carnwath. Bishop Rose, in Bishop Sage's deed of consecration, had assumed the style of vicar of the see of St Andrews. Speaking of the bishop's place in his day, Dr Grub perpetrates this ludicrous parallel: "In his later years Bishop Rose possessed an ecclesiastical authority in his own communion unlike anything which had been known in Scotland since the time of the first successors of S. Columba." On the death of Bishop Rose, Bishop Fullarton was chosen by about fifty presbyters to fill the vacancy, and the choice was ratified by the Episcopal College, who further made Fullarton their *Primus*, but without metropolitan authority. On 5th

May 1720 the College sent an address, with a report of their proceedings, to the Pretender, who, on advice of Lockhart of Carnwath, appointed Bishop Fullarton one of the trustees for the management of his interests in Scotland—an appointment which was accepted, and speaks for itself as to the political structure of the whole system of Scottish Episcopacy at the time.

**New Development of Ritual ; Collegers and Usagers.**—As early as 1703 and 1709 the English Book of Common Prayer began to be used in Episcopalian services at Glasgow, Montrose, St Andrews, Aberdeen, and in Angus and Moray, whereby was shown an increased tendency toward ritual, and in particular a desire to discontinue extempore prayer, which Episcopalians had employed as much as Presbyterians during the period from the Restoration to the Revolution. One of the charges against Principal Munro of Edinburgh in 1690, had been his using the Book of Common Prayer in college. “He stated that the Prayer-book had been used in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood in the reign of Charles the First, and in many families ever since the Restoration of Charles the Second. This seems to imply that there had been no public use of the Liturgy, either in cathedrals or parish churches, before the Revolution. In regard to his own proceedings he added : “When I left off preaching in the High Church, I advised with some of my brethren, and the result was that we should read the Book of Common Prayer and preach within our families *per vices*. . . . We preached to the people upon the Sundays. They came by hundreds more than we had room for, and very many became acquainted with the Liturgy of the Church of England” (Grub, iii. 319). A distinctly illegal use was made of the College Chapel in Old Aberdeen for the English Liturgy, for a time under Principal Middleton. But the chapel was closed by the Lord Advocate and the Secretary of State. In 1707 the General Assembly passed an Act directed against the use of the English Liturgy in Scotland, referring to it as done “by persons of known disaffection to

the present establishment, both of Church and State, the introduction of which was not so much as once attempted even during the late Prelacy." The Act enjoins the Commission of Assembly "to use all proper means of applying to the Government or otherwise, for suppressing and removing all such innovations." But the Church erred in interfering with the internal arrangements of Episcopal worship, and straining political arguments to palliate an interference which was really oppressive.

The legitimacy of this use of the English Liturgy in Scotland was tried in the case of James Greenshields, who suffered imprisonment for it in Edinburgh. But on 1st March 1711 this harsh sentence of the Court of Session was reversed by the House of Lords. The issue was in 1712 the Act of Toleration, which declares it "free and lawful for all those of the Episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to meet and assemble for the exercise of divine worship, to be performed after their own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and who are not established ministers of any church or parish, and to use in their congregations the Liturgy of the Church of England if they think fit, without any let, hindrance, or disturbance from any person whatsoever." In this Act of 1712 the Scots Act of 1695 against irregular baptisms and marriages was repealed. It was further expressly provided that ministers of the Church of Scotland and Episcopalian ministers should take and subscribe oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and pray for the Queen, Princess Sophia of Hanover, and all the Royal Family. This Act was refused by the non-jurors; but, in company with Court favour in the end of Queen Anne's reign (+ 1st August 1714), it helped towards liturgical services in Scotland. At this date, when High Church views were advancing, the rite of confirmation began to be revived, and in connection with it *conditional* baptism was given to those who doubted the validity of that which they had formerly received

—*i.e.*, from Presbyterians. Skinner, ii. 613, gives details of this arrogance of bigotry and superstition.

The Rebellion of 1715 brought out the Episcopalians of Scotland in their true colour as watchers and plotters to undo the Revolution Settlement. While the Pretender in 1715 was at the Earl Marischal's house of Feteresso, an address from the Episcopal ministers of the diocese of Aberdeen was presented to him by Dr James Garden and Dr George Garden, who only two years before, on occasion of the peace of Utrecht, had presented an address from the same body to Queen Anne ; among other matters bewailing their "want of divinity professors of the Episcopal persuasion, for training of youth in orthodox and loyal principles" (Skinner, Annals, p. 299). The divinity professors might have had a senior as well as a junior class for lessons in loyalty, and also in common honesty. The glaring disloyalty of the non-jurors in 1715 caused the Act of Toleration to be put in force in Edinburgh in 1716, when twenty-one ministers were fined for not praying for the king. The Act was also applied in Aberdeen, where thirty-six ministers were deprived, of whom two-thirds were parish ministers, some of whom had been using the Book of Common Prayer in public worship in the parish church. The University of Aberdeen was now first brought into conformity with the Church of Scotland, Dr Middleton and some of the professors being deprived. A further cautionary or punitive result of the Rebellion of 1715 was the Abjuration Act of 1719, which imposed more distinct and severe penalties on non-juring Episcopal ministers, so that none were to officiate in meeting-houses or congregations where *nine* or more persons were present beyond the household, without praying in express words for King George and the Royal Family, and without having taken and subscribed the oath of abjuration. This led a number of congregations to select ministers willing to take the oath, and such were mostly *Englishmen* ; whereby came in an element that has ever since been a source of divi-



sion and weakness. It has been observed that the Act of 1719 is practically the last wherein Episcopalians, as once established, are provided for in conjunction with the native and national Church.

At this period the little Church was violently divided between "Usagers" and "Collegers." The usages referred to were chiefly these: 1, in the Communion the mixing of water with the wine; 2, use of an express prayer of invocation; 3, use of a formal prayer of oblation; 4, commemoration of the faithful departed or prayers for the dead; 5, immersion in baptism; 6, chrism in baptism and confirmation. The first three of these are associated with the so-called Scottish Communion Office; and the whole six proceed from the High Churchmen, who at Queen Elizabeth's accession opposed the second Liturgy of King Edward VI., and were imported into Scotland some years before Bishop Rose's death in 1720. These usages were formally condemned by the Episcopal College at Edinburgh on 12th February 1723, but by special nursing they survived and became the dominant ideas of the denomination.

The leader of the bishops who opposed the Collegers was Bishop Gadderar at Aberdeen, previously minister at Kilmalcolm and Kilmaurs, consecrated in 1712 at London; one of the consecrating bishops, Hickes, being an *English non-juror*. For a number of years Bishop Gadderar and Bishop Campbell lived in London, taking little part in Scottish affairs. In 1721 the Episcopal ministers of Aberdeen elected Campbell as their ordinary, but the College of Bishops refused their consent. In December 1722, Gadderar came to Aberdeen, having been nominated by Campbell as his vicar. In 1725 Campbell signed a deed of demission, leaving Gadderar free, whose position, however, had previously in 1724 been recognised by the College of Bishops "as bishop of the district of Aberdeen." Such was the heat, that the bishops of the two contending parties in Scotland for a time strove to outvote and outdo each other by consecrating and deposing

rival bishops ; so that for a series of years the movements of bishops profanely resembled a game of chess.

**Canons for government of the Church.**—A beginning of order was attempted in five canons of a synod in 1727, of which the first is—"Seeing there can be no order or unity in any national or provincial Church without a metropolitan, that all bishops and clergy do own the metropolitan powers to be lodged in the Bishop of Edinburgh during the vacancy of the see of St Andrews, as being vicar-general thereof." Surely this was rather an unlucky beginning, for the best days of the Roman Church in Scotland from 1107 to 1472 had known no metropolitan. The first Roman Scottish archbishop, Ramsay, had gone *mad*, and been imprisoned in Inchcolm ; while the last, Hamilton, had been *hanged* at Stirling. Moreover, the selected see of Edinburgh was *vacant* for seditious reasons for forty years, from 1736 to 1776 ; while the denomination has never yet got a metropolitan but only a *Primus*. In 1868, when it was proposed by some to revive the archbishoprics of St Andrews and Glasgow, to forestall the Roman Catholics, and take the wind out of their sails, Bishop Ewing from Argyle laughed down the proposal, by comparing it in solemn conclave to the martial preparations of the Phairshon clan, "with four-and-twenty men and five-and-thirty pipers."

Immediately after these canons of 1727, proposals for accommodation were sent to the College bishops, but declined ; and the declinature was followed up by declaring three of the four signatories of the canons not to be bishops at all ; yet it is through these challenged or rejected men that the present succession of bishops is derived. The party opposed to the Collegers was led by Bishops Gadderar, Rattray, and Keith. The election of Bishop Millar for Edinburgh was declared null ; he was suspended, and another named in his place. Bishops Rattray and Dunbar were declared null in their election and irregular in their consecration. In December 1731 a concordat of six articles was agreed to, with a seventh secret and treasonable (quoted above). But in 1735 the feud broke

out afresh, when a Bishop of Dunblane was consecrated by one party in defiance of the other. At Edinburgh, August 1743, a synod unanimously adopted a code of sixteen canons, of which 2, 3, and 12 confirm the arrangement of Canon 4 of 1731 — viz., “That the bishops of this Church shall, by a majority of voices, choose their Primus, for convocating and presiding only; and that no bishop shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of his own district.”

Within six months these canons were repudiated by the Episcopal ministers of Edinburgh, who were convened on 17th January 1744 to elect a dean, but, instead of doing so, passed resolutions against the canons as incompetent, on the ground of being made by bishops alone without the advice and concurrence of presbyters. The Edinburgh presbyters were backed by Bishop George Smith, an English non-juror, who charged the bishops in Scotland with an intention to suppress the English Liturgy altogether — referring in this to their strong recommendation of the Scottish Liturgy in 1743. The Edinburgh presbyters drew up a second and a third paper before the Primus replied on 25th January 1745. But all ecclesiastical strife was overshadowed by the landing of Prince Charles Edward six months later, in which Episcopalians, both Collegers and Usagers, were deeply involved. As with the fighting bees in the fourth Georgic,—

“Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,  
Pulveris exigui jactu, compressa quiescent.”

**Rebellion of 1745 and Penal Laws.**—At and after 1745 many or most of their churches were shut up or burnt as nests of conspiracy; and in 1746 was passed “An Act more effectually to prohibit and prevent pastors or ministers from officiating in Episcopalian meeting-houses in Scotland without duly qualifying themselves according to law, and to punish persons for resorting to any meeting-houses where such unqualified pastors or ministers shall officiate.” This Act declared that all pastors of Episcopalian congregations in Scotland should, before

1st September next, take the oaths appointed by law, and should after that date pray in express terms for the King and the Royal Family by name, failing which the meeting-house should be shut up, and the preacher be imprisoned for six months for the first offence. Only in five cases was qualification made under this Act. An Act of 1748 further defined as to sufficiency of letters of orders, and also what was a chaplain. To meet these Acts preachers kept to the statutory number of *four*, but had houses arranged like the runs in rabbit-warrens, so that others could see and hear at the same time. There were only two prosecutions made under the Acts—John Skinner of Longside, author of “*Tullochgorum*,” in 1753 at Aberdeen, and John Connachar at Inverary in 1755. It was a pitiful restraint, especially for a really good man like Skinner, whose biography is charming reading; but the Church had brought itself to this pass by wilful and prolonged resistance to the constitutional settlement of 1688.

When George III. acceded in October 1760, milder days came, and ministers ventured to officiate more openly, and began to erect meeting-houses anew. In 1764 appeared a new edition of the Communion Office, revised by the Primus, and generally recognised. In 1776 Bishop Falconer was elected at Edinburgh, after a self-imposed and seditious vacancy of nearly forty years.

• **Consecration of Bishop Seabury.**—In August 1784 Dr Samuel Seabury of Connecticut applied to the Scottish bishops for consecration, which took place at Aberdeen on 14th November of the same year. This was associated with the American Declaration of Independence. Episcopalians there wished bishops of their own, and the English law forbade consecration of those who did not acknowledge the royal authority. The day after the consecration a concordat was made “between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church of Connecticut,” in seven articles, of which No. 5 puts the hobby of the Scottish Communion Office on poor Seabury. American Episcopalians made short work of



the pactionary office, as they have also done with the Athanasian Creed and its maledictions. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the centenary of the event was grandiloquently celebrated at Aberdeen in 1884, with "functions" and speeches; but some may question the honour that consists in being made a convenience of as a substitute for another, seeing it was only after failure in England that Dr Seabury, Cœlebs-like, made his northern tour in search of a mitre.

**Loyal Prayers resumed.**—The century of Jacobite Episcopacy closes with an amusing conjunction of three dates. The first is the death of Prince Charles at Rome, 31st January 1788; the second is an Episcopal Synod on 25th May 1788 resolving that prayers should be offered for King George, the Queen, and the Royal Family; the third is the immediate intimation thereof to the Secretary of State, and in 1789 a visit of three bishops to London to lay their claims for relief before Parliament. The relief claimed was just; but the date of the claim shows that the penal laws complained of were also just, not as against a Church, but as against a Church that had allowed itself to become a political club.

To indicate the numerical strength of Episcopacy in Scotland during this post-revolution century, Bishop Freebairn says that in 1734 there were 126 presbyters, exclusive of the prelates. Bishop Keith in 1743 says 125. At Bishop Falconer's death in 1784 there were four prelates and forty presbyters.

#### *Modern Scottish Episcopacy.*

**Repeal of the Penal Laws.**—It was 15th June 1792 before the Act passed for repeal of the penal laws affecting the Episcopal Church. In 1789, after passing the Commons, it was hindered in the Lords by the opposition of Chancellor Thurlow. The substance of the Act was that all pastors or ministers in any Episcopal congregation are to take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration and the assurance, and subscribe a declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of

the Church of England, and during divine service pray for the King and the Royal Family in the same form as in the English Liturgy. All persons exercising these functions to be incapable of holding any benefice in England, or officiating where the Liturgy was used, unless ordained by an English or Irish bishop.

This Act of Relief received no opposition from the Church of Scotland, and, on the contrary, was supported by prominent men like Principal Robertson of Edinburgh, Principal Campbell and Dr Gerard of Aberdeen, while almost the only opposition to it proceeded from some of the qualified ministers of English ordination who officiated in Scotland. Without the concurrence of the English Church the Act could never have passed; and to secure that support, a deputation of three Scottish bishops addressed a letter to Dr Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, explaining their position and claims. "They mentioned that, since they came up, they had joined in the public worship of the English Church, with which they declared themselves to be in full communion; that they believed the Book of Common Prayer to be the best composed liturgy in the world; that in Scotland they constantly used the Morning and Evening Service of that Book, and also the occasional offices when requisite; and though their Eucharistic service was the Scottish Office, nearly as authorised by King Charles I., that they did not make it a condition of communion, but allowed their clergy to use either the Scottish or the English Office, and that some of them actually used the latter."—(Grub, iv. 103.)

**Conventions to reconcile Ministers in English Orders.**—On 2d August 1792, a convention, with lay delegates from each congregation, met at Laurencekirk to report the Relief Act and endeavour to use it to restore unity of congregations (chiefly in the south of Scotland) claiming connection with the Church of England, but refusing obedience to Scottish bishops. Dean Skinner of Forfar, 'Annals of Scottish Episcopacy,' p. 266, says: "The whole body of such clergy

amounted then (1793) in number to about a half of the regular Scottish Episcopal clergy." An earlier and similar meeting at the same place, at Martinmas 1789, was remarkable as the first time since the Revolution when the laity were summoned on any Church business.

No great progress was made in bringing ministers of English ordination under the Scottish bishops, as another meeting for the same purpose was necessary at Laurencekirk in 1804. Six articles of union were then offered to the Englishers, of which the third was: "Every such clergyman shall be at liberty to use in his own congregation the Liturgy of the Church of England, as well in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as in all other offices of the Church." This was preceded by an adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles by the Scottish clergy in evidence of their entire conformity with the Church of England. The adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles in 1804 was made more complete and simple, *for a purpose*, than the real views then current justified. Dr Grub, iv. 115, says: "The Primus himself [Bishop Skinner] was of opinion that some explanations were proper, to show that the Scottish Church rejected the Calvinistic interpretation of Articles 17 and 25, and to mark in what sense she was willing to receive those which, like 35, 36, 37, were peculiar to the Church of England."

Altogether, it is curious to note the slender relation of the Episcopal Church in Scotland to doctrine or confession, as stated by the same friendly author (iii. 217), for the Restoration-Revolution period, and (iv. 115) for the period 1688-1788. "In doctrine, the old Confession [1560], ratified at the beginning of the Reformation [1567], possessed a certain degree of authority, but rather as sanctioned by the State than as enjoined by any ecclesiastical law. The Confession of Faith and the Catechisms drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, like the other Acts of the Covenanting Assemblies and Parliaments, were no longer of any authority, though some of the bishops seem to have tolerated their use. There was practically, however, at this period little reference to any

other standard than the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed." "After the Revolution, the old Confession of Faith, to which the State had given a certain degree of authority, was disregarded by the bishops and clergy; and during the eighteenth century, the only recognised formularies of doctrine in addition to the Holy Scriptures, were the Creeds in the Book of Common Prayer. These might have been thought sufficient, had it not been for the requirements of the statute of 1792, and the scruples of the clergy of English ordination—the more especially that certain expressions in the Thirty-nine Articles were objected to by some of the Scottish clergy as admitting an interpretation opposed to the teaching of the Church."

To promote the policy of gathering in the English Episcopalians to become Scottish, took place the election in 1806 of Bishop Sandford of English ordination for Edinburgh. In 1808 Bishop Gleig was elected for Brechin, but, like Bishop Torry just before, in the same year, had to sign privately to the satisfaction of the Primus, Bishop Skinner, an acceptance of the Scottish Communion Office. In doing this, he declared that he was then the only minister in the diocese of Edinburgh who used it. Surely this emphasis and enforced use of the Scottish Office was not very consistent with what was done in 1804, when wooing or wheedling the men of English ordination with their own Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, or with the statement made in 1789 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to gain his help in the repeal of the penal laws, that their clergy were allowed to use either the Scottish or English Office.

#### **State of the Church and Growth of its Canons.—**

Before proceeding further in the narrative of the present century it may be useful to note how the Church stood in organisation. Dr Gordon (*Scotichronicon*, ii. 310) quotes an Almanac of 1801 which exhibits the Scottish Episcopal Church as then consisting of seven bishops and forty-five clergy, thus located:—

1. *Edinburgh*.—Bishop and three ministers; with chapels at Leith, Stirling, and Glasgow.



2. *Dunblane and Fife*.—Bishop; with chapels at Muthil, Alloa, St Andrews, Pittenweem, Cupar.

3. *Dunkeld*.—Bishop at Laurencekirk; chapels at Forfar, Kirriemuir, Meigle, Perth, Strathtay.

4. *Brechin*.—Bishop at Dundee; chapels at Arbroath, Brechin, Montrose, Lochlee, Drumlithie, Stonehaven, Muchalls.

5. *Aberdeen*.—Bishop; chapels at Aberdeen, Old Meldrum, Ellon, Cruden, Peterhead, Longside, Lonmay, Fyvie, Turiff, Cuminestown, Banff, Portsoy, Arradoul, Forgue, Meiklefolla, Blairdaff.

6. *Moray*.—Bishop at Fraserburgh; chapels at Elgin, Keith, Huntley.

7. *Ross*.—Bishop at Inverness; chapels at Ork, Appin.

At this date the Church was fortunate in the character of its presiding bishop, who gave steadiness, policy, and consolidation, which formed the basis of a fresh departure as contrasted with the feuds and follies of the Collegers and Usagers. John Skinner in 1782 was consecrated coadjutor bishop to Bishop Kilgour of Aberdeen (also Primus). In 1786 he became sole bishop, and in 1788 Primus. He died in 1816, aged seventy-three. He was the worthy son of a still more talented and scholarly father, John Skinner, born 1721, died 1807, author of "Tullochgorum," poet and Church historian, in early life trained in the Church of Scotland. His Latin verse recalls the best days and works of the old classic Scotsmen. A third John Skinner, in the third generation of the same fine race, deserves mention, the son of the Bishop, and Dean of Forfar, whose 'Annals of Scottish Episcopacy,' in continuation of his grandfather's History, and covering his father's episcopate, is a piece of admirable work. William, brother of the preceding, became Bishop of Aberdeen in 1816, Primus in 1841, and died in 1857, aged seventy-nine, also an honour to his family and Church.<sup>1</sup>

A synod at Aberdeen in 1811 adopted twenty-six canons.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Low, in a curious passage in Gordon's Shaw's 'Moray,' iii. 355, calls him "that great stot o' the north."

At the opening of the synod the bishops used patronising airs to the deans and representative presbyters, but by Canon 5 these secured for themselves the place of a *Second Chamber* or Lower House. Canon 15 provides for the Scottish Communion Office alone to be used in consecration of bishops, and requires the bishop consecrated to assent to it as "sound and of primary authority." Here is one more step in the policy of stealthy advance toward extreme ritual; and another step still immediately follows. The surplice was hitherto not generally used, but now its *careful* introduction is recommended in an appendix to these canons. "Recommendation of a proper clerical habit.—Whereas it was represented to the Synod of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, holden at Aberdeen in the year of our Lord 1811, that different dresses have of late been worn by the clergy officiating in this Church; and whereas more importance seems to have been attached to the colour of the clerical vestments than can properly be ascribed to any colour, it is hereby declared, that it is not essential to the purity of public worship whether the clergyman, when reading prayers, be arrayed in a white or in a black vestment; yet as the white garment was the proper sacerdotal vestment of the Jewish priesthood, and likewise of the Christian priesthood through the universal Church for at least 1400 years; as it is the proper sacerdotal vestment of the United Church of England and Ireland, with which the Episcopal Church in Scotland is in full communion; and as white seems to be a much more proper dress for the ministers of the Prince of peace and purity, than black, if propriety can be attached to any colour; the Synod recommends to the several clergy of this Church to wear the surplice when publicly reading prayers or administering the sacraments, but to introduce it with prudence and discretion, by explaining, where they find it necessary, the principles on which they have adopted the use of this very decent dress."

In 1822 the Scottish bishops presented an address to George IV. at Holyrood.

A fresh revision of the Canons of 1811 took place at a synod at Laurencekirk in 1828, whereby their number was increased to thirty, which were confirmed next year at Edinburgh. Still another revision took place in 1838, which brought the number up to forty-one. Of these the 21st prescribes the Scottish Communion Office *additional* at the opening of General Synods ; while the 28th *enjoins* the surplice, which in 1811 was only recommended—an injunction preceded by greater technicality in the Liturgy. “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.” Canon 40 enjoins the formation of “The Scottish Episcopal Church Society,” for the purpose of helping the poorer districts.

A sensible and neighbourly act was done in 1835, during the venomous Voluntary controversy, when the Episcopal Church, in an address to the king, signed by six bishops, and presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed itself thus : “Although we cannot conscientiously unite in communion with the ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland, we live on terms of perfect harmony with its ministers and members ; and we regard with sincere and friendly concern the machinations which have been formed against that Establishment, as well by pretended friends as by professed enemies.”

**Attack on Scottish Communion Office.**—An Act of Parliament in 1840 enabled bishops and presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland (extending the privilege also to the Episcopal Church of the United States of America), by written permission of English or Irish bishops, to officiate, “for

any one or two days and no more," in a church in England or Ireland. By 1842 all the independent congregations except *two* had submitted ; but a new "schism" was then started by Mr Drummond of Edinburgh and Sir W. Dunbar of Aberdeen, whom several others joined. The bishops, although they tried hard, could get no formal condemnation of this procedure from the English bishops, and in 1844 they issued a declaration against the independents, who retaliated amusingly by attacking the Scottish Communion Office, the bishops' pet hobby, which had been step by step studiously, if not stealthily, promoted, notwithstanding the efforts made to conciliate the ministers of English orders. This clever *ruse de guerre* found some sympathy from a number of presbyters outside the "schism," but after a little manœuvring the sympathy was episcopally and ecclesiastically crushed out.

In 1847 two notable and somewhat contrary consecrations took place of Bishop Ewing to the district of Argyle and the Isles, and of Bishop A. P. Forbes to the district of Brechin. The former was a man of liberal tendencies, with more common-sense than ecclesiasticism. His consecration was delayed, his work was curbed, and a special struggle and fresh delay ensued at his death in 1873, to avoid a like-minded successor. Bishop Forbes (+ 1875), again, represented the extreme High Church policy, and was a man of rare antiquarian scholarship, who skilfully dry-nursed the various items of medieval superstition.

A great stir arose in 1849 from an appeal of the Rev. W. Palmer against the reception of a Russian lady into the English Church by the English chaplain at Geneva. The reception had taken place on a theory of conversion, whereas Palmer contended it should have been on the theory of intercommunion. Palmer had letters commendatory from Bishop Luscombe, who had been consecrated in 1825 at Stirling (on the Seabury plan of 1784) for British subjects on the Continent. After discussion in the separate synods, the Episcopal Synod ended the case by *rejecting* the appeal, the real reason for the rejection being a desire not to offend the English Church. The



fiasco was appropriately wound up by Palmer himself seceding from the English Church, and joining, not the Eastern Church, in whose interests he had all along been contending, but the Church of Rome! The whole turmoil was a case of running ecclesiastical theories to death, apart from common-sense and direct Scripture.

**Baptismal Regeneration : Ecclesiastical Titles.**—The Privy Council decision in the Gorham case having left the doctrine of baptism (as to grace or regeneration being conveyed in the act) an open question in England, the Scottish Episcopal Church at once bestirred itself to prevent its being supposed that the same was the case in it. Accordingly, an Episcopal Synod at Aberdeen in 1850 passed five declaratory resolutions, mainly to the effect that the recent decision in England had no legal authority in the Episcopal Church of Scotland; that the language of the Formularies was perfectly explicit on the subject of baptismal grace; and that consequently there was no need for anything more than the present declaration on the subject. The same synod condemned an edition of the Book of Common Prayer—called the St Andrews Prayer-book—issued by Bishop Torry; but both Bishop Torry and Bishop Forbes wrote and protested against the condemnation.

On 29th September 1850, Pope Pius IX. restored a Roman hierarchy in England and Wales, to the surprise and indignation of many. It was expected that the same would be done early for Scotland; but it was delayed till 4th March 1878. Acting on the Scottish fear or anticipation, Bishop Forbes issued a strangely unreasonable protest against the intrusion of the Pope's expected new bishops, as if the Pope's claims were not both older and better than his own. In 1851 the Synod of Aberdeen petitioned Parliament against part of the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act, and got a clause inserted protecting Scottish bishops from its provisions; but (to their disgust) a further clause *ex adverso* was added, restricting them from assuming or using any titles which they were not then by law entitled to assume or use. This makes their present self-

made titles as to dioceses equally vain with those of the revived and more venerable Roman hierarchy—in fact, more vain and inconsistent; for by Canon VI. of 1731, dioceses were expressly renounced. After naming ten bishops with districts, that canon adds, “By the foresaid division of districts, we do not pretend to claim any legal title to dioceses.”

**Further Advance in Ritual.**—The point at which we have arrived brings us into the midst of the Tractarian and Ritualist movement in England, which was taken up almost more vehemently in the little Episcopal body in Scotland. Their own historian (Dr Grub, iv. 271) says: “The revival of primitive doctrine in the Episcopal Church had not been accompanied by any corresponding improvement in ritual or in the forms of worship. . . . The canon of the Synod of Edinburgh (1829) which enjoined that, in the performance of morning and evening service, the words and rubrical directions of the English Liturgy should be strictly adhered to, had prepared the way for a reform. At the date of the meeting of that synod, there was no cathedral or collegiate church, not even a college chapel, to supply a model for the more frequent and solemn celebration of divine service. Few of the churches, or chapels as they continued to be generally styled, were consecrated; and only a very small number of them had been erected with any attention to ecclesiastical propriety or architectural beauty. In none of them were the services choral; in none were the Morning and Evening Prayer said daily; in none was the Eucharist celebrated oftener than once a-month.”

What between the older movement of the Usagers since 1720 as touching *doctrine*, and the recent movement since 1840 as touching *ritual*, Scottish Episcopacy, in the second half of the nineteenth century, has little in common with Scottish Episcopacy in the second half of the seventeenth century—beyond this, that it is still an exotic in the land, and even more remote than then from sympathy with Scottish life and thought. Dean Stanley (‘Church of Scotland,’ p. 44) truly says: “Of all that now constitutes to the outward eye the

main characteristics of Scottish Episcopacy, not one existed before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Prayer-book throughout the time of James VI. and Charles II. was never publicly used, except during the short time that the Princess Anne was with her father in Edinburgh. The Episcopalian clergy and bishops preached and officiated in no peculiar dress, or else generally in black gowns, as distinct from the blue gowns and broad blue bonnets of the Presbyterians. This is the real origin of 'Black Prelacy' and 'True Blue Presbyterianism.' Black serge was the only ecclesiastical vestment known at the beginning of this century in the Episcopal church of Glasgow. The Communion was received sitting. The sign of the cross was not used in baptism. Extemporaneous instead of liturgical prayers were almost everywhere used. The requirement of tokens for the Eucharist, which was enjoined in the Scottish Prayer-book, is still in force in the Presbyterian Church, as well as in the older Episcopalian congregations in the north. . . . The Episcopal Church of Scotland has ceased to be half Presbyterian, as it was in the seventeenth century. It has ceased to be Jacobite, as it was in the eighteenth. It is now for the most part, and for practical purposes, a branch of the English Church in Scotland for the benefit of the English settlers, or of Scotsmen with an English education."

**New Ecclesiastical Buildings.**—In this period of Ritualism we see a parallel development in stone and lime as we trace the dates of its chief buildings.

Glenalmond College, 1841—now shorn of its glory. S. John's, Jedburgh, 1844. Cumbrae College, 1849; Cathedral since 1876. S. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, 1850. Inverness Cathedral, 1869. S. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, 1879.

In 1876 was formed a Representative Church Council, composed of all bishops and presbyters, with one lay representative of each congregation, and the diocesan officials. This Council has charge of all financial matters of the denomination, and appoints an executive committee which meets quarterly in

Edinburgh. The Council publishes an annual report, and holds its annual meeting by rotation in some chief town. The origin of this important Council is traceable back to 1852, or rather to 1824. In 1852 Mr Gladstone (as one of the Glenalmond Trustees) addressed a printed letter to the Primus "On the functions of laymen in the Church." This was discussed in diocesan synods the same year and next, but fell to the ground, as the bishops declined to summon a general synod—and further pressure of the laity was required to overcome the clerical monopoly. In 1824 the same idea had been publicly propounded by a more steady and sagacious man, Dean John Skinner, at the time when Bishop Hobart from America had attracted attention by his account of the success of his Church in utilising lay help. The Representative Church Council is the more noticeable as one of the few steps ever taken by the body that has a likeness to Scottish ways of work in matters religious.

**Closer Connection with the Church of England.**—The last important step to be recorded is the attainment in 1864 of the Scottish Episcopal Clergy Disabilities Removal Act. By this Act there is relief from the Relief Act of 1792, and the new relief is attained without any *quid pro quo*, like what Bishop Ewing suggested in a letter to Bishop Tait of London of the restriction, or rather non-extension, of the so-called Scottish Communion Office. Section 5 contains the gist of the Act:—

“No person admitted into Holy Orders by any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in *Scotland* shall be entitled to be admitted or instituted to any benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment in *England* or *Ireland*, without the consent and approbation of the bishop of the diocese in which such benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment may be situated; and any such bishop shall be entitled to refuse such consent and approbation without assigning reason for such refusal, any law or practice to the contrary notwithstanding; and every such person seeking to be admitted or instituted to such benefice or other ecclesiastical preferment, or to be licensed to any curacy, shall, before being admitted, instituted, or licensed, make and subscribe before such bishop every such declaration and subscription as he would by law have been required to make and sub-



scribe at his ordination if he had been ordained by a bishop of the United Church of *England and Ireland*: Provided always, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to any such person who shall hold or shall have held any benefice or ecclesiastical preferment in *England or Ireland*.”

There is a further relief in this Act of 1864 from the Act of 1840, which provided for officiating for any one or two days on written permission from a bishop in England. In all probability in a few years more relief will be asked from the Act of 1864 also, to complete the policy of gradual approaches which aims at circumventing Scotland for Episcopacy, in defiance of the articles of the union of the kingdoms in 1707.

**Statistics of Scottish Episcopacy.**—Already these have been given for 1734, 1784, and 1801. In 1851—according to Oliver & Boyd’s Almanac—the following was the organisation: 1. *Aberdeen*, bishop and twenty-two clergy; 2. *St Andrews*, bishop and sixteen clergy; 3. *Moray*, bishop and eleven clergy; 4. *Edinburgh*, bishop and seventeen clergy; 5. *Argyle*, bishop and eleven clergy; 6. *Brechin*, bishop and twelve clergy; 7. *Glasgow*, bishop and twenty-three clergy. Total—seven bishops, 112 clergy.

The position of the Church in 1887 as to “dioceses,” places of worship, ministers, and communicants, as given in the Scottish Episcopal Directory, is—

SEES (the old fourteen in seven).	Churches.	Private Chapels and Missions.	Working Clergy.	Communi-cants.
Moray, Ross, and Caithness, . . .	15	15	22	1502
Aberdeen and Orkney, . . . . .	34	18	40	6221
Brechin, . . . . .	18	10	26	5213
St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, . . . . .	24	16	34	2772
Edinburgh, . . . . .	27	22	54	8746
Glasgow and Galloway, . . . . .	37	30	59	8565
Argyle and the Isles, . . . . .	18	17	24	1460
	173	128	259	34,479

The clergy list for 1887 contains 296 names, of which only 134 are of Scottish ordination, while 151 are aliens, eight are

mixed (*i.e.*, Scottish diaconate and English priesthood, or *vice versa*), and three are undefined. Of the seven bishops only one is of Scottish ordination. The members are stated as 87,392. It would be interesting to know how many of these are baptisms of waifs at half-a-crown apiece, and how many are English visitors visible only in the grouse season.

In the Directory are given contractions and signs which indicate for each church the exact altitude of ritual. The days of each month are marked W., R., V., B., or G., which being interpreted means white, red, violet, black, green, "according to the present Western use," for the colours of the *vestments* of the day. Philistines are apt to recall the colours of riders' caps in a horse-race. There are: choral services—semi-ditto—surpliced choir—eastward position—general rules for distinguishing hoods—bells one, two, three, eight, ten, and eleven—altar and baldachino decorated—ritual choir ("elevated by three series of six steps each")—Scottish Office—ditto at early celebrations—English Office—matins and Holy Communion—all-saints' days and holy-days—daily service during Lent—Anglican music—Gregorian music—Hymns Ancient and Modern—Sundays and greater festivals—eves of high festivals—octaves of festivals—Holy Communion in octave of greater festivals—priest-in-charge. The mission is worked in connection with—the Guild of the Divine Master (for men)—the Guild of S. Mary Magdalene (for women)—the Guild of the Good Shepherd (for boys)—the Guild of the Holy Childhood (for girls)—Sisterhood of S. Margaret of Scotland—Scottish Society of Reparation (*inter alia*, "to aid the clergy in propagation of the faith," and "the Sisters prepare altar vestments and other ecclesiastical needle-work")—Orphanage and Home of the House of Bethany—Community of S. Mary and S. John—Community of SS. Mary the Virgin and Modwenna—Community of S. Andrew of Scotland—Order of Holy Charity, mother house in Edinburgh, with station St Mary's-at-the-sea—Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament—Guild of Aid in Home Duties ("pro-

viding church families with church servants"—S. Mary's Orphan Home (Edinburgh), with station at Culross ("to train girls for domestic service"—*i.e.*, as Episcopalians).

**Roman Catholic Statistics compared.**—Without attempting an outline of the Roman communion in Scotland since 1560, it will serve the purpose of present comparison—especially with the Scottish Episcopal Church—to set down from the Catholic Directory of 1887 the following summary:—

SEES.	Priests.	Missions and Churches.	Chapels and Stations.	Estimated Catholic population.
St Andrews and Edinburgh, .	53	32	32	52,000
Glasgow, . . . . .	139	65	40	220,000
Aberdeen, . . . . .	51	35	18	11,500
Argyle and Isles, . . . .	25	19	22	12,000
Dunkeld, . . . . .	35	14	15	30,000
Galloway, . . . . .	25	17	21	16,500
	328	182	148	342,000

According to Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland for 1885, Roman Catholic schools were 148, with 207 departments having separate head-teachers, scholars enrolled 46,931, presented at inspection 38,300. There were six schools not inspected, with eight departments and average attendance of 1278. The above estimate of Roman Catholic population, though large, does not seem excessive when tested by the proportion of marriages—*viz.*, 9·76 per cent; the total population in 1881 being 3,735,573, which yields 364,592 as the Roman share. A similar test for the Scottish Episcopal Church, which has 2·67 per cent of marriages, would give 99,739 as their share of the total population. Both Churches are alien, but in different ways. The Roman Church mainly consists of persons of Irish extraction settled in Scotland, especially in Glasgow, Greenock, and Dundee; while the Episcopal Church represents the English element in Scotland combined with a denationalised section of Scotsmen.

**Bearing of the Historical Outline on Church Union.**—By a long series of changes since about 1720, all the changes in a

direction *away from* the Church of Scotland, as it was 1661-1688, and as it is 1843-1887, the Episcopal Church is remoter from union and national usefulness than it was at the Revolution, when the problem was taken up by William III., but failed through Jacobitism. Once Scottish Episcopacy had presbyteries, free prayer, Knox's Liturgy, Scots Psalms, a Scots Confession, plain black gowns, native ministers. Now all is High Church of the extremest type, with Broad or Low Church views almost unrepresented. This enormous change, pursued for a century and a half, has been associated with a secret tortuous clerical policy, the steps of which have been traced in the preceding narrative, and which would make it unsafe now to trust mere professions, unless such were joined with a distinct pledge to return to some earlier position, accompanied by a disavowal of advanced doctrine and slavish ritual—a course which there is little or no hope of bishops and curates agreeing to.

Nor is there much inducement for the Church of Scotland to go out of its way to arrange terms with a Church the majority of whose ministers are aliens, and whose strength is not in the people of Scotland, but in a small and select body of members whose wealth and political influence are evidently and rapidly melting away. Within the last twenty or thirty years, Scottish land-owners, apparently under Episcopal advice, have in most cases ceased to help or sympathise with the National Church, as many or most of them nobly did to their credit in the earlier years (1845-1860) of the Endowment Scheme. In the interests of union the chief hope of *reason* being listened to in the Episcopal as in the Free Church and the United Presbyterian, is in the laity coming forward and acting in some measure independently. This has been done a little already in the Representative Church Council, where the laity for the first time have a firm foothold, and may insist on more of common-sense, charity, and Scripture, leaving canons to take their proper place in the rear. Failing this, few things are more clear than that land-owners, cooped up as a class in a small sacerdotal sect, mainly of aliens, in the midst of a notably free and bold race



like the Scots, must resign themselves to loss of influence, and ultimately, to a large extent, of the just rights and privileges of property.

Episcopalians who wish any form of union or co-operation with the Church of Scotland may rest assured that it can never be attained by a plan that intends to blot out Presbyterian orders, that presupposes Episcopacy to be of divine institution and essential to Christianity—that restricts the Church service to a printed liturgy, or that subordinates the preaching of the Gospel to the sacerdotal administration of the sacraments, and plays at the confessional and confraternities and sisterhoods, and B. V. M. and necrology. There are many modifications that enlightened Presbyterians would agree to and be glad of, and which they are likely to adopt apart from union altogether; but the above-named points can never be yielded.

#### **Outline of the Argument for Ordination by Presbyters.**

—Not much approximation between Episcopacy and Presbytery is likely to be made until the advocates of the former cease from flattering themselves that they have a monopoly both of the knowledge and of the support of Church history. They choose to forget that the Church of England has *developed since the Reformation* into its present High Church views on ordination; and that at the Reformation, and for two generations subsequently, their Church was much nearer both to the Church of Scotland and to the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and had mutual recognition of orders, which continued from the accession of Elizabeth in 1559 down to 1662, until the same baleful influence of Charles II. that gave Scotland thirty years of persecution, narrowed the constitution of the Church of England, and drove out nearly 2000 clergymen into Nonconformity. They forget that to this day the Roman Catholic Church does not recognise Anglican orders at all. They argue as if there was not an Eastern Church, with a clearer and directer apostolic line than even the Roman Church, and that regards the whole Western Church (Roman, English, Scottish, and Continental) as a mere schism. They argue, moreover, as if the Church of Scotland recognised no bishops at all; whereas, although discarding prelates, it has more numerous bishops, and of a more primitive type, than the Church of England itself.

The Church of Scotland takes its stand boldly on the historic question (to be answered mainly from Scripture and partly from Church history), **WHAT WAS FIRST?** It maintains that diocesan Episcopacy has no place in the New Testament; that the words *bishop* and *presbyter* are there interchangeable; and that there is not a

vestige of proof that Episcopacy, as equivalent to Prelacy, rests on the transmission of the special office of the twelve Apostles.

The Church of Scotland further maintains that in several or many parts of early Christendom diocesan bishops had no place for several centuries, although in some districts they gained an earlier footing. Ancient Ireland and Celtic Scotland, as we have seen, are both examples of the former in their multitudinous bishops, not diocesan at all, and moreover often subject to a presbyter-abbot. "Hence it is" (says Professor Crawford, 'Presbytery or Prelacy,' p. 99) "that we may account for the striking fact, that the number of bishops gradually *diminished*, instead of increasing, with the progress of Christianity. Soon after the Apostles' times there are said to have been in the island of Crete no fewer than a *hundred* bishops; and in a few centuries afterwards we find that there were only *twelve*. In a small district of Asia there were, early in the third century, *one hundred and five* bishops, who, in two centuries after, were reduced in number to *nine*. Many other instances of a like nature might be adduced. What conclusion are we to draw from this remarkable diminution in the number of bishops, while the Church was more and more extending its boundaries and increasing its members? Is it not obvious that the larger body of primitive bishops were nothing else than parochial or congregational pastors; and that the greatly reduced number, who in after-ages appropriated the name of 'bishop' exclusively to themselves, were the more recently established class of diocesan bishops, who had gradually obtained the rule over others in the surrounding districts?"

The same writer (p. 55) says "that there are two points which, as Presbyterians, we are concerned to vindicate: 1st, that besides the deacons, there was *only one order* of permanent officers established in the primitive Churches, to whom the titles of *bishop* and of *presbyter* were indiscriminately given; and 2d, that these *presbyter-bishops* were invested with the powers of ordination and government."

After showing that ordination by presbyters has the support of the New Testament (a conclusion since corroborated by the pre-eminent learning and reasoning of Bishop Lightfoot of Durham), Dr Crawford further argues the reasonableness and self-consistency of ordination by presbyters (p. 82):—

"Ordination by presbyters is not forbidden in the New Testament. In the ecclesiastical canons of after-times, when the system of Prelacy was generally established, such prohibitions are frequently to be met with. But nowhere do we find them in the New Testament.

"Ordination by presbyters is not inconsistent with the ordination ascribed to the Apostles and their delegates. We have no evidence that, in a Church already constituted, any one of these parties ordained pastors by himself alone. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that, in every such Church, the presbyters, before appointed, were associated with him in the ordination of their future fellow-labourers. This was unquestionably the case in the ordination

of Timothy, when the hands, not of Paul only, but of the presbytery, were laid upon him.

“There is nothing in the office of a presbyter that should necessarily disqualify an assemblage of presbyters from ordaining to it. If it were a higher office than their own, there might in that case be some greater show of reason in preventing them from investing other parties with it. But it is their own office. And why, therefore, should they be held to lie under any incapacity of imparting it?

“There is nothing in the nature of ordination, according to any intelligible description that can be given of it, that should necessarily preclude an assemblage of presbyters from conferring it. If, in ordination, a person is simply considered as set apart, in an orderly and solemn manner, to the discharge of official trust, and the performance of official duty, there is no assignable reason why presbyters should be held incapable of ordaining a co-presbyter.

“If presbyters have *not* the power we claim for them, of ordaining their colleagues and successors in the ministry, there is no other officer, or class of officers, now existing to whom, on *Scriptural grounds*, that power can be ascribed, and consequently no Divine provision has been made for maintaining a ministerial succession whatsoever.”

The same argument is admirably presented in a more limited form in an article in ‘The Scots Magazine’ for February 1888, on Ignatian Episcopacy, where Principal Cunningham of St Andrews conclusively shows that Smyrna, Magnesia, Philadelphia, and other churches addressed by Ignatius had each its own bishop. The principle of Ignatius is that for every *altar* there must be a *bishop*, which clearly makes the bishop congregational or parochial and not diocesan. In support of this interpretation, the Principal appeals to Lightfoot, Hatch, Schaff, Zahn, Ritschl, Harnack, and Bellesheim, as against Bishop Wordsworth’s rather ancient references to Sclayter and Skinner.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE CONSTITUTION AND COURTS OF THE CHURCH.

To understand the Church of Scotland as regards government and constitution, there are three points that require attention : 1. The equality of ministers ; 2. An essential and influential place for popular representatives under the name of ruling elders ; 3. The gradation of Church courts.

**The Principle of Equality of Ministers.**—As regards ministers or pastors, no sacrificial or priestly character is claimed. The word clergy is only used in connection with custom or convenience ; its strict meaning as denoting an official order essentially distinct from the great company of Christian people is entirely alien to Presbytery, as it is also to Protestantism. As there is no clergy technically so called, so also there is no laity. When we speak of laymen, it is only in the vague sense of unofficial. The minister or pastor is the presbyter or bishop of the New Testament. It is a simple matter of fact that in the New Testament these two names are used interchangeably. The position held by the Church of Scotland on this point is the *general* position of the Reformed Churches agreeing with Holland, Geneva, France, Germany, Switzerland. England in its Episcopal system is an *exceptional* Reformed Church. But just as the Church of England in its Articles and Prayer-book recognises true branches of the Church beyond Episcopacy, so the Church of Scotland heartily acknowledges true branches of the Church alike in Episcopacy and



Independency. The key to our position is a rejection of the supposed doctrine of apostolical succession as necessary for orders, and a rejection of the doctrine that any one form of the Church as it exists now has an *exclusive* claim to be considered of divine institution. This is a system much easier to defend from Scripture than Romanism, Prelacy, or Independency, each of which has special details that require not a little special pleading, most of which rest not on Scripture, but on certain portions of Church history. By far the best representation of the Presbyterian view in recent times, in point of learning, reasoning, and liberality, is given in a little unpretending book in two parts, by the late Professor Crawford of the University of Edinburgh, entitled "Presbyterianism defended against the exclusive claims of Prelacy as urged by Romanists and Tractarians," and "Presbytery or Prelacy, which is the more conformable to the pattern of the Apostolic Churches?" (Blackwood, Edinburgh.)

**Representation of the People by Ruling Elders.**<sup>1</sup>—Ruling elders are the representatives of the people, and in all things save preaching and administration of the sacraments are joined with the ministers. Their position numerically in the different Church courts is this: Beginning with the kirk-session, the elders are to the minister at least as two to one. A quorum of session requires two elders besides the minister of the parish; but the session may have, and often has, a dozen or even a score of elders, if the parish be large and populous. In the Presbytery each parish is entitled to be represented by one minister and one elder. In point of fact, however, elders do not generally here exercise their right which the constitution confers. In the Synod the representation and proportion are exactly the same as in the Presbytery; but here, again, as in the Presbytery, the right is practically used only to a small extent. In the General Assembly each Presbytery is represented by about one elder to three min-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 181, where it is shown that *elders* is a misnomer for *deacons*.

isters ; but in addition to this, each royal burgh has a representative elder. The same applies to each of the four universities. Here the full quota of elders is maintained, and their influence is very great in every Assembly, because they are more seldom changed than is the case with ministers, who generally have only a rotation once in three or four or five years, whereas many elders hold on continuously for ten or twenty or forty years, and become thus intimately acquainted with the forms of business and the leading ecclesiastical questions. Most of these elders are landed gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, or bankers, and in general education are equal to the best of the clergy ; yet they form no class or clique. All elders have in the General Assembly exactly the same freedom of speech and vote as ministers, even in libel cases for doctrine. Thus in the lowest and highest Church court alike there is direct and extensive representation of the whole body of the Christian people—so that Presbytery has the wholesome safeguard of a popular eldership against the danger of narrowness, intolerance, sacerdotalism, to which every exclusively clerical court is specially exposed.

**The Gradation of Church Courts.**—The gradation of courts in the Church of Scotland is fourfold—viz., Kirk-Session, Presbytery, Provincial Synod, and General Assembly. There is one kirk-session for each parish, whether the parish be *quoad civilia* or *quoad sacra*. There are eighty-four Presbyteries and sixteen Synods.

**The Kirk-Session.**—The Kirk-Session is the lowest judicatory, and is composed of the minister of the parish, together with a certain number of lay elders. It is the business of the session to exercise a general superintendence over the religious state of the parish and the morals of the people ; to settle the time for dispensing the ordinances of religion ; to judge of the fitness of those who desire to partake of them ; to exercise discipline on those accused or guilty of scandalous offences ; and to grant certificates of character to parties removing from the parish. With a view to the efficient discharge of these

duties, it is common, especially in large parishes, to assign special districts to the several elders, with the state and condition of which they are expected to make themselves acquainted; and it is usual to meet together at stated times—not unfrequently on a Lord's Day, after the conclusion of the service. The session has its moderator, which the minister is *ex officio*; its clerk, who holds his appointment during pleasure, unless specially appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*, by whom a regular record of its proceedings is kept; and its officer, who carries out its orders and executes its summonses. Two elders and the minister constitute a quorum of the session. When there are not two elders, the Presbytery appoints, at the request of the minister, one or more of the neighbouring ministers to act as assessor along with him in cases of discipline. During a vacancy a neighbouring minister is appointed *interim* moderator. The meetings are opened and closed with prayer. The session is represented in the Presbytery and Synod of the bounds by one of the elders elected for that purpose. Elders may be appointed either by nomination by the session, or by election by the congregation. They are set apart to their office by prayer, accompanied with an exhortation to them, and address to the people. Previous to this ceremony, an edict intimating the intention must be read from the pulpit, giving ten free days to the people for stating objections. Previous to ordination, elders are required to answer three questions as to accepting the Confession of Faith, Presbyterian Church government, and uniformity of worship.

**The Presbytery.**—A Presbytery consists of the ministers of all the parishes within the bounds of the district; of the Professors of Divinity of any university that may be situated within the bounds, provided they be ministers; and of an elder from each of the kirk-sessions in the district. One of the ministers is chosen to act as moderator, and it is the general practice that the moderator elected continues in office for six months. The business of Presbyteries is to examine

students of divinity, and license them to preach the Gospel; to take trial of presentees to parishes, and, if they find them qualified, to ordain them to the ministry and grant them induction; to see that the Word is preached, divine ordinances regularly dispensed, and the various duties of the ministry discharged within the bounds; to take cognisance of the conduct of such minister, and in the event of any charge being made involving censure, suspension, or deposition from his office, to libel the person accused, to take evidence, to judge of the same, and pronounce sentence accordingly. It is their duty to judge of all complaints, appeals, and references which may come from an inferior court. And as a civil court, it belongs to them to judge and determine in the first instance all matters connected with glebes, and the erection or repair of churches and manses. A Presbytery, besides its moderator, has a clerk and officer. All its meetings must be opened and closed with prayer, to which allusion is necessary in the minute. The time and place of next meeting are appointed at each meeting. But the moderator, on a requisition from two or more of the brethren, may call a *pro re natâ* meeting. Presbyteries vary greatly in the number of parishes they contain—*e.g.*, Glasgow has 81; Edinburgh, 47; Hamilton, 38; Ellon, 9; Langholm, 7; Forres, 6; Burray, 5. Each Presbytery annually elects commissioners or representatives to the General Assembly—the number being proportioned to the size of the Presbytery, as follows: For twelve parishes or less, two ministers and one ruling elder; for eighteen parishes or under, three ministers and one elder; twenty-four parishes and under, four ministers and two elders; twenty-four to thirty parishes, five ministers and two elders. Above thirty parishes, six ministers and three elders. Above thirty-six parishes, seven ministers and three elders. Above forty-two parishes, eight ministers and four elders. Above forty-eight parishes, nine ministers and four elders. Above fifty-four parishes, ten ministers and five elders. Elections require to be made at least forty days before the meeting of



Assembly, except in the Presbyteries of the Northern and Western Isles.

**The Provincial Synod.**—Provincial Synods are composed of the members of the several Presbyteries within the bounds prescribed to them by the General Assembly; and neighbouring Synods have the power of sending each a minister and ruling elder as corresponding members. The Synod is the intermediate court between Presbytery and the General Assembly; and unless express instructions to that effect be given in any case by the Assembly, or it should so happen that there be no intervening meeting of Synod, no business can be brought from the Presbytery direct to the General Assembly. It belongs to Synods to hear and judge of all overtures, references, complaints, and appeals brought up from the inferior court, and generally to review the conduct of that court by examining the minutes of its proceedings and otherwise. The Synod has no legislative power. As it is competent for a Presbytery, so also is it for a Synod, to transmit an overture on any subject to the supreme court. The Synod is opened by sermon by the last moderator, and after being constituted by prayer, a new moderator is elected. All meetings of Synod are held on fixed days—ten meeting twice a-year, and six only once. Usually all the business is concluded in one day.

**The General Assembly.**—The General Assembly is the highest ecclesiastical court in Scotland. It meets annually in Edinburgh, in the month of May, on the first Thursday after the 15th, and continues to sit from Thursday to the Monday se'nnight. It is composed of representatives from Presbyteries, royal burghs, universities, and the Scottish Church in India.

In 1887 the Church is thus constituted—

Parishes, old and new,	. . . . .	1320
Unendowed churches,	. . . . .	160
Preaching-stations,	. . . . .	145
		<hr/>
Total,	. . . . .	1625

The court in 1886 was composed of—

Ministers,	. . . . .	262
Presbytery elders,	. . . . .	116
Burgh elders,	. . . . .	68
Representatives of universities,	. . . . .	4
Church in India,	. . . . .	1
		<hr/>
Total,	. . . . .	451

By erection of new parishes and increase of members of Presbyteries, additional members come from year to year to the Assembly under the regulations which proportion the representation of a Presbytery to the number of its members.

Commissions of members are submitted by the agent for the Church to a special committee, who report to the Assembly at their first diet. It is competent to produce commissions at any period during the sitting of the Assembly.

On the day appointed for the meeting of the Assembly a sermon is preached by the moderator of the last Assembly, who intimates at the conclusion of public worship that the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory is about to sit, and afterwards opens its meeting by prayer. The clerks read the roll of members which they have prepared, and one of the ministers upon that roll is chosen moderator. The Lord High Commissioner, appointed to represent the Royal Person in the General Assembly, then presents his commission and the letter from the Sovereign, which, after permission is obtained, are read by the clerk of the Assembly, and ordered to be recorded. The Commissioner next addresses the Assembly from the throne; and the moderator, in their name, replies to the speech of his Grace. Six committees are thereafter appointed—viz., on Disputed Commissions—on Overtures—on Bills—for Arranging the Order of Business—for Revising the Record of the Commission and Synod Books—and for Nominating Members to serve on Special Committees. The Assembly generally meets twice daily—from noon till 6 P.M., and from 8.30 P.M. to 12 P.M., or later. On the first Friday there is a diet of prayer. On the Fridays and Saturdays there is usually no

evening sederunt. The Assembly appoints two ministers for each Sunday to preach before the Commissioner in St Giles's, and another minister for each Sunday evening to preach in St George's, on Home and Foreign Missions respectively. An important part of the proceedings is the series of reports on the great Schemes of the Church, each being spoken to by at least the convener and a mover and seconder. All business is conducted in conformity with the "Standing Orders of the Church," printed at the end of the roll of members.

The minutes of the last sederunt are read before the close of the Assembly, that they may receive its sanction, in the same way as the minutes of former sederunts, which are always read at the opening of the meetings subsequent thereto. A Committee is appointed to revise the minutes of Assembly, and to select from its Acts such as are of general concern, that they may be printed.

When the business is concluded, the moderator addresses first the Assembly, and then his Grace the Commissioner, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Head of His Church, appoints another Assembly to be held on a certain day in the month of May in the following year. The Lord High Commissioner then addresses the Assembly, and in the name of the Sovereign appoints another Assembly to be held upon the day mentioned by the moderator. Intimation of this appointment is publicly given, and the Assembly is concluded with prayer, singing of a psalm, and pronouncing the blessing. The closing psalm is always cxxii. 6-9, to the tune St Paul's—the whole Assembly standing.

The General Assembly annually grants a Commission to some ministers and ruling elders for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, and for managing her Majesty's royal bounty—viz., the annual sum of £2000 granted by the Crown for that object.

The Commission of the Assembly was in former times composed of a certain number of individuals selected for the purpose; but for many years it has been the practice to include

in it all the members of the Assembly. A quorum of the Commission requires thirty-one members, whereof twenty-one are ministers. It meets the day after the Assembly is dissolved—second Wednesday of August, third Wednesday of November, first Wednesday of March, and oftener, when and where the Assembly may appoint. It is also competent for the moderator to call a special meeting of the Commission on any emergency.

The *instructions* to the Commission have been the same every year for upwards of half a century. They are ordered “to advert to the interests of the Church on every occasion, that the Church, and the present establishment thereof, do not suffer or sustain any prejudice which they can prevent.”

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## CHAPTER XII.

## THE PROPERTY AND REVENUE OF THE CHURCH.

**Antiquity of Church Property.**—The chief difficulty in describing the property of the Church arises from its antiquity, and the long series of laws by which it has been regulated in different ages. Tithes, teinds, tenths, *decimæ*, constitute a servitude or burden on land. The owner of an estate is not a complete owner. The Church is joint owner with each, but this joint ownership does not consist in separating a certain percentage of acres, but only a certain percentage of crop or rent. The Church's possession of this claim is more ancient and less interrupted than any private titles now existing.

**History of Tithes.**—The credit of introducing tithes under the Christian dispensation is assigned to S. Augustine, who is said to have suggested them in imitation of the tithes payable to the Levites under the Jewish law. They were not established, however, for some centuries after his day, although the Church had been using its utmost influence to that end. About the sixth century payment of tithes was made chiefly to monasteries, and but few to the secular clergy. The Popes about the ninth century expressed opinions favourable to teinds, but no regular pontifical decrees were issued before 1059 A.D. The first temporal potentate which established teinds was Charlemagne, who introduced them into his dominions in France and Germany about the year 778. In Scotland they were acknowledged and confirmed in the reign of David I., who founded the abbeys of Holyrood, Dryburgh, New-

battle, Cambuskenneth, Melrose, and Kelso. At that date nearly the whole land in the kingdom belonged to the Crown ; and it follows from this that the teinds never belonged to the heritors, who subsequently acquired their lands subject to teinds. David I. made two grants of land with the tithes (*cum decimis inclusis*) to particular churches, and David II. in express statute inflicted excommunication for refusal of tithes. Between the time of David I., who died in 1153 A.D., and the Reformation in 1560, abundant time was afforded for the teind system taking deep root. Indeed, it had by that time become very complicated.

The foundation lay in *parsonage* and *vicarage* teinds, especially the former. Parsonage teinds, consisting of the tithes of grain, were due to the rector or parson of the parish. Where a substitute or vicar performed the duties, he drew vicarage teinds, which consisted of fish, fowl, eggs, and minor products. Parsonage teinds have suffered in value through early valuations stopping their increase with the prosperity of the country, while vicarage teinds have almost entirely lapsed through desuetude. Post-Reformation stipends come from these two kinds of teind in 876 parishes.

**Tithes after the Reformation.**—After the Reformation the first step towards establishing a legal maintenance for the clergy was an Act of Privy Council dated February 15, 1562, declaring that the third of all the Popish benefices should be set apart for the service of the Government, and the support of preachers and readers ; and that the old beneficiaries who had exhibited rent-rolls of their benefices, in compliance with a former Act of Council, should enjoy the remaining two-thirds during their lives. To rectify abuses as to these thirds, next came an Act 1567, c. 10, directing the whole thirds, without exception, to be paid to the collectors of the ministers' stipends ; and for the more sure payment of them, particular localities were assigned in every benefice to the extent of a third, which were called *the assumption of thirds*. That this fund might be more justly distributed among the clergy, a

commission passed the Great Seal, styled *the commission of plat*, authorising commissioners to modify stipends out of it. But this fund proved also ineffectual, having been rendered quite precarious by 1606, c. 2, restoring bishops to the whole of their benefices; and though the bishops were, by that Act, laid under an obligation to maintain the ministers within their several dioceses out of the thirds, they made shift to elude that obligation.

**Benefices of the Regular or Monastic Clergy.**—As for the benefices of abbacies, priories, &c., proper to the regular (*i.e.*, monastic) clergy, James VI. accounted himself in a particular manner absolute proprietor of them, not only in consequence of the resignations which he had obtained from the greatest part of the beneficiaries, but because the purpose for which they had been granted—*viz.*, the maintenance of the regular clergy—having been declared superstitious, the benefices themselves fell, as *bona vacantia*, to the Crown. First, his Majesty appointed, on death of abbot or prior, a lay commendator for life to the vacant benefice. The most of these commendators got the king to change their liferent into a heritable right by erecting the benefice into a temporal lordship, the grantees of which were called *lords of erection* or *titulars of the tithes*. Some of these lords or titulars came to present ministers to vacant churches associated with their holdings.

To put a stop to such erections injurious to the Crown, all Church lands (tithes not interfered with), whether belonging to bishops, abbots, or other beneficiaries, were annexed to the Crown by 1587, c. 29, to remain for ever with it inalienably. There were three classes of subjects, however, excepted from this statute—(1) the erections already made; (2) lands of hospitals, schools, and universities which had been so settled previous to the Reformation; (3) benefices which had lay patrons previous to the Reformation. Besides these, the manses and glebes which belonged to the Popish Churchmen were excepted from the annexation of 1587; because every

minister was accounted to have, if not a divine, at least a natural right to a manse and glebe—which were therefore to be considered as part of the spirituality of benefices, and so not to be annexed to the Crown more than the tithes themselves.

**Commission of 1617.**—The system of thirds, dating from 1562, improved in 1567, and damaged in 1606, struggled on to 1617. At that date a commission was issued by Parliament for settling ministers' stipends on a principle proposed to the General Assembly of 1596. A mixed commission of prelates, nobles, barons, and burgesses was named, with power "out of the teinds of every parish to appoint and assign at their discretion a perpetual local stipend to the ministers present and to come." By this Act, stipend was to be paid, not out of a general fund as before, but out of the tithes of the parish where each minister laboured: recognition being thus made anew of the old and sound maxim *decimæ debentur parochæ*—*i.e.*, the teinds within each parish belong to that parish and no other. The minimum stipend was fixed at 5 chalders of victual, or 500 merks; the maximum at 8 chalders, or 800 merks. (1 chalder = 16 bolls of 8 stones each.)

**Valuation of Teinds under Charles I.**—The next change was at the accession of Charles I. in 1625. He executed a revocation of all grants of Church lands or tithes made by his father to the Crown's prejudice. In January 1627 his Majesty appointed commissioners to confer with those interested in the revocation. Ultimately the differences were submitted to the king as arbiter, and four submissions were signed,—the first and fourth by the lords of erection and their tacksmen or lessees; the second by the bishops and clergy; the third by the commissioners of several royal burghs in connection with their interest in certain churches, schools, hospitals, and colleges. On each of these four the king pronounced a separate award or "decreet arbitral," all dated 2d September 1629.

With regard to the superiorities of Church lands, 1000 merks Scots were to be paid by the Crown for each chalder



of victual feu-duty, and for each 100 merks of money feu-duty. With regard to teinds, the decret declares "that it is necessary and expedient for the public welfare and peace of this our ancient kingdom, and for the better providing of kirks and ministers' stipends, and for the establishing of schools and other pious uses, that each heritor have and enjoy his own teinds;" and in order to this, it is provided that all teinds should be valued and sold to those heritors who should choose to purchase them. The fifth of the rental of the land was declared to be the value of the teind; and the price of teinds thus valued was fixed at nine years' purchase. It was further provided, that in calculating the price of teinds, heritors were to pay for no more than what should remain after the ministers' stipends were deducted; and also that a certain portion of the rent or price, to be fixed by commissioners, should be set apart for the king in name of annuity.

These arrangements were sanctioned in 1633 by Parliament; and a considerable portion of the teinds were soon valued by sub-commissioners, but few proprietors used their right of purchase. "By this mode," says Sir John Connel, "the clergy of Scotland, on the one hand, were in general secured in competent provisions; and on the other, there were preserved to landholders the quiet possession of their property, the full benefits of their improvements, and the exclusive right to all future rises of rent."

For carrying the decreets arbitral in all their branches into full execution under the authority of a proper court, a commission was appointed by 1633, c. 19—viz., the Court of Session. But, unfortunately, much of the benefit that might have arisen from these arrangements has been hindered by two accidents—(1) the carrying off of the whole records to England during Cromwell's usurpation, of which the greatest part perished in the vessel that was bringing them back to Scotland after the Restoration; (2) the great fire in the Parliament Close in 1700, which consumed the records of the tithe office.

**Erskine on Tithes, and Augmentation of Stipend.**—

Erskine (Institutes, II. x. § 40) says: "Tithes were, by their original constitution, a subject quite distinct from lands; for they did not belong to the owners of the lands, but to the Church. The rights of the two were also constituted differently. The lands themselves passed by seisin, but Churchmen enjoyed their tithes *ex lege*, both before and since the Reformation; their right was a necessary consequence of their being invested with their several Church offices; and so no form of law was required to the perfecting of it. . . . Lands and tithes are to this day accounted separate tenements, and pass by different titles; insomuch that a right to lands, though granted by one who has also right to the tithes, will not carry the tithes, unless it shall be presumed, from special circumstances, that a sale of both was intended by the parties."

At the time when the Church of Scotland claimed a right to the old Church property, the claim was distinctly allowed by the Scottish Legislature; for by Act 1567, c. 10, the thirds of all benefices were directed to be paid to the ministers of the Gospel, "aye and until the Kirk came to the full possession of their proper patrimony, which is the teinds."

"Neither the Act of 1633, c. 8, nor any subsequent commission of tithes, were limited as to their powers of altering the old *maximum* of stipend fixed by the Act 1617. And therefore, now that the expense of living is so much heightened, the commission court exercise a discretionary power of augmenting stipends considerably above that *maximum*, where there is enough of free tithes in the parish. The reasons which chiefly move the court to grant augmentations are—that the parish is a place of more than ordinary resort, or that the cure is burdensome, or that the necessaries of life give a high price in that part of the country, or that the scanty allowance in that parish bears too small a proportion to the weight of the charge."

**Principle of Grain Stipends, and periodical Augmentation.**

—For the valuation and sale of teinds, for modification of

stipends and similar Church arrangements, the judges were the Commissioners appointed by Charles I., and under later Acts of Parliament. The functions of these Commissioners were transferred in 1707 to the judges of the Court of Session, and now under more recent Acts, especially the Court of Session Act of 1868, the judges of the Inner House of the Court of Session, and the second junior Lord Ordinary as Lord Ordinary on Teinds—five, including the Lord Ordinary, being a quorum—compose the Court of Teinds. This Court now fixes the stipends of all parish ministers under an Act of Parliament in 1808. Augmentations of stipend, even where free teind is available, can be made only once in twenty years; and the augmentation is given not in money, but grain, the price of which is annually fixed by the fiars prices ascertained in each county by a jury acting under the sheriff, who ascertain the market prices of grain during a certain period of the year. By a “decree of modification and locality,” the Teind Court fixes how much augmentation is to take place, and in what proportions it is to be subdivided on the different lands where there is free teind. The advantage of grain over money is twofold as regards stipend. (1) The value of a given quantity of grain is more steady in the course of centuries than the value of a given number of pieces of money. (2) The original claim was mainly in grain, a certain proportion of sheaves drawn from the crop after it was cut, or a certain proportion of other produce or stock. Closely associated with stipend in each parish is a separate allowance for Communion elements, averaging perhaps about £10, and regulated also by the Teind Court.

**Exposure of the Weakness of three common Objections.**—Some have thought fit to characterise the forms of the Teind Court as clumsy and “barbarous.” They are no more so than ordinary forms of law, or than the technical terms used in any well-organised calling. Nautical terms are barbarous to a landsman, and railway terms are barbarous to one who is only a carter.

Another large branch of objections that have been made to

the teind system comes from selecting a few exceptional cases out of our 924 old parishes, and holding up these to look at as if they were fair specimens. There is one case (the Barony parish of Glasgow) where the list of names and properties occupies two large volumes, and one single blunder might cause these two volumes to be all done over again for correction. That expansion arises in a needless way from entering in detail the name of every proprietor, however small, in a parish that happens to contain a large part of Glasgow and its eastern suburbs. The original list of properties would not be at all formidable, and that was all that the law required.

This suggests another branch of objection that has cunningly been employed to foster discontent with Church stipends. Several burghs and towns (Edinburgh, Montrose, Dundee, Paisley, &c.) had ancient arrangements whereby Church property got mixed up with burgh property. Objectors looked only to the present liability of the burgh, without going back to the early arrangement wherein the Church revenue perhaps made the burgh; and in this way of looking at only one side of the account, it was very easy to raise a clamour against the Church. Such cases, in so far as they are a real grievance to any one, may be soon overcome by means of a historical and financial statement of facts and figures on both sides, and thereon a reasonable payment once for all to the Church, determined on the ordinary principles of capital and interest. This was done in the case of the annuity-tax in Edinburgh. The Church is pleased, although it sacrificed somewhat; the only discontents are those who have lost a stock-in-trade grievance. Any similar remaining cases of unfair pressure or grievance the representatives of the Church will be very glad to arrange on the terms applicable to any friendly compromise in ordinary business matters.

Besides the relation of stipend to teind, there is another branch of the same subject in connection with churches, manses, and glebes, the rebuilding and repair of which are a part of the liability of heritors. Civil procedure in connection



with these is part of the duty of Presbyteries, with appeal to the Court of Session, according to certain ancient statutes. This undesirable jurisdiction has been recently simplified by the Act 31 & 32 Vict. c. 96, entitled "An Act to amend the procedure in regard to ecclesiastical buildings and glebes in Scotland," whereby, in case of dissatisfaction, the procedure may be easily transferred to the sheriff of the county, subject to a certain right of appeal to the Lord Ordinary.

**Manse and Glebe.**—By the Act 1663, c. 21, the burden of upholding manses once "built and repaired" at the expense of the heritors, is laid upon each minister during his incumbency. But before the minister's liability begins, the manse must formally have been inspected and declared *free*.

Every minister who is entitled to a manse has also a right to a glebe of arable land not less than four acres, lying as near and contiguous to the manse as can conveniently be obtained. By 1606, c. 7, there is an alternative of four souns of grass in lieu of each acre of arable land. A soun of grass is as much land as will pasture one cow or ten sheep.<sup>1</sup>

**Total Value of Church Endowments.**—According to a return made to the House of Commons in 1875, the Church had from teinds, £235,759; Exchequer grants, £16,300; local sources, chiefly in towns, £23,502—making in all £275,562. This total may be raised to £330,372 by including three other items given in the same return—viz., Communion elements, £5395; annual value of manses, £24,733; and annual value of glebes, £24,681. With the exception of a small sum, this revenue is derived not from anything honestly nameable as a tax, but from the patrimony of the Church. Even the Exchequer grant above named is pure Church money, being a

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Ecclesiastical Buildings and Assessments, see a special article in 'Year-Book of the Church of Scotland, 1887,' pp. 40-43, in which the history is given of the question of assessments, showing that any existing grievance is against the wishes and efforts of the Church, and is deliberately defended by Dissenters, in hope thereby of helping on Disestablishment. No wonder certain Churches in Scotland do not thrive, when their very grievances are hypocritical!

sum paid out of the old *bishops' rents* for the purpose of raising certain small livings up to £150 each, these being known in the Church as Exchequer livings. For the actual work of the Church of Scotland this revenue is supplemented by her members year by year to the extent of £373,000 in 1877, and £377,723 in 1883. To withdraw such revenues from their ancient and beneficial usage would be simply to diminish the means of spiritual culture, especially as regards that section of our countrymen who from poverty, or sparseness of population, or recklessness, are least able or least disposed to attend to such culture.

From 25th May 1849 to 1st August 1884 there is a series of fifteen Parliamentary Returns relative to the Church of Scotland. The 5th and 6th of the series are given above. The 4th and 10th are given further on. The 1st, 3d, 7th, and 14th give the state of teinds from 1838 to 1881:—

	Augmented Stipend.	Total as augmented.	Augmented Communion Elements.	Total ditto as augmented.	Gross Teinds where un-exhausted.	Stipend and Communion Elements.	Value applicable to augmentation.
July 1833 to July 1848	£3,418	£25,926	£76	£972	£269,019	£120,147	£148,871
June 1870 to March 1876	23,590	139,416	113	4,571	274,645	134,995	139,649
March 1876 to July 1881	4,739	24,265	56	698	275,725	137,028	138,679
	4,542	28,992	22	803	277,754	140,800	136,954

From a Teinds Court Return of 1881 it appears that the processes of augmentation and locality of stipend brought into Court in the twenty-five years ending December 1880 were 518; the expenses in each case about £60; the processes in dependence being fifty-nine—*i.e.*, interim locality. Another return in 1880 shows that the cost during ten years ending December 1879 for building and repair of churches and manses was, on valued rent, £242,116; on real rent, £156,526; other payments, £22,184—total, £420,827. The last of the fifteen

returns shows that the total value of exhausted teinds is £235,906, and of unexhausted, £134,143 (of which eighty-three parishes are partly burghal), and that there are fifty parishes the stipends of which are not made up from teinds by means of a locality.

There is no class or interest in the kingdom that has so little cause to fear a full historical inquiry into Church property as the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland. The more accurately the subject is understood, both in its past and present, the better for all friends of our own and other national Churches. Simple truth and honesty here, as in the matter of a religious census, is what above all things we desire.

**This only a Remnant of the old Endowments.**—The present revenue of the Church from teinds is only a remnant of what was once the Church's patrimony. This remnant never was dissociated from the land of Scotland within historic times; it was, however, always a separate estate. It has been controlled and regulated by King and Parliament, but not conferred. It may be regulated anew, but to be entirely changed in its destination would be greater violence than any seizure of private estates; because here the tenure is more ancient, and the public benefit greater, than of any other property in the realm. Why but because revolutionary projects are united with sectarian animosity, do certain bodies of men assail this Church patrimony, which is but a fragment of its old self, and the most lineal in descent, while, *in the meantime*, they do not dare to seek rectification of that far larger part of the very same property that has been alienated to lay noblemen, and who have given no service in return? Practically, it is not landed proprietors who are looking covetously on teind property. They know teinds never were theirs, and are never likely to be. They are willing, like sensible men of business, to go on in company with the teind system: it costs them nothing—it is no hindrance to them in

tilling or selling their own land ; rather, it is a source of gain to many—*i.e.*, in all cases where there are unexhausted teinds. These unexhausted, free, or surplus teinds, belong to the Crown, to the universities, and other corporations or representatives of parties to whom they were gifted by the Crown, or to heritors who have acquired right by purchase. The opposition to the system really comes from only one section of the community that practically holds no land at all. Their whole case rests on distortions as to exceptional cases of Church property and revenue in burghs. It is not the Church that is profiting from the burghs, but it is the burghs that have enriched themselves from the Church ; and in some cases when the property is squandered, or has disappeared, the members of the Church are illegally made to pay seat-rents to make up the burgh defalcations or mismanagement. It is an absurd idea that Dissenters have, that a burgh church is not paying if its seat-rents do not suffice to pay stipend and repairs of building. Many people avoid paying seat-rent because they know it is a sort of imposition,—why should they pay for what is their own hereditarily ? Every account in which *only* seat-rents appear on one side, and stipend and repairs on the other, is a garbled account. Let the *teind* appear *along with* the seat-rents, and it will be a very different balance. This is shown in detail, as applicable both to Edinburgh and Glasgow, in “An Historical Lecture on Teinds or Tithes,” by Rev. A. Fleming of Neilston, published in Glasgow in 1835, during the first Voluntary controversy.

The following is the conclusion of Mr Fleming’s very clear and able pamphlet :—

“From this history of tithes the following facts are proven to demonstration : 1. That no person, be he *Seceder* or not, pays in Scotland one penny for the support of the National Church out of his *own* private property. 2. That what he pays to the Established clergyman out of his lands is the clergyman’s own property, as much as the estate is his. 3.



That the payment of stipend to the Established clergy has nothing to do with the landholder's religious, moral, or political creed. 4. That stipend is a mortgage in his land for which he pays nothing; and on the condition of paying it to the minister of his parish, he acquired and still holds his estate. 5. That to withhold stipend from his clergyman would be an act of *dishonesty*, if he could; or if retained by violence, would be *robbery* and *plunder*. 6. That as no heritor ever bought or sold the tithe, it cannot belong to him, belong to whom it will. 7. That so far from the system of tithes in Scotland being a burden on the landholder, and impoverishing him, it enriches him! as seen above. *Finally*, if all this be true, as it unquestionably is, then it is impossible to look upon the Voluntaries, and those who with them oppose the Scottish Church, with any other feeling than *pity*; for their opposition is *based* on falsehood and deceit—it has not a leg to stand on, either in law, in reason, or in the Word of God.”

**The position of the Church from a pecuniary point of view may be thus summarised.**—The support of the Church of Scotland is *not a tax upon the people*. In the case of 876 old parishes it is provided for by endowments to which the Church succeeded after the Reformation. The heritors have acquired their lands burdened with these endowments, called teinds, which they hold *in trust for the religious benefit of the people*. State aid is given in the case of certain parishes, where the stipend from teinds does not amount to £150, to the extent of £12,000 per annum, and in the case of 42 parishes in the remote Highlands and Islands, where the State pays a stipend of £120 per annum; but this *is compensated for* by teinds, rents, and other property once belonging to the Church, but now held by the Crown. In like manner the endowments from burgh funds are *in place of* the revenues from Church lands received by the burghs. In the case of the 356 new parishes, the endowments have all been provided by the voluntary gifts of the members and friends of the Church. *The*

*Church is, therefore, in no sense a burden upon the people.* Its funds are consecrated for their benefit, to secure the preaching of the Gospel to the poor.<sup>1</sup>

The true principle alike of English tithe and Scottish teind is clearly stated by William Cobbett, 'Political Register,' p. 666, as quoted in 'The Scottish Church' for January 1887: "The clergy are not paid by the people any more than the landlords are. The tithes are as much their property as the rent is the property of the landlord; the title of the former can no more be destroyed than the title of the latter; and why the clergyman should receive as pay what the landlord demands as his own we cannot perceive.

"A man who should attempt to defraud his landlord of his rent would be deemed, and justly deemed, a cheat; yet we see no loss of character attached to him who is in the constant habit of defrauding his rector or vicar.

"This distinction, together with all the plunder that has been committed, and is daily and hourly committed, upon the Church, is solely to be attributed to the false, the dangerous, and degrading notion that the tithes are given by way of payment to the priest for services rendered, for so much work done, for the persons by whom they are raised. Nothing can be more erroneous. The tithes do not belong to the husbandman; they never can be called his; and therefore he never can give them in payment."

<sup>1</sup> As an illustration of the continuity of teinds, the author may quote the case of a small estate in the parish of Old Monkland, where his ancestors (Scotts of Daldowie), as shown in a series of entries in the printed Diocesan Register of Glasgow, have paid the charge since 1493 (the date of the first *archbishop*), and where at the present day a payment of about £8 a-year is divided between the College of Glasgow and the minister of Monkland, the College having got a grant of part of the old bishops' rents. In this case the same family, from father to son, through the changes of four centuries, have gone on with the same payment to Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Presbyterian superiors.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS.

**Statement of the Membership of the three Presbyterian Churches.**—It is important that the real state of the case should be known as to the relative numbers of the membership of the Church of Scotland and the two junior branches of Presbyterianism which exist alongside of it. The following figures, which are official and self-authenticating, demonstrate for the Church of Scotland a very large majority over these two Churches combined:—

## 1. CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—

	Communicants.
1873 Parliamentary Return, . . .	460,526
1878 " " . . .	515,786
1883 Report, General Assembly, . . .	543,969
1884 " " . . .	555,622
1885 " " . . .	564,435
1886 " " . . .	571,029

2. FREE CHURCH<sup>1</sup>—

	Communicants— Lowlands.	Communicants— Total.	Communicants and Adherents.
1878	...	...	308,546
1881	...	...	312,429
1883	238,713	...	322,265
1885	...	...	330,464
1886	242,078	263,113	331,245

<sup>1</sup> Free Church Reports give separately the communicants for the Lowlands. But in Highland or Gaelic charges, where there is an old and local reluctance—in some Presbyteries only 1 in 3, and in others (Skye and Uist) only 1 in 9, of adult and devout church-goers being communicants—attempts have been made to substitute *adherents*. It is quite fair that attention should be drawn to, and allow-

3. UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—

1883 Communicants in Scotland, . . . . .	172,425
1885       "       "       . . . . .	179,249
1886       "       "       . . . . .	180,844

From these official returns, furnished by each Church on its own behalf, it appears that the comparative membership stands thus for 1886, as reported to Assemblies and Synod of May 1887 :—

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, . . . . .	571,029
FREE CHURCH, . . . . .	263,113
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, . . . . .	180,844
	<hr/>
	443,957
	<hr/>
Church of Scotland majority, . . . . .	127,072
	<hr/>

**Details of the Membership of the Church of Scotland in 1886, as given in General Assembly Report on Presbyterian Superintendence, May 1887 :—**

	POPULATION.		COMMUNICANTS.		
	1871.	1881.	1873.	1883.	1886.
I. Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale—					
Edinburgh, . . . . .	272,479	324,788	31,784	41,013	47,861
Linlithgow, . . . . .	79,580	90,507	9,832	11,957	11,951
Biggar, . . . . .	6,537	6,374	1,763	1,946	1,990
Peebles, . . . . .	11,164	12,749	3,019	3,276	3,603
Dalkeith, . . . . .	45,099	50,879	7,509	9,504	10,494
Haddington, . . . . .	25,545	25,951	5,832	5,748	5,876
Dunbar, . . . . .	12,432	12,663	2,634	2,796	2,628
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	452,836	523,911	62,378	76,040	84,343

ance made for, this large Gaelic surplus of adherents in addition to communicants, but it is unreasonable to *confound* them ; for it is the duty of every Church to insist on communion as the full and proper mark of membership, which in this case the Free Church has now had, from 1843 to 1887, opportunity to do, and ought to suffer for her comparative failure. Moreover, the same drawback, in a lesser degree, applies to the Gaelic congregations of the Church of Scotland, so that to allow a full statistical place for adherents in one Church alone, would disturb the fairness of comparison. The 263,113 here set down for 1886 as the *total* of communicants, Lowland and Gaelic, is the actual return so given by the Free Church officially.



MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—*continued.*

	POPULATION.		COMMUNICANTS.		
	1871.	1881.	1873.	1883.	1886.
<b>II. Synod of Merse and Teviotdale—</b>					
Duns, . . . . .	9,615	8,811	1,979	2,239	2,215
Chirnside, . . . . .	17,019	17,423	3,594	3,671	3,718
Kelso, . . . . .	12,383	12,061	3,151	3,241	3,191
Jedburgh, . . . . .	26,267	30,769	4,138	5,413	5,978
Earlston, . . . . .	10,212	9,504	3,119	3,011	2,923
Selkirk, . . . . .	27,400	31,015	5,703	6,568	6,730
	102,896	109,583	21,684	24,143	24,764
<b>III. Synod of Dumfries—</b>					
Lochmaben, . . . . .	16,177	16,126	3,380	4,012	4,266
Langholm, . . . . .	11,032	11,446	1,442	2,285	2,272
Annan, . . . . .	14,676	14,443	2,176	2,308	2,400
Dumfries, . . . . .	38,967	41,109	6,170	7,206	7,502
Penpont, . . . . .	13,171	12,932	1,818	2,500	2,749
	94,023	96,056	14,986	18,311	19,189
<b>IV. Synod of Galloway—</b>					
Stranraer, . . . . .	25,035	25,059	4,362	4,620	4,639
Wigtown, . . . . .	20,462	20,606	3,808	4,492	4,867
Kirkcudbright, . . . . .	21,783	21,073	5,445	5,624	5,515
	67,280	66,738	13,615	14,736	15,021
<b>V. Synod of Glasgow and Ayr—</b>					
Ayr, . . . . .	100,556	108,579	16,772	20,534	21,214
Irvine, . . . . .	92,695	100,244	11,838	14,197	14,400
Paisley, . . . . .	108,871	122,144	11,248	13,402	14,912
Greenock, . . . . .	83,189	96,876	6,635	9,000	9,589
Hamilton, . . . . .	159,255	204,720	15,259	19,474	21,520
Lanark, . . . . .	38,103	40,811	5,609	6,554	6,558
Dumbarton, . . . . .	56,216	79,093	8,252	10,467	11,613
Glasgow, . . . . .	618,171	731,756	46,071	61,052	64,350
	1,257,060	1,475,223	121,684	154,680	164,186
<b>VI. Synod of Argyll—</b>					
Inveraray, . . . . .	12,367	11,785	920	1,053	1,030
Dunoon, . . . . .	21,627	22,912	2,790	3,108	3,344
Kintyre, . . . . .	19,201	19,421	2,248	2,606	2,850
Isla and Jura, . . . . .	9,564	8,917	717	632	630
Lorn, . . . . .	12,956	14,361	1,174	1,356	1,481
Mull, . . . . .	15,233	13,941	841	1,201	1,307
Abertarff, . . . . .	11,370	10,861	504	398	552
	102,318	102,198	9,198	10,354	11,244

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—*continued.*

	POPULATION.		COMMUNICANTS.		
	1871.	1881.	1873.	1883.	1886.
<b>VII. Synod of Perth and Stirling—</b>					
Dunkeld, . . . . .	17,750	16,795	3,826	4,088	4,106
Weem, . . . . .	10,627	9,872	2,104	1,879	2,009
Perth, . . . . .	45,097	49,006	8,205	10,567	10,723
Auchterarder, . . . . .	20,457	19,754	4,603	4,869	4,901
Stirling, . . . . .	60,013	68,454	8,560	10,998	11,525
Dunblane, . . . . .	25,804	25,985	4,228	5,370	5,557
	179,748	189,866	31,256	37,771	38,821
<b>VIII. Synod of Fife—</b>					
Dunfermline, . . . . .	38,356	41,508	5,627	5,714	5,793
Kinross, . . . . .	9,582	9,015	2,460	2,208	2,421
Kirkcaldy, . . . . .	56,868	62,752	9,867	12,907	14,055
Cupar, . . . . .	30,679	28,696	7,865	7,380	7,527
St Andrews, . . . . .	35,388	37,252	9,864	10,414	10,004
	170,873	179,224	35,683	38,623	39,800
<b>IX. Synod of Angus and Mearns—</b>					
Meikle, . . . . .	18,564	18,269	4,714	4,858	5,409
Forfar, . . . . .	27,694	29,233	8,287	8,429	8,439
Dundee, . . . . .	139,485	164,045	17,259	21,026	22,259
Brechin, . . . . .	34,030	35,151	7,620	8,544	8,227
Arbroath, . . . . .	33,811	33,214	8,411	9,185	9,200
Fordoun, . . . . .	23,896	23,367	6,940	7,709	7,845
	277,480	303,279	53,231	59,751	61,379
<b>X. Synod of Aberdeen—</b>					
Aberdeen, . . . . .	111,807	131,099	21,265	26,639	28,506
Kincairdine O'Neil	19,653	19,182	6,970	7,289	7,260
Alford, . . . . .	12,888	12,390	4,793	4,946	5,062
Garioch, . . . . .	20,132	20,136	5,064	6,013	6,090
Ellon, . . . . .	15,516	15,955	4,752	5,419	5,724
Deer, . . . . .	49,199	54,858	13,164	14,362	14,487
Turriff, . . . . .	30,446	29,709	8,361	9,840	9,801
Fordyce, . . . . .	25,776	26,820	3,977	4,751	4,828
	285,417	310,149	68,346	79,259	81,758
<b>XI. Synod of Moray—</b>					
Strathbogie, . . . . .	26,996	24,386	5,663	6,587	6,624
Aberlour, . . . . .	10,100	9,968	2,163	2,298	2,150
Abernethy, . . . . .	11,700	10,603	918	1,142	1,119
Elgin, . . . . .	22,966	23,344	2,290	2,997	2,963
Forres, . . . . .	10,359	10,202	699	857	879
Nairn, . . . . .	11,497	12,642	467	598	633
Inverness, . . . . .	28,224	30,092	957	934	1,130
	121,842	121,237	13,157	15,413	15,498

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—*continued.*

	POPULATION.		COMMUNICANTS.		
	1871.	1881.	1873.	1883.	1886.
XII. Synod of Ross—					
Chanoury, . . .	10,403	9,898	244	287	282
Dingwall, . . .	16,562	15,521	347	388	430
Tain, . . . . .	17,285	14,893	257	329	371
	44,250	40,312	848	1,004	1,083
XIII. Synod of Sutherland and Caithness—					
Dornoch, . . .	16,649	16,005	304	310	315
Tongue, . . .	6,649	6,371	74	64	66
Caithness, . . .	41,011	39,859	614	791	875
	64,309	62,235	992	1,165	1,256
XIV. Synod of Glenelg—					
Lochcarron, . . .	18,712	17,243	242	293	313
Skye, . . . . .	18,673	18,347	378	372	412
Uist, . . . . .	15,973	17,317	231	254	229
Lewis, . . . . .	23,483	25,487	83	129	229
	76,841	78,394	934	1,048	1,183
XV. Synod of Orkney—					
Kirkwall, . . .	11,497	12,251	1,764	1,697	1,678
Cairston, . . .	10,465	10,420	1,900	1,798	1,898
North Isles, . . .	9,312	9,373	1,374	877	854
	31,274	32,044	5,038	4,372	4,430
XVI. Synod of Shetland—					
Lerwick, . . .	13,047	13,051	2,180	2,778	2,914
Burravoe, . . .	6,033	5,141	1,642	1,357	1,349
Olnafirth, . . .	12,528	11,513	3,348	2,964	2,811
	31,608	29,705	7,170	7,099	7,074
TOTAL, . . . . .	3,360,018	3,735,573	460,464	543,969	571,029

**Ecclesiastical Column in the Census resisted by Non-conformists.**—In regard to statistics of membership of different Churches, it is to be observed that, in the case of Dissenting Churches, owing to the heat of politics and high-pressure bigotry, they are able to count to their last man; whereas in each of our National Churches there are many adherents and friends, in addition

to actual members, who cannot be paraded in any muster of statistics, unless the statistics be conducted in the complete form of a separate column in our decennial census. Keenly alive to this, it has been the persistent policy of Nonconformists, both in England and Scotland, to resist to the utmost this full and decisive test; while both the Church of Scotland and the Church of England are not only willing to submit to, but anxious to have, this test, whereby every inhabitant of Britain deliberately, in his own house, sets down his Church connection.

**Relative Number of Places of Worship.**—Another test, good and useful in its way when taken in connection with others, is that of the number of places of worship or number of clergymen. This may prove very misleading unless we know something of the general character of ecclesiastical buildings as to size and cost, and something as to the congregational finance in the respective denominations dealt with. There are churches and churches.

Church of Scotland Congregations, . . . . .	1625
Do. Free Church, . . . . .	1067
Do. United Presbyterian, . . . . .	553
	—
	1620
	—
Church of Scotland majority, . . . . .	5

The 1625 congregations of the Church of Scotland are thus classified:—

Parishes, . . . . .	1320
Non-parochial Churches, . . . . .	160
Preaching and Mission Stations, . . . . .	145
	—
	1625

Allowance must be made for the fact that many Dissenting churches are little more than school-rooms, and cannot be reckoned over against an equal number of parish churches.

In illustration and proof of the great difference between the size of Free Church and United Presbyterian congregations in the Lowlands, and those of the Church of Scotland, it may be mentioned that only 119 Free Church and 99 United Presbyterian congregations reach, or exceed, 500 communicants, whereas 378 parish churches have over 500, and 82 have over 1000. Further details of the extreme smallness of the average Dissenting congregations are given at the close of this chapter.

**Old partial Census of 1851.**—A religious census (of a very restricted sort) was made in 1851, when there were 3395 places of worship in Scotland, and 944,000 persons attending church. Of these, 1183 places of worship and 351,000 persons belonged to the Church of Scotland, 889 places of worship and 292,300 to the Free Church, 465 places of worship and 159,000 to the United Presbyterian Church, and 858 places of worship and 141,000 persons to all other Churches. The value to be attached to this census appears



from the following extract from the Report by Mr Horace Main in submitting the tables:—

“In the first place, it is necessary to state that the statistics are not complete, and that no means are in your possession of computing the extent of the deficiency. The effect of the instruction given to enumerators—that the inquiry was a voluntary measure—was much more awkward in Scotland than in England. The enumerators were less careful after this announcement to deliver forms, and parties were less willing to supply the information.”

The incompleteness referred to above was,—that no returns at all were obtained from 279 Established, 65 Free, and 38 United Presbyterian churches. Besides which, no returns of *attendants* were received from 134 Established, 47 Free, and 8 United Presbyterian churches, which reported on some other heads. The deficiencies in all these cases were supplied by *estimates*. With regard to the Church of Scotland, it ought also to be stated that *two-thirds* of the missing returns were from places where the Church was and is exceptionally strong.

But whatever value this census may have as to 1851, it is totally misleading now in 1885, for in the interval the Church of Scotland has been making marvellously rapid recovery and extension, while both Free Church and United Presbyterian have been nearly stationary, and as regards the increase of total population have been actually losing ground.

**Fallaciousness of the Test of Church Attendance.**—The church attendance idea is a favourite one with manufacturers and cooks of statistics. On several occasions the newspaper organs of Dissent in Edinburgh and Glasgow have betaken themselves to this species of romance. It is currently believed that when these enumerations were made, a secret notice was given beforehand for Dissenting congregations to be sure to attend on a certain day to be counted. This alone would vitiate the result. But the openings for manœuvring are endless—*e.g.*, in dealing with the small town of Falkirk, the United Presbyterian Church got credit for members who come in from miles of country round about, whereas parish churches essentially belonging to Falkirk were cut off from the town they belong to by taking an arbitrary boundary-line that served the Nonconformist purpose. In this way anything may be proved, and with real facts too, but the facts are garbled. Why should any one dream of resorting to church attendance as a test of denominational strength, when without trouble or expense we have the means of knowing from proper sources the real numerical strength of every Presbyterian congregation in Scotland, on their own individual and official showing? If these attendance statistics, which cost much special labour to the enumerators (not to speak of Sunday desecration), were honest and sincere, why should the very persons who take this trouble and lay so much apparent stress on numerical majorities, and claim such for themselves, be so eager in their resistance to a fair national census, that would be complete for all Churches alike, and beyond reach of tampering?

**Statistics of Marriage for all Denominations.**—Another of the approximate tests of ecclesiastical proportion in Scotland is the distribution of marriages among the clergy of the different denominations. This is a much more reliable test than that as to churches and church attendance.

The following table from the Report of the Registrar-General for 1881 (latest return published) exhibits this branch of the statistics of the Churches:—

PROPORTION IN EVERY 100 MARRIAGES.

	All Scotland.	Principal towns.	Large towns.	Small towns.	Mainland rural.	Insular rural.
Established Church, . . .	46·83	39·06	45·39	50·19	61·93	49·50
Free Church, . . .	20·77	19·40	17·89	20·25	24·75	34·12
United Presbyterian, . . .	11·88	12·85	13·24	13·10	8·11	8·09
Roman Catholic, . . .	9·76	12·76	12·67	9·17	2·29	5·13
Episcopal, . . .	2·67	4·09	2·81	1·47	0·73	0·20
Other denominations, . . .	6·30	8·45	7·14	5·32	2·17	2·96
Not stated, . . .	0·18	0·22	0·20	0·26	...	...
Irregular marriages, . . .	1·61	3·17	0·66	0·24	0·02	...

If there were no other statistics regarding the Scottish Churches than the above, they might be held to prove, in the most exhaustive and conclusive manner, the substantial position occupied by the Church of Scotland. While over the whole country it has nearly 47 per cent of the marriages, the two Churches which seek to level it with the ground have *together* only 32½ per cent.

Since 1855, over the whole country, both the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches have fallen each 3 per cent. The Roman Catholic is stationary. Episcopacy has gained 1 per cent. Other denominations have gained about 1½ per cent, and irregular marriages are increased by 1½ per cent.

Since 1877, over all the five different groups, the Church of Scotland has *increased* in

Principal towns (fully), . . . . .	1½ per cent.
Large towns, . . . . .	2 „
Small towns, . . . . .	2¼ „
Mainland rural (nearly), . . . . .	3½ „
Insular rural, „ . . . . .	3 „

In the same period the Free Church has *decreased* in

Principal towns, . . . . .	2	per cent.
Large towns, . . . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	„
Mainland rural, . . . . .	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	„
Insular rural, . . . . .	5	„
		increase,
Small towns, . . . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$	per cent.

The United Presbyterian Church has *decreased* in

Principal towns, . . . . .	$\frac{1}{5}$	per cent.
Large towns (less than), . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$	„
Small towns (fully), . . . . .	3	„
Mainland rural, . . . . .	1	„
		increase,
Insular rural, . . . . .	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	per cent.

### The Unchristian Character of Competition in giving.—

As regards making finance a test of Church merit, and awarding the prize to the highest competitor, we require to remember the Gospel widow's mite, and that it is not a principal but only a concomitant aim of the Christian Church to raise money at all. The real glory of the Church is to preach the Gospel to the poor as well as to the rich. And if the poor are largely associated with any Church, it is impossible for such a Church to compete with another branch of the Church that leans mainly on the rich or on the middle classes, as to giving so much per head of membership.

The United Presbyterian Church for 1883 reported a total revenue for all purposes of £397,288, equal to £2, 6s. per member. For 1886, according to their own statement, it is £315,600, equal to £1, 14s. 11d. per member.

The Free Church revenue for 1883 was £628,222, equal to £2, 8s. 10d. per member. For 1886 it is £564,442, equal to £2, 2s. 10d. per communicant, or £1, 14s. 1d. per communicant *plus* adherent. But a considerable part of this £564,442 consists of balances and interest of invested funds.

The Church of Scotland revenue for 1883, from the corresponding sources, was £516,818, equal to 19s. per member.

The true explanation of this discrepancy between the liberality of Dissent and that of the Church of Scotland is,

that in the former case there are few poor members, while as a general principle every member pays for his Church privileges in the way of a tax.

The Church of Scotland undoubtedly has the largest share of struggling peasants and workmen who can afford little, and of the very poor who can afford nothing at all, but rather require help themselves; so it never can compete in the race as to liberality estimated per head. In fact, the race is essentially unchristian, as success is based on being quit of the poor just as much as on getting hold of the rich.

Another consideration is, that there are some parts of Dissenting revenue which do not apply to the old parish churches—*e.g.*, seat-rents, stipends, buildings.

A third consideration is, that there is no independent outside audit of accounts to exclude interest, balances, and sums *temporarily* paid to Sustentation Fund to entitle scores of ministers to claim the equal dividend.

**Abstract of Contributions of Church of Scotland for 1886.**—As the Church of Scotland has been systematically slandered for extreme deficiency in liberality, it may be well to give here an abstract of its finance for 1886, as collected by a special “Committee on Statistics of the Christian Liberality of the Church:”—

1. Ordinary church-door collections, including collections at communions, . . . . .	£81,120	7	4
2. Parish or local mission, or minister's assistant, . . . . .	16,685	14	8
3. Week-day and Sabbath schools, exclusive of school-rate, . . . . .	11,073	16	4
4. Church or manse building or repairs, or church extension (other than by Home Mission Collection), exclusive of heritors' assessment, . . . . .	59,380	5	8
5. General Church objects, . . . . .	92,932	12	8
6. Legacies for the Schemes of the Church, . . . . .	3,867	11	8
7. Local endowment of churches or chapels, . . . . .	5,836	9	3
8. Augmentation of stipend not contributed through Smaller Livings Scheme or association, and in so far as not included under ordinary collections and seat-rents, . . . . .	8,431	1	6
Carried forward, . . . . .	£279,327	19	1



	Brought forward,	£279,327	19	1
9. Other Church and charitable work (including collections for infirmaries, the poor, &c.), and legacies therefor,		64,267	15	0
		<u>£343,595</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1</u>
Seat-rents (as far as collected and reported),		63,616	13	8
		<u>£407,212</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>

In the first and last items (both large) in the above list, it will be observed that a large part of each is not so much the Church for itself as the Church for the poor and the sick—for in the case of the old parishes a main use of the church-door collections is for the poor.

At a Church Congress on Christian Life and Work at Inverness, 2d October 1884, a statement was submitted, showing the contributions, year by year, from 1842 to 1883, to the principal Schemes of the Church (excluding all interest on funds):—

Education Scheme, . . . . .	£207,309
Foreign Mission, . . . . .	319,185
Home Mission, . . . . .	271,335
Colonial Scheme, . . . . .	185,261
Jewish Mission, . . . . .	160,959
Endowment, . . . . .	588,185
Small Livings, . . . . .	26,526
	<hr/>
Total, . . . . .	£1,758,760

None of the seven subsidiary Schemes are included, and only one branch of the Small Livings Revenue (General Assembly's part) is given.

At the same Congress a second table was given of the Christian Liberty Returns for ten years:—

		Seat-rents.
1874, . . . . .	£240,398	£42,436
1875, . . . . .	305,963	44,658
1876, . . . . .	335,228	49,540
1877, . . . . .	320,621	53,094
1878, . . . . .	326,233	56,101
1879, . . . . .	274,213	56,040
1880, . . . . .	319,848	57,912
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried forward,	£2,122,504	£359,781

Brought forward,	£2,122,504	£359,781
1881, . . . . .	281,504	58,674
1882, . . . . .	326,202	59,859
1883, . . . . .	316,481	61,242
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£3,046,691	£539,556
Seat-rents, . . . . .	539,556	
	<hr/>	
	£3,586,247	

This is exclusive of endowment income of *quoad sacra* parishes, revenue from capital funds, grants from or capital (£500,000) of Baird Trust.

At the same Congress a third statement of special local interest was read, showing in detail as to eighteen Highland Presbyteries, with 164 ministerial charges, that while the population had decreased between 1871 and 1881 to the extent of 5573, or 1·7 per cent, the communicants of the Church of Scotland increased between 1873 and 1883 to the extent of 2719, or 16·7 per cent, while their Christian liberality increased from £7172 in 1873 to £15,176 in 1883:—

Presbyteries.	Population.		Communicants.		Christian Liberality.	
	1871.	1881.	1873.	1883.	1873.	1883.
Aberlour, . . . . .	10,000	9,968	2,163	2,298	£527	£1,426
Abernethy, . . . . .	11,700	10,603	918	1,142	705	755
Abertarff, . . . . .	11,370	10,861	504	524	670	1,098
Caithness, . . . . .	41,011	39,859	614	791	505	1,478
Chanonry, . . . . .	10,403	9,898	244	287	348	354
Dingwall, . . . . .	16,562	15,521	347	388	365	607
Dornoch, . . . . .	16,649	16,005	304	310	367	503
Elgin, . . . . .	22,966	23,344	2,290	2,997	645	1,157
Forres, . . . . .	10,359	10,202	699	857	473	451
Inverness, . . . . .	28,224	30,092	957	934	697	3,620
Lewis, . . . . .	23,483	25,487	83	129	118	603
Lochcarron, . . . . .	18,712	17,243	242	293	45	310
Nairn, . . . . .	11,497	12,642	467	598	278	518
Skye, . . . . .	18,673	18,347	378	372	170	234
Strathbogie, . . . . .	26,996	24,386	5,663	6,587	919	1,587
Tain, . . . . .	17,285	14,893	257	329	256	363
Tongue, . . . . .	6,649	6,371	74	64	29	66
Uist, . . . . .	15,973	17,317	231	254	47	46
Totals, . . . . .	318,612	313,039	16,435	19,154	£7,172	£15,176

**Sustentation Fund of Free Church analysed.**—In the case of Free Church finance, although it has been a wonderful success upon the whole, yet it will not stand careful analysis and closer acquaintance. Much of it is as far as possible from voluntary.

In 1873 the revenue was £152,703, which, from 956 congregations, gave an average of £160 from each, and yielded that year an equal dividend of £150. Only 271 of the 956 congregations were self-supporting.

In 1883 the revenue was £172,072, which, from 1064 congregations, gave an average of £161 from each. Only 291 of the 1064 congregations were self-supporting.

In the following fourteen Presbyteries, embracing 124 charges, not one single congregation is self-supporting—viz., Aberlour, Abernethy, Alford, Breadalbane, Dunkeld, Inveraray, Islay, Kinross, Lochcarron, Orkney, Shetland, Skye and Uist, Tongue, Wigtown.

The following sixteen Presbyteries, embracing 147 charges, have only one in each self-sustaining—viz., Abertarff, Chanonry, Cupar, Dornoch, Dunfermline, Duns and Chirnside, Ellon, Fordoun, Fordyce, Forres, Garioch, Kelso, Kincardine O'Neil, Lorn, Mull, Nairn.

Like a top, this system of finance needs constant whipping to keep it up, and such whipping is not a very spiritual concomitant to the Gospel, especially when to this again is added another element of politics, of late years more and more prominent.

**Free Church retrograde compared with Population.**—These two, and some other causes, especially in connection with Union negotiations after 1863, and the passing of the Patronage Act in 1874, have for a number of years past almost entirely checked real progress in the Free Church. In fact, its position relative to the population of Scotland is actually retrograde:—

In 1878 the membership (exclusive of the High-	
lands) was . . . . .	212,000
In 1883 it was . . . . .	233,713
	<hr/>
Increase in ten years (9·29 per cent), .	21,713

Assuming that the increase of the population was the same in the ten years ending 1883 as for ten years ending 1881, the population had increased by 375,555—*i.e.*, 11·17 per cent.

Unfortunately there is no means of accurately measuring the position of the Free Church in the Highlands, as the *communicants* are not returned; and during the period under comparison the proportion and ages of *adherents* given have been twice changed, so as to leave no points of comparison.

**United Presbyterian Church also retrograde compared with Population.**

In 1873 the membership was . . . . .	164,279
In 1883 it was . . . . .	172,425
	8,146
Increase in ten years (4·7 per cent) . . . . .	8,146

Which is a retrogression of 6½ per cent compared with the increase of population.

**Church of Scotland increase** not only keeps pace with increase of population, but exceeds it by about 1 per cent. The membership increase annually for decennium 1873-1883 was 1·81 per cent, whereas the population increase 1881-1884 is about 1·17 per cent.

The ‘Scottish Church’ for January 1887, in a clear and powerful article—“The Strength of the Churches”—says on this branch of the subject:—

“The Church of Scotland is growing stronger year by year, in every part of the country, and this fact is lifting the religious tone of the community out of its former bitterness and narrowness. In the course of a few decades Dissent will have little hold on the rural population, where that population is either stationary or decreasing; while in the larger centres, where money is more plentiful, and people can afford the luxury of Dissent, the spirit of the Dissenting laity is broader and more friendly to the Established Church. About one-third of the U.P. Presbyteries are steadily decreasing, and that not altogether from a decrease of population; while in the case of the Free Church the proportion of decreasing Presbyteries is greater. On the other hand, there are but few Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland decreasing—scarcely one-eighth of the whole; and where there is a decrease, it is less in proportion to that of the population, while



in the other Churches the decrease is, in most cases, greater. The membership of the Church of Scotland, taking an average of ten years, has increased by almost 2 per cent per annum, while the Free and U.P. Churches have increased by scarcely a fraction more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.

“The U.P. Church has 32 Presbyteries, with only 21 of them increasing. The Free Church has 73 Presbyteries, with only 46 increasing. The Church of Scotland has 84 Presbyteries, with 74 increasing. There are every year about two-fifths of the U.P. congregations decreasing in membership.

“In the Galloway division of Scotland, where the population is, on the whole, stationary, the Church of Scotland increased in ten years by 8 per cent, the Free Church made no increase, and the U.P. Church decreased. The membership of the respective Churches reported last year was—Established, 15,115; Free, 4693; and U.P., 1543; Established majority, 8879.

“In the Synod of Dumfries, where the population increased in ten years by 2 per cent, the Established Church increased by 22 per cent, the Free Church was stationary, and the U.P. Church decreased by 4 per cent. The membership last year was—Established, 18,729; Free, 7295; and U.P., 4997; Established majority, 6437.

“In Perth and Stirling the population increased by 5 per cent in ten years, the Established Church increased 19 per cent, the Free Church increased 5 per cent, and the U.P. Church decreased 4 per cent. The membership last year was—Established, 38,688; Free, 18,159; U.P., 9853; Established majority, 10,676.

“In the Synod of Angus and Mearns, which includes the shires of Forfar and Kincardine, the population increased 9 per cent, and the increase of the Churches was—Established,  $19\frac{1}{2}$ ; Free, 3; and U.P.,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The membership last year was—Established, 61,157; Free, 26,043; U.P., 11,568; Established majority, 23,546.

“In the Presbytery of Aberdeen, the population increased in ten years by 17 per cent, while the increase in the Churches was—Established, 20; Free, 5; and U.P., 10 per cent. The membership last year was—Established, 28,169; Free, 14,902; and U.P., 2591; Established majority, 10,676. These are specimens of the relative strength of the three Churches in the rural parts of Scotland, south of Inverness.

“The growing influence and the increasing strength of the Church of Scotland are specially noticeable in the number and size of the congregations.

“In the Galloway district, the Established Church has 46 congregations; the Free, 31; and the U.P., 13. The Established Church has 24 congregations with upwards of 300 members, while the Free Church has only 2, and the U.P. only 1.

“In the Synod of Dumfries, the Established Church has 63 congregations; the Free, 36; and the U.P., 24. The Established Church has 10 congregations with a membership above 500; the Free Church has only 2; and the U.P. none. The congregations above 300 and under 500 are—Established, 11; Free, 4; U.P., 3.

“In Perth and Stirling, the Established Church has 116 congregations; Free, 78; U.P., 44. Congregations with a membership above 1000 are—Established, 5; Free, none; and U.P., 1. Congregations above 500 and under 1000—Established, 21; Free, 6; and U.P., 2. Above 300 and under 500—Established, 23; Free, 11; and U.P., 7.

“In Aberdeen Presbytery, the Church of Scotland has 34 congregations; Free, 38; and U.P., 8. Congregations with a membership above 1000—Established, 10; Free, 1; and U.P., none. Congregations above 500 and under 1000—Established, 12; Free, 13; and U.P., 1. Above 300 and under 500—Established, 8; Free, 5; and U.P., 4. Above 200 and under 300—Established, 3; Free, 6; and U.P., none. And under 200—Established, none; Free, 13; and U.P., 3.

“From Aberdeen to Galloway, the Church of Scotland has no less than 80 congregations with a membership above 1000, while the Free Church has only 9 such congregations, and the U.P. 12. The Church of Scotland has 410 congregations with a membership above 500 and under 1000; the Free Church has only 120; and the U.P., 89. Except in that part of the Highlands which represents only one-twentieth of the population, and where the Church of Scotland is relatively weak, the average congregation of the Establishment is generally from one-half to two-thirds larger than the average Free or U.P. congregation, and in many cases is more than double the size of the dissenting congregation; and the proportion is yearly increasing in favour of the Established Church.”

## CHAPTER XIV.

ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED AGAINST NATIONAL CHURCHES IN GENERAL,  
OR AGAINST THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN PARTICULAR.

1. **Said to violate the Rights of Conscience.**—It is alleged that a State Church violates the rights of conscience. It is said that “citizens have a right in equity to demand that no [religious] institution shall be either set up or maintained by public authority and public funds which is offensive to their religious convictions.” Here is a plausible principle which will not stand the test of universal application in public life. To satisfy the atheist, are we prepared to abolish all oaths in courts of justice? To satisfy the Jew, are we prepared to obliterate the Christian Sabbath, in so far as laws are concerned against Sunday traffic? To satisfy the Mohammedan, are we prepared to do away with our laws against bigamy? To satisfy the secularist, must we abstain from Bible lessons in our schools? To satisfy Quakers, are we prepared to abolish the army and navy? To satisfy Romanists, are we prepared to alter the coronation oath of our sovereign? There is no more reason to abolish a State Church to please political Voluntaries than there is to abolish oaths, Sabbath laws, marriage laws, Bible-teaching in public schools, standing armies, or Protestant succession to the throne, because each of these is offensive to some consciences among us. The advantages of civilised life are not to be had except on the condition of accepting *some* regulations that may be unpalatable or restrictive to *some* persons. A Government absolutely perfect and

free is not a thing of the present world at all. It is enough if the advantages overbalance the disadvantages, and if the disadvantages or restrictions be reduced to a minimum. Quite abolished they cannot be without return to anarchy. No man is entitled to have so narrow and selfish a conscience as cannot put up with institutions that commend themselves to the vast majority of consciences of contemporaries, and have in the whole course of human history commended themselves to the consciences of countless generations of all lands. A peculiarity and novelty of conscience, dating only from 1793, and almost exclusively possessed in Scotland by one section of one sect, may well raise a question whether it is called by its proper name—whether bigotry, selfishness, jealousy, intolerance, would not be nearer the truth than liberty of conscience. It is only religious equality down to their own level that the other two branches of the Presbyterian Church think of. There is, however, a second or third descent of exactly the same sort down to religious equality with atheists, which they do not agree to. The meaning of this is, that the principle of religious equality is a sophistical principle.

**2. Said to disturb Religious Equality.**—Another of these sophistical arguments advanced against national acknowledgment of Christianity is, that there ought to be absolute religious equality in a well-governed State, no branch of the Church preferred to any other, and privileged. All privileges and monopolies (it is said) are more or less unjust to those outside of the privilege. This argument is not quite distinct from that which rests on the rights of conscience—it carries the same idea down into more material application.

There are privileges and privileges. A privilege becomes a real grievance and injustice when it is in principle limited to one class or district, and when, although thus limited, all are bound to contribute towards it, or honour or obey it. Neither of these is true of the Church of Scotland. All are welcome to share its benefits who choose to come into it. Those who are outside of it are so of their own free will, because they



think they have advantages outside that preponderate over those to be enjoyed within. For preferring to be outside they are no way interfered with or persecuted. As to the second particular, the Church of Scotland is equally clear in its constitution. It is no way a burden pecuniarily to the members of any other Church. Not one sixpence of the legal revenues of the Church of Scotland comes from any source or on any principle, save what is common to all the property of the kingdom. It is true that the money received by the Church comes through the hands of many who do not belong to the Church, and who, it may be, are hostile to it; but this money is neither gift nor tax. It falls to be paid in virtue of old arrangements as to Church property mixed up with other property, on exactly the same principle as the owner of a property has sometimes an annual charge to pay for feu-duty, or any such permanent claim. It does not matter in the rent of a house or farm, or freight of a ship, what Church or Churches the two parties concerned may belong to. The bond between the two for the occasion is simply one of property. To decline payment on the irrelevant ground of Church difference, is simply to attempt gain or fraud under pretext of religion. Business and society would come to an end if obligations could be repudiated because the money had to be paid by an atheist to a believer, by a Dissenter to a Churchman, or by an Evangelical to a Ritualist.

An Established Church is simply one specimen of a large class of public arrangements or institutions that, so far from being reprehensible, are tokens of national wisdom, progress, and security. In one line we find for a variety of social purposes such things as schools, colleges, libraries, museums, parks, poorhouses, reformatories, hospitals. It is not every citizen that requires each of these, or cares for each of them; yet within certain limits these are matters of legitimate concern and expenditure in every well-ordered city or State. So also in another line, such matters as the conferring of titles of nobility, adjusting order of precedence, conferring of academic

degrees, providing of bursaries and prizes, regulating different apprenticeships, appointing terms of licence in certain callings and professions—all these are elements of a higher social, intellectual, and artistic life. And most of these have a civic or national sanction. Each has its own circle and province; but that that province in each case should be well regulated is matter of general benefit and interest. The only real objectors to such matters are a few extreme democrats and socialists of the type of the Paris Commune, that attacked the public monuments because to *them* they were irritating tokens of superiority. No better really, in point of principle, is the objection to an Established Church on the part of political Voluntaries. Political Voluntaries feel that they are new, and have antipathy to what is older than themselves. Their system is a brisk shareholding, shopkeeping sort of Christianity, where the rule is for every one to pay his own score: what need do they see for the nation, as such, to have a paternal care of those who cannot pay their score? No, says a Christian nation; it is as needful (and far more important) to provide free religious ordinances and comely churches for the poor and struggling part of the community, and for sparsely populated districts, as it is for us to provide an industrial museum to help the diligent artisan with specimens, or a national gallery of pictures to promote taste, or a standard of degrees to enable the common people to know what medical man to trust with their health, or what lawyer to trust with their case.

**3. Said to be Unscriptural.**— Sometimes the enemies of national religion go the length of calling Established Churches unscriptural. Generally this charge is made without condescending on special passages to support it; or if actual Scripture is quoted, it is mainly the text, “My kingdom is not of this world,”—a text which simply asserts the distinctively spiritual nature of Christianity, a doctrine which no branch of the Church denies. It would be much more reasonable to claim Scripture on the other side. The whole Old Testament rests on the historical basis of an earlier Church, the theory

of which not only implied alliance with the State, but control over the State, in the form of a directly divine, or at least a hierarchical government. The Old Testament contains several prophecies of the Gospel wherein direct allusion is made to kings and nations as friends and allies. Psalm lxxii. says—“The kings of Tarshish and of the isles . . . the kings of Sheba and Seba . . . all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him.” Isaiah (xlix. lx.) is no less specific: “Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers.” “Their kings shall minister unto thee;” “thou shalt suck the breast of kings.” In the New Testament the Lord directs His followers to “render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s,” illustrating the precept by teaching the lawfulness of paying tribute in opposition to the Pharisees’ theory of a rebellious Church with a false independence as against the actual State. St Paul (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2) counsels Timothy to give prayer for kings and rulers a prominent place in Christian worship—a counsel rather inconsistent with the modern thin-skinnedness of some as to the relation of the Church to the State.

It is mainly in obscure sectarian productions of the tract order, and especially in platform harangues, that an appeal is made to Scripture as unfavourable to the friendly relation of ecclesiastical and civil government. The idea will not stand the test of the production of specific passages, and the interpretation of these by calm and sound scholarship. Really it is a shame to embitter a controversy like this by importing Scripture into it at all, abusing the Word of God by absolutely false applications, useless except in misleading ignorant and already prejudiced hearers.

**4. Said to be Injurious to Religion itself.**—Still another objection made to an Established Church is, that it is injurious to religion. In a formal document issued by a Committee of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in 1873, stating the grounds which justify and demand the disestab-

lishment and disendowment of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, the following fearful language is employed: "The State Church system makes religion geographical, without the power of affecting individual faith or practice, and engenders by the surest process the worst forms and manifestations of irreligion and infidelity." This language is used by the representatives of a small and new branch of the Christian Church against two other branches, each far larger, older, and better trained. As to making religion geographical, a State Church no more does so than good laws and good government make patriotism geographical. The most geographical of all Churches was one founded by God in Palestine, and more locally still on Mount Zion. The parochial system glories in being geographical, bringing religion to every group of streets in a town, and every group of farms in the country; it *organises* religious ordinances evenly and universally, instead of leaving them to chance or charity, or the shopkeeping principle, wherein the poor and the scattered are neglected.

It would be a waste of effort formally to refute the other half of the objection, in which the State Church system is described as powerless to affect individual faith and practice, and accused of engendering by the surest process the worst forms and manifestations of irreligion and infidelity. Here is simply a wholesale calumny unsupported by fact—a case of bearing false witness against a neighbour. There is no more melancholy phase of modern sectarianism than when we see thus such a total absence of fairness and charity, the eyes deliberately shut to all the Christian life and work of great religious communities, and an assertion made that they are abettors of wickedness—all this in order to commend to the world and to Parliament the interests of political Voluntaryism. "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!" May God forbid that, with all our divergence of opinion from



many religious neighbours, the Church of Scotland should ever become so degraded and bigoted as to use language like that above quoted regarding the very worst of them all.

**5. Church of Scotland said to be in a Minority.**—It is contended that the continuance of Church Establishments should be conditioned by their retaining a majority of the population in their favour. This is a condition that requires some discrimination, for few persons will be rash enough to submit *everything* to the test of a vote. There never was an age in which Christianity might not have been expelled from the world had its place among other religions depended on a plebiscite of mankind. At first either majority, or force, or management must secure the establishment of a Church. Our enemies will admit that the Church of Scotland started with a majority of Scotsmen in its favour, and retained this majority down to 1843. Suppose the majority lost for a little; is the Church so situated to have no patience or mercy shown to it, even in case there should be a fair prospect of recovering its majority? What we assert on behalf of the Church is, that it never really lost its majority; at least, this never has been proven. We further assert, that since 1843 the Church has entered on a career of steady and rapid recovery, especially during the last twenty or thirty years. Our chief rivals, even by their own official returns, are nearly stationary, and when compared with the increase of population, are actually retrograde. We are willing and anxious to have an ecclesiastical census to prove our position, whereas our rivals have again and again thwarted this only reliable test of numbers.

But what is it that we are to call a majority in the matter of Church Establishments? (1) Is it a majority of the whole population voting on the general question of the expediency of national acknowledgment of religion? or (2) a majority voting on the specific question of the expediency of retaining the Church of Scotland in its present position? or (3) is it a majority of only the Presbyterian part of the community? Each of these three forms of majority has its own claim for con-

sideration, and there is no one of the three which the Church of Scotland need fear or avoid.

The third of these forms of majority has been already exhibited (p. 302), each Church making its own return ; and the result is that the Church of Scotland had in 1877 a majority of 67,896 members more than both Free Church and United Presbyterian Church together. In 1886 the majority had risen to 128,072.

For the first kind of majority, where the real question is of State Churches against the new theory of the incompatibility or inexpediency of connection between Church and State, we would have added to the vote of the membership of the Church of Scotland that of (1) about one-half of the Free Church (especially the laity and the Highlands); (2) perhaps one-fourth of the United Presbyterian laity; (3) the whole Roman Catholic Church; (4) that part (perhaps three-fourths) of the Scottish Episcopal Church which has not gone to extreme sacerdotal views. In short, here is only a question between three-fourths of the United Presbyterian Church, *plus* the renegade half of the Free Church, and the whole of the rest of the population of Scotland.

The second kind of majority is really the main one of the three, whether in practical relation to politics or to Church government. Here we would have added to the vote of the membership of the Church of Scotland—(1) the vote of some (in one respect, alas! too many) poor careless Scotsmen only nominally Protestant, who still regard the National Church as their friend; (2) about half of the Free Church, especially the laity and the Highlands; (3) perhaps one-fourth of the United Presbyterian laity; (4) perhaps three-fourths of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Here, in fact, the question would be one that would put the Disestablishment party in the Free Church and in the United Presbyterian Church in alliance with the Roman Church and the extreme Ritualist, and the declared enemies of all Churches whatever.

It only remains to be pointed out that there is no single

branch of the Church which in Scotland can come nearer to the National Church than in the proportion of one-half; and in the case of the Free Church, which is thus favourably situated, its membership is not available really for being placed in rivalry to the Church of Scotland, because among the laity and in the Highlands the Free Church, to the extent probably of one-half of itself, is at one with the Church of Scotland in maintaining the lawfulness of union of Church and State.

Is it fair, in talking of majorities, always to place the Church of Scotland on one side by itself alone, and to look at all else, good, bad, and indifferent, as to be united against it on the other side? Does the diversity on that side count for nothing, especially where unquestionably the large body of the Roman Church (perhaps ten per cent of our population) is simply watching its own opportunity to reinstate itself as it was previous to 1560?

**6. Said to be more objectionable since the Patronage Act, 1874.**—Since the passing of the Patronage Abolition Act in 1874 a new objection has been vehemently urged against the Church of Scotland by her Dissenting neighbours. It takes the curious form of declaring the Church to be since then only a sect, because less national by the transference of the appointment of ministers from the old patrons to the communicants and adherents of each congregation. An answer of remarkable clearness and force has been given to this objection by the Duke of Argyll in his article on “Disestablishment,” already referred to. He shows that patronage was no proper part of the constitution of the Church, but an excrescence and fraud forced on it in 1712, and the source of great annoyance ever since. By abolishing patronage the Church becomes its original and proper self. Moreover, the new basis for appointment of ministers is much wider than under the old patrons—hundreds now act where one acted previously—so that it is the reverse of narrowing, as in a sect. The superseded patrons were not representatives of the nation: they were possessors of a marketable privilege, and in many cases were not even

the chief landlords in the parish. To the best of them (like the Crown or the Duke of Buccleuch) their privilege was a burden, especially for a generation past, under the Aberdeen Act. A direct presentation without regard to the satisfaction of the congregation endangered the good name alike of the patron and his nominee. Some contend that the right of appointment should have been extended to all parishioners, and not merely to communicants and adherents of the parish church. To have done this would have been absolute ruin to the Church as a spiritual institution. It would then have been less than even a sect, for there is no sect in Scotland so secular and degraded as to have, or be capable of having, such an admixture.

Not only is the Church now in its original position, with the fulness and freedom of its Revolution Settlement, but that position is identical as regards the matter in question with the position occupied by the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. In fact, had the Church of Scotland always been as she now is, without patronage, there would never have been either of these Churches. Their sole, or at least main, *raison d'être* was irritation caused by patronage.

For them, therefore, to object to another Church getting what they count a blessing for themselves, is a most unchristian course. The wish of many seems to have been to see the Church still vexed with patronage, so that her prosperity and stability might thereby be hindered or destroyed. Here, then, is a policy avowed by one Church, or rather by two Churches, against another Church, and that Church their own mother, that has been severely, but in the circumstances not too severely, characterised as "immoral" and "disgraceful." When the Church was under patronage it was reviled as under State bondage: when the Church is free from patronage it is deserving of overthrow! How can we argue with such critics, whose principle is passion or prejudice, but not fairness or consistency?

#### **7. Disestablishment said to be the Basis of Presbyterian**



**Union.**—A final reason urged by our Dissenting neighbours for the disestablishment of the Church is, that thereby the foundation may be laid for a union with the Church—a union of the three leading Presbyterian bodies in Scotland. Could anything be more preposterous than to expect the Church to embrace its bitterest enemies after such humiliation? Disestablishment can only be the greatest possible obstacle to union. This is the unanimous voice of the Church, already strongly expressed by representative men of different sides like Principal Tulloch and Dr Phin. It needs no prophetic gift to foresee what line the Church would take in the event of disestablishment. Old names and old boundaries would be preserved unaltered. Our first effort would be to re-endow partially and as far as possible all the old parishes, for which a glorious commencement would be found in our present *quoad sacra* parishes. The spirit of our people would be aroused afresh by suffering on behalf of the old historic Church of the land. As regards union or direction of union, instead of being downward toward Dissent, it would be almost certainly in another direction toward that original shape of our Reformed Church when it had only its First Book of Discipline, its Book of Common Order, and the Confession of 1560—not toward these in their letter and fulness, but toward these in their liberality and spirit, as showing what the Church aimed at before it was called to struggle with the Stuarts. This is no prophecy, for it is already in that direction that the hearts of the best men in our Church are turning. Episcopacy we have no wish for, but were a choice necessary between *that* and shaking hands with political Voluntaryism, doubtless the former would be the choice of the great majority of Churchmen.

#### FURTHER MATTERS BEARING ON THESE ARGUMENTS.

**Opposition to Mr Dick Peddie's Bill.**—Recently a token was given, at once incontestable and impressive, of the strength and popularity of the Church, on occasion of the petitions

presented to Parliament against the Bill of Mr Dick Peddie for its Disestablishment. The second reading of the Bill was to come on as the first order on the 6th of May 1885; and with only four weeks' notice the country was so aroused that, as reported by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1258 petitions were presented bearing 688,195 signatures. For this spontaneous and enthusiastic movement the Church was partly indebted to the friendly co-operation of members of other Churches, to the known extent at least of 60,000, and it is supposed even to 150,000. Unfortunately about 300 parishes did not join in the petition.

In the autumn of 1885 public meetings in defence of the Church began to be held in all parts of the country, and in a few weeks within sixty of the Presbyteries of the Church upwards of 500 meetings were held. In various constituencies also a declaration was signed by the electors expressing their opposition to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Scotland.

One conspicuous instance of the success of this may be mentioned—viz., the county of Mid-Lothian. The Church Interests Committee asked the Presbyteries of Dalkeith and Edinburgh to meet with them on 20th October 1885, and suggested to them that, as Mr Gladstone had stated that the question was one for the decision of the people, an effort might be made to ascertain the views of the voters in Mid-Lothian prior to his coming to Scotland. The Defence Committees of the various parishes within the county entered heartily into the scheme. The electoral rolls for the county were not distributed until the 2d of November. The parishes were asked to procure signatures, and to make their returns at a meeting of the Committee to be held upon the 9th. At that meeting returns from thirty-one out of the thirty-eight parishes were delivered; and it was gratifying to find that in the parishes which had been canvassed not less than 64 per cent of the electors had signed a declaration in the following terms:—"We, the undersigned electors of the parish of \_\_\_\_\_ ,

in the county of Mid-Lothian, are opposed to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Scotland." The result was communicated to Mr Gladstone, who met the electors of Mid-Lothian for the first time on 11th November, and in distinct terms pledged himself not to vote for Dr Cameron's Resolution, and stated that no resolution upon the subject, even if carried in that Parliament, would be held as expressing the opinions and wishes of the people of Scotland.

**Mr Finlay's Bill of 1886.**—On March 17, 1886, the member for the Inverness Burghs introduced a Bill in the interests of the Constitutional Free Church party in the Highlands to remove certain scruples which hindered them from uniting with the Church of Scotland. His Bill was mainly declaratory that "the Courts of the Church have the sole and exclusive right to regulate, determine, and decide all matters spiritual within the said Church, . . . power to disjoin and erect *quoad sacra* parishes to be vested exclusively in the Courts of the Church." In favour of this Bill and of Union a great and enthusiastic meeting was held in Edinburgh on 12th March, Lord Napier in the chair, and Dr Fraser of London the chief speaker. It was only by the aid of the Parnellites that this Bill was defeated. The Duke of Argyll, in a letter to the 'Times,' showed that in a House of 379 Mr Finlay had a clear majority of 9 after deducting the Parnellite gang. There voted 177 for and 202 against. Of seventy-two Scottish members, fifteen (among whom were six Liberals) voted for—thirty-four against—twenty-three absent.

**Dr Cameron's Motion** was made on 30th March 1886, "That the Church of Scotland ought to be disestablished and disendowed." Sir Donald Currie moved an amendment, "That this House declines to entertain a proposal for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Scottish Church until the wishes of the people of Scotland in relation thereto shall have been ascertained." The amendment was carried by 237 to 125. In the majority voted seventeen Scottish members, of

whom seven were Liberals. In the minority were twenty-five Scottish members.

**'Spectator' on two kinds or degrees of Disestablishment.**

—“It has been observed in your columns and elsewhere that the question of disestablishment will divide the Liberal party. But one chief cause of that division has not been noticed. Will you let me point out that a word which may stand for two contradictory ideas can hardly fail to divide honest men who are invited to adopt it as a political cry? Disestablishment is not a dictionary word. It is not to be found in the pages of any philosophical historian; five-and-twenty years ago it was practically unknown. Our knowledge of its meaning is derived entirely from the Irish Church Act of 1869; and as we are informed that the provisions of that Act are not to be followed in any Bill proposed for the Church of England, it is evident that we are left wholly in the dark. Of that Act it may be conceded at once that it was constructed on Liberal principles, and as such was accepted by the Liberal party. It was expressly declared to be framed on ‘principles of equality as between the several religious denominations in Ireland;’ it left the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church untouched; it respected the worship and the places of worship belonging to the Church; in no particular did it reflect the hostile prejudices or passions of antagonistic sects. Depriving the Church of ancient endowments and great temporal privileges, it was careful, at the same time, to do it no injury, with which Liberal principles would have been inconsistent. It did not rob Churchmen of their own gifts to the Church. Its promoters were influenced partly by a sense of political justice, partly by the conviction of political necessity, and (in the case of some amiable visionaries) by the expectation that the measure would charm away Irish hostility to England. Like principles or motives might influence honest Liberals now. Some of them would personally dislike a great change in English rural life and a serious break with English tradition; but they would give their predilections up to their



party, and accept disestablishment in this sense as best they might.

“But is this what ‘disestablishment’ means? There is another and a very ugly view of it absolutely at variance with Liberal ideas. As interpreted by the utterances of some zealous actors in public life, it is a plan for crippling and humbling, perhaps of crushing, the religious body known to law and history as the Church of England. Other religious denominations are to have their organisation, their endowments of whatever date, their internal rules, their worship, and their general liberty, altogether untouched. The Church only is to be dealt with on the plan of doing her members as much harm as possible.

“I do not say that this attempt is more alien to sectarian principles than other kinds of persecution. But it is persecution, and nothing else. Liberals, as such, have no more to do with the worship and organisation of a religious body than with the colour of its members’ hair. Their duty is simply to respect the existing order and opinions of every religious community, not least that of the largest religious community in the land. The gentleman who lately compared the presence of a rector in a country parish with the existence of smallpox in the village, is no Liberal, even though he may go through the grotesque formality of subscribing to a society for the liberation of smallpox from medical control. I sum up by insisting that these two views of disestablishment are radically and fundamentally opposed, and therefore that it is easy to explain the divided state of the Liberal party in regard to them.” —“A Liberal Churchman” in ‘Spectator,’ 19th September 1885.

## CHAPTER XV.

TESTIMONY RENDERED TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND BY STATES-  
MEN, HISTORIANS, AND THEOLOGIANS, MOSTLY OF OTHER  
CHURCHES.

**Article in Treaty of Union, 1707, guarding the Church.—**

“And more especially her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, ratifies and approves and for ever confirms the fifth Act of the first Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, Act ratifying the Confession of Faith and settling Presbyterian Church government, with all other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in prosecution of the declaration of the Estates of this kingdom, containing the Claim of Right bearing date the eleventh of April 1689. And her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, expressly provides and declares that the foresaid true Protestant religion contained in the above-mentioned Confession of Faith, with the form and purity of worship presently in use within this Church, and its Presbyterian Church government and discipline, (that is to say,) the government of the Church by Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, all established by the foresaid Acts of Parliament pursuant to the Claim of Right, shall remain and continue unalterable, and that the said Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland.”—Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, 6 Anne, c. 11, art. xxv. (quoted in Cook’s Styles, Appendix).

**Report of Committee of Commons in 1834.**—“No sentiment has been so deeply impressed upon the minds of your Committee, in the course of their long and laborious investigation, as that of veneration and respect for the Established Church of Scotland. They believe that no institution has ever existed which, at so little cost, has accomplished so much good. The eminent place which Scotland holds in the scale of nations is mainly owing to the purity of the Standards and the zeal of the ministers of its Church, as well as to the wisdom with which its internal institutions have been adapted to the habits and the interests of the people.”—Report of Committee of Commons on Patronage in 1834, composed of Sir R. Peel, Sir R. H. Inglis, Lord Dunfermline, Lord Dalmeny, &c.

**Sir Walter Scott: his character of “good Mr Morton,” “Dr Erskine,” and “Reuben Butler.”**—“This worthy man (none of the Goukthrapples or Rentowels) maintained his character with the common people, although he preached the practical fruits of Christian faith, as well as its abstract tenets, and was respected by the higher orders, notwithstanding he declined soothing their speculative errors by converting the pulpit of the Gospel into a school of heathen morality. Perhaps it is owing to this mixture of faith and practice in his doctrine, that, although his memory has formed a sort of era in the annals of Cairnvreckan, so that the parishioners, to denote what befell sixty years since, still say it happened ‘in good Mr Morton’s time,’ I have never been able to discover which he belonged to—the Evangelical or the Moderate party in the Kirk. Nor do I hold the circumstance of much moment, since, in my own remembrance, the one was headed by an Erskine, the other by a Robertson.”—‘Waverley,’ chap. xxx.

*Note.*—While Sir Walter in many passages has done the Church of Scotland injustice, and religion itself harm, by caricaturing the Covenanters, faithfulness has prevailed in such instances as the character of a Moderate minister of the eighteenth century above quoted; and still more notably in the character of Dr Erskine, given in ‘Guy Mannering,’ chapter

xxxvii., and in that of Reuben Butler in 'The Heart of Mid-Lothian,' chapter li.

**Six Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1835, in an Address to King William IV.**—"Although we cannot conscientiously unite in communion with the ecclesiastical establishment in Scotland, we live on terms of perfect harmony with its ministers and members; and we regard with sincere and friendly concern the machinations which have been formed against that Establishment, as well by pretended friends as by professed enemies."—Dr Grub, iv. 188.

**Sir Robert Peel on supporting the National Church.**—"When I have joined in the public worship of your Church, think you that I have adverted to distinctions in point of form, to questions of Church government and Church discipline? No; but with a wish as hearty and as cordial as you can entertain, have I deprecated the day when men in authority, or legislation, should be ashamed or unwilling to support the National Church of Scotland."—Speech at Glasgow in 1837.

**Lord Gillies: the Usefulness and Stability of the Church unimpaired by Decisions of Civil Courts.**—"I am bound to come to this conclusion, but I should come to it with much regret if I thought it could be hurtful to the Church of Scotland. I had the honour for a considerable period of a seat in the General Assembly, though for several years I have ceased to be a member of it; and I am still a sincere friend to the Church, and nearly connected with it. My grandfather was a minister of the Church of Scotland; and one of his sons after him was also a clergyman, distinguished by his piety, his learning, and his usefulness. I am proud of such connections; they serve to attach me in every way and by every tie to the National Church, of which I have always been a member. As a sincere well-wisher of the Church, I repeat that I should deeply regret any judgment that might be hurtful to it; but I console myself by taking an opposite view of the effects which will be produced if our judgment should be in favour of the pursuers.



“Here I intended to record, but in this I have been anticipated by your lordship, the concluding passage of Sir Henry Moncreiff’s excellent pamphlet, where he states that ‘the practical effect of the Church Establishment in Scotland on the information, the morals, and religious character of the people, equals, if it does not surpass, whatever can be imputed, on the same points, to any other Church in the world.’ This was well and truly said : it was true at the time ; it is true still ; and long may it continue to be so. The Church of Scotland is a beautiful and solid fabric ; it rests on durable, on eternal foundations. It has nobly fulfilled, and continues to fulfil, the important purposes for which it was intended ; and I for one am unwilling to tamper with so fair and useful an edifice.”—Speech in Auchterarder Case : Robertson’s Reports.

**Lord Medwyn, an Episcopalian, on the Ground of its unsurpassed Usefulness, desires the Continuance and Prosperity of the Church of Scotland.**—“Although I stand in the peculiar position of a dissenter from the Established Church, I trust I need not profess my great regard for it, founded on the firm conviction of the truth of the statement, ‘That the practical effect of the Church Establishment in Scotland on the general information of the people, on their private morals, and on their religious character, equals, if it does not surpass, whatever can be imputed, on the same points, to any other Church in the world.’ On this my respect for the Presbyterian Church in this country rests, and on this my earnest desire for its continuance and prosperity is founded.”—Speech in Auchterarder Case : Robertson’s Reports.

**Sir William Hamilton, Bart.: the Church of Scotland the most Faithful and Independent of all Branches of the Reformed Church.**—“While other Churchmen and other nations (and these often the most prompt defenders of their temporal liberty) have passively allowed their creeds to be prescribed and represcribed to them by the civil ruler, under all the changeful phases of his personal caprice, the clergy and the people of Scotland during ages of fiery persecution, through

rebellion, discomfiture, revolution, and victory, steadfastly maintained, and finally established, in this our country, the ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline which, from the Reformation, had been established in our hearts; . . . the Church, now alas! of all the sisters of the Reformation,

‘Among the faithless faithful only found.’”

—Pamphlet, 1843: “Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs by mistake.”

**W. E. Gladstone: his original Views as to the State's Duty and Interest to co-operate with the Church—the insufficiency of Voluntaryism—the Scottish Establishment the National Estate of Religion for that Kingdom—and Faith plighted to support it.**—“The highest duty and highest interest of a body politic alike tend to place it in close relations of co-operation with the Church of Christ. . . . The union is of more importance to the State than to the Church. She, though excluded from the precinct of government, may still fulfil all her functions, and carry them out to perfection. But the State in rejecting her, would actively violate its most solemn duty, and entail upon itself a curse. . . . Besides, it may be shown that the principles upon which alone the connection can be disavowed tend intrinsically and directly to disorganisation, inasmuch as they place government itself upon a false foundation. . . . Of all parts of this subject, probably none have been so thoroughly wrought out as the insufficiency of what is termed the Voluntary principle. It has been shown that, while demand under the circumstances of modern society commonly creates supply, and while, therefore, it is needless to use adventitious means in order to provide any commodity or good for which there is a natural desire, in the case of religion the desire is least when the want is the greatest, and those who are most indifferent upon the subject require to be most solicited by the public institutions of religion, not less for the welfare of the State than for the salvation of their own souls. . . . Because the Government stands with us in a

paternal relation to the people, and is bound in all things to consider not merely their existing tastes, but the capabilities and ways of their improvement; because it has both an intrinsic competency and external means to amend and assist their choice; because, to be in accordance with God's Word and will, it must have a religion, and because, in accordance with its conscience, that religion must be the truth as held by it under the most solemn and accumulated responsibilities,—because this is the only sanctifying and preserving principle of society, as well as to the individual that particular benefit, without which all others are worse than valueless, we must disregard the din of political contention, and the pressure of worldly and momentary motives, and in behalf of our regard to man, as well as of our allegiance to God, maintain among ourselves, where happily it still exists, the union between the Church and the State. The Scotch Establishment has every feature that can mitigate the anomaly and evil of a case of separation [from Episcopacy]. It is, in the words of Mr Smith, 'the national estate of religion' for that kingdom. It has fixity of creed. It is now rid of its ancient prejudices against the Episcopal government, which is generally regarded with positive favour by its clergy. The character of that body is most exemplary. The administration of patronage is wonderfully pure. The temporalities of the Church are husbanded so as to produce a great amount of beneficial agency from limited means. The operation of the system on the people tends to order and loyalty, and yet more to a general knowledge and fear of God, which those who have lived among the Scottish people will ever be glad and forward to acknowledge. . . . It is obvious that the members of the Anglican Church might, by their votes in Parliament, overbear the representatives of Scotland and alter the Union; but it is not less clear, I think, that such an act would virtually be a breach of covenant; and therefore it is not option or discretion, but plighted faith, which entails upon us the support of the Scottish Church."—*The State in its Relations with the Church*, 2d ed., 1839.

**Dr Chalmers: impotency of Voluntaryism — call for Churchmen to labour on, and for the squabble of Voluntaryism to cease.**—“This is an age hostile to endowments by the State; and our great dependence under heaven for the fuller equipment of our Churches is in the endowments of Christian charity. The spoliators of our Establishment are on the wing, and their unhallowed hands are already lifted up to mutilate and to destroy. But if we be supported as we ought to be, the benefactors of our Establishment will greatly outnumber and overmatch them. In that mighty host of aliens from the lessons and ordinances of the Gospel who are still unreached and unclaimed, we behold the full demonstration of the impotency of what is called the Voluntary system. It is now for the Church to bestir herself, and put forth her own peculiar energies and resources, in the work of calling in these helpless outcasts; and in proportion to our success, we shall earn for the cause of religious Establishments the friendship of the wise and good, the support of every honest and enlightened patriot. . . . What a beautiful and noble result were this wretched squabble of Voluntaryism terminated, and the combatants, dropping their peculiarities, were to join their forces in one grand movement against the wickedness and irreligion of the people! We shall not despair of such a consummation. The asperities of that warfare which now rages on every side of us are surely not to last for ever. Peace and charity, let us hope, will in time be lords of the ascendant, and the storm which now darkens and disturbs our moral atmosphere, we trust, shall purify but not destroy.”—Church circular, 1836. For similar testimony within a few days of his death in 1847, see page 304.

**Dr William Cunningham: still renounces Voluntaryism after 1843.**—“Voluntaryism amounts in substance to this, that the only relation that ought to subsist between the State and the Church—between civil government and religion—is that of entire separation; or, in other words, its advocates maintain that nations, as such, and civil rulers in their official



capacity, not only are not bound, but are not at liberty, to interfere in any religious matters, or to seek to promote the welfare of the Church of Christ as such. This theory, if true, supersedes the necessity of all further inquiry into the principles that ought to regulate the relation between Church and State; for it really implies that no connection should subsist between them. . . . It [the Voluntary principle] has been very fully discussed of late years. In common with many others, I took part in these discussions, and *I have certainly not changed my opinion concerning it*. I still believe it to be a portion of divine truth, fully sanctioned by the Word of God, and *therefore never to be abandoned or denied*, that an obligation lies upon nations and their rulers to have respect, in the regulation of their national affairs, and in the application of national resources, to the authority of God's Word, to the welfare of the Church of Christ, and the interests of true religion."—(Historical Theology, i. 391.) 'Scotsman' Correspondence, 5th March 1886.

**Thomas Carlyle: good Influence of the Presbyterian Church on Scottish National Character.**—"The Scottish national character originates in many circumstances: first of all, in the Saxon stuff there was to work on; but next and beyond all else except that, in the Presbyterian gospel of John Knox. . . . Knox did at bottom, consciously or unconsciously, mean a theocracy or government of God. He did mean that kings and prime ministers, and all manner of persons, in public or private, diplomatising or whatever else they might be doing, should walk according to the Gospel of Christ, and understand that this was their law, supreme over all laws. He hoped once to see such a thing realised, and the petition *Thy kingdom come* no longer an empty word. He was sore grieved when he saw greedy, worldly barons clutch hold of the Church's property; when he expostulated that it was not secular property, and should be turned to true Churchly uses, education, schools, worship; and the Regent Murray had to answer, with a shrug of the

shoulders, 'It is a devout imagination.' " — Essay on Sir Walter Scott.

**Lord Macaulay: the Nationality of the Church.**—"Take the Church of Scotland: . . . it is a Presbyterian Church in a Presbyterian country; its creed is the national creed; its form of worship the national form of worship. Schism may have reduced its numerical strength, a subject on which we shall have something to say before we have done, but it is still, in the eyes of all reasonable men, the Church of the Reformation and the Church of the Revolution."—Speech in the Commons, 23d April 1845, quoted in 'Blackwood' for Sept. 1878.

**Dean Stanley: Church of Scotland the Church for Scotland.**—"Whilst thus insisting on the elements of Scottish religious life, which are above and beyond all institutions and all parties, it is impossible to avoid the question, (not what party, but) What institution most corresponds to these aspirations? And here we cannot doubt that, viewing it as a whole, and with all allowance for its shortcomings, it must be that institution which alone bears on its front, without note or comment, the title of 'The Church of Scotland.' . . . The Church of Scotland has a claim on the attachment of all those who are unwilling to let go the opportunity of unfolding to the utmost the capacities of an institution which has already done so much for the civilisation and the edification of the whole empire. Englishmen and Scotsmen of all persuasions may well be proud of maintaining a Church which has at times in these islands been the chief support of the united interests of culture, freedom, and religion—a Church which Carstares and Robertson, Chalmers and Irving adorned—which Sir Walter Scott and Sir William Hamilton supported, because they felt that no existing institution could equally supply its place."—The Church of Scotland, Lect. iv.

**Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, M.P.: Popularity of the Church above all Sects, and her Position now better than ever before.**—"Speaking as impartially as a Scotsman can speak of the various religious associations into which our country is divided,

I think the Church of Scotland holds a paramount place in the affections of the people. We know that there are many sects among us ; but we also know that the Church of Scotland occupies much ground which is common to them all, and therefore it cannot fail to awaken the respect of them all. I am aware that there are amongst us a large and influential party who are conscientiously opposed to the existence of Church Establishments, and who would if they could, and no doubt will if they can, take away from the Church of Scotland such modest public endowments and such shadowy privileges as now belong to her. But I think I may at the same time say, that if any member of our various sects should by any accident be prevented from obtaining or enjoying the ministrations of the body to which he belongs, he would, from the highest Anglican Churchman down to the most stanch Voluntary, rather worship in the Church of Scotland than with any of the sects by which he is surrounded. And I think there are many obvious reasons why that should be so. First of all, the Church of Scotland has never in her history shown more of zeal, more of charity, and more of vitality than at the present moment. Not even in those great days when Dr Chalmers was the leading orator of his country, and the organiser of all good works, did the Church of Scotland occupy a prouder position than she does at present. Nay, more, I would say that there are many respects in which the position of the Church of Scotland is better than it was then. . . . There never was a time, I believe, when, as leaders of public opinion, the leaders of the Church of Scotland stood in a more eminent position. They are worthy successors of those great men in the last century who stamped a high and intellectual character upon the Church of Scotland. Every year some of the flower of the youth of Scotland join its ranks, and amongst the rank and file whom its leaders lead there are few who are not men of pure lives, whose homes are not the homes of everything that is comely and of good report, whether in our towns or rural districts." — Speech, 19th May 1877, when laying the foundation-stone of Pollokshields Church,

Glasgow—a handsome building on his own property, costing £14,000, to which Sir William personally contributed.

**Lord Moncreiff, a Free Churchman, warns against Dis-establishment as both Needless and Dangerous.**—“I do not draw from the history of the times which were the subject of my remarks [1560-1843] the moral that the State Church should cease to exist in Scotland. As an adherent of the Free Church (I say nothing of the political aspect of the question), I see no more reason for taking any part in an agitation against the Established Church now than the leaders of the great body of the Free Church did in 1843. . . . I do not think the prospect of redress is near in the present day; neither, on the other hand, do I think the result unattainable; but it is far too soon, in my opinion, for us with our own hands to render it impossible, and undo the work of three hundred years. The public guarantees given by the Civil Government for the Protestant faith, Presbyterian Church government, and evangelical doctrine, whatever such securities may be worth, for the most part centre in the institution of the Church established by law. I have no nervous apprehension in regard to any of these, but none of them are so far beyond peril that I would willingly renounce any of our safeguards, and liberate the Imperial Parliament from its obligations, unless better assured of what would come in their place. The adjustment of the new order of things would not be wholly or mainly in Presbyterian hands; and it were difficult to predict what kind of fabric might or might not arise on the ruins of our Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union. For it must not be forgotten that changes of this nature are seldom confined in their operation to the object for which they were effected, but frequently find their main development in results the most unexpected, and sometimes in those which are least desired. It is impossible to root out an old tree without disturbing the soil round it; and the abolition of the Established Church would bring with it many results, religious, public, and social, extending far beyond our subjects of controversy. . . . For myself, I prefer to remain



on the old neutral vantage-ground—to cherish the traditions of our fathers and the lessons of history, and leave it to time to unravel problems which we cannot and need not solve.”—Prefatory Note to Church and State from the Reformation to 1843 : Edinburgh, 1878.

**Dr Norman Macleod: would widen the Church for all Presbyterians, but preserve Endowments to secure a proper Ministry.**—“His anxiety was, if possible, to rebuild the Church on a foundation sufficiently wide to include the Presbyterianism of Scotland. He did not, however, delude himself with the hope of any corporate union immediately with the Free Church and United Presbyterians, in consequence of the abolition of patronage. He knew too well their historical antecedents, understood too well the spirit which years of antagonism had created, and had weighed too carefully other practical difficulties, to expect any such happy consummation. . . . But he certainly dared to hope that, after time had exercised its healing influence, these Churches would be thankful for the preservation of the national endowments for religion, and appreciate the attempt now made to open the doors of the Establishment as wide as possible to all Presbyterian bodies. In these endowments he saw the only sufficient security for the existence of a well-paid and well-educated ministry for the nation. All he had seen and learned of Voluntaryism in America, and all he had known of its working in this country, had convinced him that, when existing alone, it was not only insufficient for the proper support of the Church in poor districts, but involved in its very nature elements of danger to the tone, independence, and liberty of the clergy. (See his speech on Patronage in the Assembly of 1870.) It seemed to him, therefore, a betrayal of the interests of Christianity in Scotland, where the people were practically at one in their beliefs, to throw away the patrimony of the Church for the sake of a party triumph. He was therefore determined, as far as in him lay, to conserve the Church for patriotic ends ; and, with this view, was anxious to bring her government as much as possible into harmony with

the lawful wishes, and even the prejudices, of the people. "We must endeavour to build up a Church, national but not sectarian, most tolerant but not indifferent—a Church with liberty but not licence, endowed but not covetous, and which, because national, should extend her sympathy, her charity, if need be her protection, to other Churches, and to every man who, by word or deed, tries to advance the good of our beloved country."—Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D., chap. xxii.

In an earlier passage, in 1847, at the end of chap. xi., he says:—

"I have now within two years seen the practical working of various Churches, and come into contact with the clergy of various denominations. I have seen the war of weak sects in the backwoods and lonely settlements of the Colonies, and Voluntaryism in its poverty and in its grandeur in the United States. I have watched well the temper and tendency of the Free Church in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. I have met in the freest and most friendly communion, for days together, the Dissenters of England at the Evangelical Alliance. I have examined the workings of Episcopacy during a year's residence in England. I have seen Popery in every part of Germany, from Vienna to Berlin; in France and Belgium, Ireland and America. I have examined into the German Church;—and the result of all has been to deepen my attachment to my own Church, to fill me with unfeigned gratitude to God for the Protestant Evangelical Presbyterian Established Church of Scotland. It is Protestant, without any toleration of Popish error within its bosom. It is Evangelical, and equally removed from formal orthodoxy, or canting methodism, or icy rationalism. It is Presbyterian, and in possession of a free and vigorous government, which occupies a middle point between the power of one bishop or of one congregation. It is Established, and so not dependent for its support on the people, while, for the discharge of all the functions of a Christian Church, independent of Civil Government by virtue of her constitution. What want we then? Nothing but the

power of the living Spirit of God to enable ministers, elders, and people to use the high talents God has given us for the good of Scotland, of the Christian Church, and all to the glory of God. ‘If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning.’”

**Duke of Argyll: the Freedom of the Church of Scotland, and its Superiority to Party Strife.**—“It is difficult to conceive of any Church with greater powers and liberties than these; they are greater, more unencumbered, than have been enjoyed at any former period of its history. It is now distinctly more free than in the days of Knox, or in the days of Melville, or in the days of Henderson. If its powers are wisely used, they give to that Church singular facilities for meeting the requirements of its own country and of our time. It now represents, with a fulness of measure in which it never represented before, that ideal connection between Church and State which was the passion of its Reformers, and has been always the distinguishing aspiration of the whole Presbyterian people. And in this result the seceding Churches have at least an equal right to triumph. . . . It is for them, or for as many of them as choose to do so, to enter in and take possession. . . . Or if they do not formally join, at least they can work alongside in peace; for there is room for all. What divided them [patronage] is gone. What has always united them alone remains.

“It would indeed be a strange and perverse reason for dis-establishing a Church, that it has just been brought to coincide almost, if not altogether, with those who once thought themselves compelled to withdraw or to stand aside. If the Presbyterian laity of Scotland are now worthy of those who have gone before them, they will in this matter refuse to follow either secular politicians or ecclesiastical leaders who make it the sport of party.

“They will compel both sectarianism and faction to stand aside. They will not allow the abandonment of that public and national recognition of the principles of their Church

which our ancestors highly valued and which they dearly bought."—Duke of Argyll, "Disestablishment," 'Contemporary Review,' Jan. 1878.

**'Blackwood's Magazine,' Sept. 1878: the Liberal Attack on Church Establishments inconsistent with previous Principles of Liberals, and makes the Liberal Party the Tool of Religious Jealousy.**—"It is pitiable to see the flag of religious jealousy supplant that of political independence; and it is still more pitiable to think that the object of all this low-minded and slanderous assault should be an institution which has deserved so well of its country as the Church of Scotland. . . . If it is overturned for the exigencies of a Liberalism which has lost both its character and its sense, or from the apathy of a Conservatism which fails to realise all that such an overturn means, there will survive little in Scotland to distinguish it as a nation. The country will become, as many now desire it to become, a mere northern province of England; and movements which have even now begun for the removal of its supreme courts of law southward will rapidly culminate in success. But more than this, if the Church of Scotland is removed, there will remain no link whatever between the commonalty of Scotland and its higher classes. . . . Remove the Established Church, and social bonds in Scotland will become thoroughly disturbed. . . .

"Let it be borne in mind that the forces which are really moving the present agitation are not any genuine form of national discontent in Scotland nor in England. If they were, the sources of the discontent might be removed—the National Churches might be readapted to the national feeling. But the real forces are not popular or national, but sectarian and dogmatic; and the chief home of these forces is in England. The Church of England is the real object of offence to them. The money which promotes the agitation year by year comes almost all from England, and is given by men or societies who hate the English Church for its social privileges and the very largeness of the power which it exercises. They think compara-



tively little of the Church of Scotland, save as a means for the overthrow of the more powerful institution. . . . It is still possible, however, for the mass of intelligent Liberals, as well as Conservatives, to stamp out, by firm and resolute resistance, an agitation which has no roots in popular conviction any more than in enlightened political philosophy. The sectarian dogmatism out of which it comes would be seen in its true proportions if the question were fairly and by itself put to the popular vote.”—Article “The Liberal Party and the Church of Scotland.”

**Professor Flint: the Church of Scotland the chief Fountain of Scottish Life and main Stream of Scottish History, and less one-sided in Politics than any other Church.**—“She is a Church which her ministers may justly regard with pride and affection; a Church with a long and heroic history; a Church with crowded records of martyrs and saints, Gospel triumphs, and national services. She has displayed faults on which many in the present day delight to enlarge, and committed errors for which she has had dearly to pay; but notwithstanding these, she has been the chief fountain through which has welled Scottish life, and her history has been the main stream of Scottish history. She has done more than any other institution to make Scotland what it is, and no man not ashamed of Scotland can reasonably be ashamed of her. As the Established Church of the country, she is bound to free herself from everything which can give reasonable cause of offence to those who hold the principles and doctrines presupposed in her establishment; bound to seek to be able to say with a clear conscience to every person in Scotland who assents to her doctrine, and regards the national recognition and support of religion as right and useful—I am not the cause of your separation from me. I am aware that the more she does this, the more offence she will give to some persons, who, if they were to speak quite frankly, would say, What offends me is just that there are no grounds for offence—what I dislike in you is simply that you are truer to my principles

than I am myself. But duty is duty, and the Church of Scotland is bound to do her duty, no matter who may wish that she would not. So, wherever there is spiritual destitution in Scotland, besides the common claim which lies on all our Churches to meet it, there lies on the Church of Scotland a special claim to do so in virtue of her establishment. If there be great spiritual destitution in Glasgow, and great spiritual destitution in Timbuctoo, a voluntary Church is, comparatively speaking, free to choose whither she will direct what spiritual supplies she can provide, but the Established Church can have no choice in the matter: she exists as an Establishment to supply the spiritual needs of Scotland; that is the very basis of the bond between her and the State—a bond which is no contradiction to the obligation she is under to send the Gospel to the brethren abroad, but which pledges her honour to a special care for the spiritual welfare of the people of Scotland. Mere co-parishioners have no special claim on the minister of a Voluntary Church, but every parishioner has as much claim on the minister of the Established Church as the members of his own congregation. Further, the Church of Scotland needs that her clergymen should be men largely endowed with catholicity of feeling towards the other Christian Churches in the country—largely endowed with unfeigned Christian love towards Dissenting Christian brethren. The Gospel imperatively demands this. Its royal law is love, and we cannot violate that law without sowing to the wind and reaping the whirlwind. Not a little of the bitterness which is sometimes manifested in assaults on our Church may, I believe, be traced to the fact that many of our clergy in former days treated Dissenters, and especially Dissenting ministers, as intellectually, morally, and socially their inferiors. This contempt and injustice caused, in no inconsiderable degree, that soreness of feeling which makes the argument that a national establishment of religion is subversive of Christian and civil equality, although worthless in itself, always a telling one at Liberationist meetings. If we could heal the soreness of feeling, the

argument would soon be seen to be pointless; and the only way in which we can hope to heal it, is by so acting towards our Dissenting brethren as to show them that their equality is already as fully recognised by us as it could be if we had never been established. We shall then be able to say to them, with the right, at least, to be believed sincere, This Christian equality—this religious and civil equality—which you seek, are you sure that you have not already got it? We know that, as the ministers of an Established Church, we are under some obligations from which you, as the ministers of a Voluntary Church, are free, and that in virtue of voluntarily accepting these obligations we have placed at our disposal certain means of usefulness which you have not, because not willing to comply with the conditions on which they are bestowed; but that we are thereby raised religiously or civilly above you is what we do not know, and is what we do not feel. We cannot be pulled down to your own level, for we are there already. The pinnacle of religious and civil superiority on which it grieves you to see us placed is the creation not of the State and Establishment, but of imagination. No argument, however, to this effect, will be of any avail if our acts do not confirm our words, if our conduct does not prove our language to be sincere. There will be all the more need, I add, for cherishing the catholic feeling and Christian love of which I speak, if our Dissenting brethren are to put forth their strength in a combined and persistent effort for disestablishment. I sincerely hope that the resolution which many of them have expressed to that effect will be seriously and conscientiously reconsidered. I do not fear that if they act on it they will succeed. I feel quite certain that Scotland, fairly consulted, will be decisively against them. What I dread is, that ecclesiastical war will be very disastrous to the religion of Scotland, and most injurious also to the political and moral life of Scotland. I can see no prospect of advantage coming from it to any Presbyterian Church in Scotland, or to any good cause in Scotland. The increase of religious indifference, of contempt

for all Churches and Churchmen, of unbelief, and of Romanism, the embitterment of political feeling, and the consciousness of Presbyterian and Christian unity seriously deadened for many a day—these, it seems to me, will be the chief results of it.

“It has been argued that the Church of Scotland should be disestablished because her people have largely, and her clergy altogether, gone over to a party—the Conservative party. But I observe with astonishment that the very persons who laid most stress on this argument boast that their Church has gone over to another party—the Liberal party. What punishment should be inflicted on their Church for that? The Liberal party is at least in one respect like the Conservative party—it is only a party—a national party, if you please, still merely a party. Then, it is most inaccurate to say that the Church of Scotland has gone over to the Conservatives. Her adherents are, I believe, at this moment more equally divided between parties than those of any other Church in the country. Her clergy even are much more divided between the two great national parties than many persons seem to be aware of; and I have not yet heard of the Liberals among them leaving their party, although they may be somewhat afraid of their party, under bad guidance, leaving them. Then, what is to be said of those clergymen—I confess myself to be among the number—who distinctly refuse to be classed as either Conservatives or Liberals—who regard both Conservatives and Liberals as politically half-minded men—who deliberately choose to make up their views on political subjects without taking the opinions either of the Prime Minister or of the leader of the Opposition as a standard, without respect to party at all? There are a good number of us in the Church of Scotland. Are we not to be counted? Then, who ever heard any minister of the Church of Scotland boast that she belonged to the Conservative party, or to any other party? If he did so, I hope he would be speedily told to speak only for himself; that the Church of Knox and Melville was above all parties; that her



alliance was not with a party, but with the State.”—Opening Address, University of Edinburgh, Session 1878-79: ‘Courant,’ 12th November.

**Principal Tulloch: Danger to the Liberal Party in assailing the Church of Scotland at the instigation of Radicals.—**

“It has been said—I think the accusation is hardly worthy of honourable opponents—that I and some others have raised the cry of self-defence when there is no cry of danger; that if we only held our tongues and let matters go on, things would all go right. Now I think that is not a fair construction of the recent course of events. Aggression has come from the outside towards the Church, and in almost every case that I know, the voices raised in defence of the Church have been raised in reply to direct assaults. It would have been cowardly, I think, if such voices had not been raised. It surely has not come to this, that an old and respected, and, as we believe, useful and living institution, should be the subject of the worst aspersions, and that misstatements should be made about it by public men, many of which have been proved to be untrue, and that no answer should have been made to these statements. It is very true, I think, that within the last few months a change has come over the spirit of party movement, and the question of the Church has very much retired into the background. Mr Hutton, it is true, still lives, and the Liberation Society, so far as I know, is not yet bankrupt—although, if the ‘Quarterly Review’ is to be believed, there seems to be some possible danger of that; but these are enemies that the Church will always have. The very good it does provokes enmity of that kind. The Church has no right, perhaps, to complain of such enemies, and it knows how to deal with them. There has also always been a Radical party, an Extreme Left of the Liberal party, who have desired the abolition of Established Churches, and that party is quite entitled to its own opinions. Many members of it, old Voluntaries, who have always held these views, I have the greatest possible respect for. They are entitled to use fair tactics. Let them

do what they can to advance their own opinions ; let them try whether the country has come over to them, and then, if it is true, they will have their innings. Why, even Mr Chamberlain yet may possibly be Prime Minister, and from the height of an official position he may direct the councils of the nation. But all I say is—and I think most of you here will agree with me—that I see no signs yet of such a change as this. It appears to me, looking carefully at the signs of the times, that the Radical party are not any nearer becoming the Liberal party, or the Liberal party any nearer being merged into the Radical party, than they have at any time been during the last thirty years. As Liberals, we cannot refuse to put any question to the country. The Church is not an Established Church upon any theory of divine right. The Church of Scotland exists by a statute based upon popular assent. These are the terms of its existence—its existence as an Establishment. I am not speaking of it as a spiritual institution. Its existence as an Establishment is political ; it rests on a popular basis, and we believe it still rests on that basis ; and we are ready to say to any who challenge us, ‘Well, try the issue before the country ;’ and we also say, ‘Try it as a direct issue.’ We are not willing to have so grave a question as this, the existence of the old National Church of Scotland, treated as a side issue : it ought to be put fairly to the country. It is perfectly fair, I think, of any Liberal candidate—but really the great difficulty is just as to the duty of Liberal candidates in the present day—to say, ‘I do not approve of the existence of the Established Church : that is my opinion, and my vote will be in accordance with that.’ Or, it is perfectly fair for a man to say, ‘That question has not yet come within the sphere of practical politics : I have no opinion about it ; but before I give a vote I will come back here to put the question to you, and the question will be put to the country.’ All that is fair. But it is not fair for a man to come before a constituency and to evade that question, and then to go to Parliament and allow himself to be numbered by the head as a Church

abolitionist, and to vote according to the exigencies of party. He has been sent there, in the case, so far as I know, of every Liberal candidate, by hundreds of votes that would never have been given him if he had taken up the attitude he in fairness should have done. Why, even the Irish Church question was put to the country, and every voter by his vote was able to say whether he approved of the abolition of that Church or not. I, and hundreds of others, approve of the step; and I thought, and I still think, it was a fair measure of Liberal policy. I have thought so from the time I could first reason about politics, and I have not changed my opinion. We thought the Irish Church should be abolished. Why? Because it was never a national Church in the true sense of the word, although it was in a legal sense. It never represented anything but a small and extreme section of the Irish people, and for the same reasons we now oppose the abolition of the Scotch Church. We believe that Church still represents a large preponderance of the Scottish people. We believe that there are hundreds and thousands who may not be members of that Church who yet do not desire its discontinuance, but who recognise it as a great Christian institution that is doing an amount of social good in the country that would not be done if that Church were taken away. It is a Presbyterian Church in a Presbyterian country. It is the Church of the poor. It has always made the poor its peculiar care; it has carried the ministry of divine love and divine righteousness to the homes of the poor; it has followed them to their doors; it has worked the parochial system with an energy and faith in its efficacy that no Church that I know of has done in the past. It may be said of other Churches, 'Don't they do this? Do they not also minister to the poor?' I do not deny that. I say nothing about the work of other Churches; but I say it is the business of the Church of Scotland to minister to the poor, and it has been true to that business, and it never was more true than it has been in the recent years of its history. I am sure that such a Church—a Church with such a history, a

Church which is doing such loving and useful work—cannot, from the fact of its existence, be offensive to any fair-minded man, but would rather appear to him to deserve continued existence. It interferes with no rights. I do not believe there is a single practical abuse connected with the Church of Scotland that can bulk largely in the mind of any fair or intelligent public man. If there are any oppressive abuses towards others, either in the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, let them be taken away. I, as a Liberal, raise my voice against every abuse whatever—against any exaction which is not a part of the legal constitution of the Church. From no side will reformers of this kind receive more assistance than from Liberal Churchmen; but we say, ‘Don’t level or destroy old historical institutions for the sake of faction, or for the sake of denominational jealousy.’ Let the existence of such institutions, as I have said, be examined on their right, and depend upon their own merits, and let the verdict be a direct one before the people. We are exhorted to union, as the Liberal party is—and that is a better strain than the old one—but, depend upon it, there can be no union upon any basis of a subversive policy. If Mr Gladstone should come down to Mid-Lothian, I hope he will come on broad Liberal views. It would be unworthy of his great genius and his great reputation to come upon any other ground. I yield to no one in admiration of the genius and the many splendid qualities of Mr Gladstone; but I daresay most of you will agree with me that his eloquent genius is sometimes in excess of qualities which I esteem as valuable, and even more valuable, in a statesman. He has been too apt of late to become the stormy-petrel of his party; and I hope that his advent in Scotland will not be the precursor of a storm in our political atmosphere, which will rend the Liberal party in pieces. I do not speak without authority on this matter. Party bonds are dear to most men. It is not honourable or desirable that party bonds should be easily ruptured, but still there are other interests even more sacred than party bonds. I have ventured to go



into this line, because I do not think there would be much use in my coming here to speak a few generalities about the Church. There can be no doubt that the present aspect of political affairs, especially in Scotland, has a serious bearing upon the future of the Church; and I believe honestly that the great Liberal party, of which I have been a member all my life, will enter upon a career both ruinous to itself and disastrous to the country if it move prematurely in such a question. Let unripened questions alone. If the fruit is not ripe, why meddle with it? It will stain very uncomfortably the hands that venture to pluck it; and there are many of us who believe that the ripened fruit will be very different from what some people imagine.”—Speech to toast of “The Church of Scotland:” ‘Glasgow News,’ Feb. 1879.

**Dr H. Bonar: Political Christians and Christian Politicians.**—“I decline pulpit politics altogether, and dread the engrossment of political questions anywhere, or in any shape. I remember the words of Mr Harrington Evans, ‘Ardent engagement in political disputes is one great hindrance to spirituality of soul;’ and I have seen in a long ministerial experience that when politics come in, religious life goes out. I suppose people would call me a Conservative; yet I have once and again refused to give a Conservative vote when I was doubtful as to the Christian character of the candidate. I never came across an atheist who was a Conservative, for atheists call themselves ‘Liberals.’ . . .

“When I was a student, the ‘Apocryphal controversy,’ as it was called, came up before the Churches; and I then saw the evil and the snare of association with those who had no common Christian ground with us. Many of the words spoken at that crisis by that honoured servant of Christ, Mr Robert Haldane, remained with me; nor could I ever forget the uncompromising attitude which he maintained towards the deniers of the Lord Jesus Christ. I saw the germ of vast mischief, both ecclesiastical and social, in that which was then beginning to take to itself the name of

‘liberality.’ The elimination of the Christian element from the settlement of all political questions was the form which it took ; and it was maintained that as God could not think the worse of a man for his religious belief, so neither ought we. . . .

“His agreement with us in politics is to override all that. This last state of the world is now unfolding itself and developing its leaven of negativism and agnosticism in many forms. A universal solvent is at work, ejecting divine truth from all the great questions of the day. This disintegration must, ere long, level all barriers and landmarks, leaving human self-will the master of the world. This individual self-will, having assumed the noble name of liberality, is now revealing itself, and will continue to do so till it ripens into him who is to do ‘according to his will’—the lawless one of the Apostle Paul. The withdrawal of the Christian element from social and political questions must not only lead to failure in their solution, but issue in results of the most disastrous kind. The exercise of that essential element must sooner or later undermine law and subvert government. It may still leave room for political Christians, but none for Christian politicians. I need not say how widely these two classes differ.

“I do not belong to either of the Established Churches of the land. But I have no sympathy with the attacks made upon them, especially in the interests of political partisanship, by professedly Christian men. When God of old determined to destroy Jerusalem and its temple, He did not send an Ezra, or a Nehemiah, or a Zerubbabel to do the destructive work ; but a Sennacherib, or a Nebuchadnezzar, or a Titus. And besides, our own Churches are not so perfect as to justify our glorifying over the blemishes of others. The ordering of our own houses should come before our demand for the demolition of our neighbours’.”—From letter in ‘Record,’ May 1880.

**Lord Provost Ure of Glasgow (a United Presbyterian) in 1881 says, The Church of Scotland has made us the**

people we are.—“There is no one who can look back on the history of the country for three hundred years who would think for a moment of blotting out the Established Church of Scotland: without it, our country would be in nothing better than a state of barbarism. There cannot be the slightest doubt that, without the Church of Scotland, we would not be the people that we are. I, for one, feel the greatest gratitude to that Church, that it has done what it has for the country to which we belong.”

**Professor Edward Caird : the Church a Benevolent Institution, tolerant in Creed, democratic in Constitution ; no Reason why it should Perish.**—“I do not recognise that there is any absolute distinction between matters secular and matters sacred which should keep the hand of the State from touching any interest of our life. Nay, but for the presence of a few survivals of the opinions of a bygone age, I could have said that no one now believes in any such distinction. I take up this question, therefore, entirely as a matter of good policy and expediency. I find among us a Church which is not supported by taxation, but, like a benevolent institution, by funds bequeathed from the liberality of former generations. Its creed is substantially the creed of the great majority of the nation, though it may sometimes be enforced—which I consider is an advantage—with a little less strictness than in some other communions. It is on the whole a democratic Church, whose members are not separated by social distinction from others; it has no great abuses connected with it, and none of its ministers are extravagantly paid. It has endowments in all parts of the country, which make the poorer districts, as regards their religious teaching, independent of support from wealthier congregations. I also see that, to take the lowest ground, a good deal of the endowments which are now so usefully employed would be for long or for ever lost to the country in the process of transfer to other uses, if that transfer were conducted, as it must be, on principles of justice. And I say for myself, without the least wish to impose

my opinion upon you, that I see no reason in Liberalism, no reason in Radicalism, and no reason in social justice and expediency, why such an institution should perish.”—Speech, in ‘Glasgow Herald,’ 26th February 1886.

**Warburton: the special Aims of Church and State, and that they have mutual need of each other.**—“The State contemplates for its end the body and its interests; has for its means, coercion; for its general subject-matter, utility. The Church is a religious society of distinct origin; having for its end the salvation of souls; for its subject-matter, truth; for its instrument, persuasion; regulating motives as well as acts; and promising eternal rewards. Though separate, these societies would not interfere, because they have different provinces; but the State having need of motives and the sanction of rewards, and the Church wanting protection against violence, they had each reasons sufficient for a voluntary convention.”—‘Alliance between Church and State.’

**Paley: a religious Establishment defined and defended.**—“The notion of a religious establishment comprehends three things: a clergy, or an order of men secluded from other professions to attend upon the offices of religion; a legal provision for the maintenance of the clergy; and the confining of that provision to the teachers of a particular sect of Christianity. . . . This maintenance must either depend upon the voluntary contributions of their hearers, or arise from revenues assigned by authority of law. To the scheme of voluntary contribution there exists this insurmountable objection, that few would ultimately contribute anything at all. However the zeal of a sect, or the novelty of a change, might support such an experiment for a while, no reliance could be placed upon it as a general and permanent provision. . . . Preaching in time would become a mode of begging. With what sincerity, or with what dignity, can a preacher dispense the truths of Christianity whose thoughts are perpetually solicited to the reflection how he may increase his subscription? His eloquence, if he possess any, resembles rather the exhibition of



a player who is computing the profits of his theatre, than the simplicity of a man who, feeling himself the awful expectations of religion, is seeking to bring others to such a sense and understanding of their duty as may save 'their souls.'—Moral and Political Philosophy, Bk. vi. chap. 10.

**Burke : a comprehensive Established Church, a Safeguard against Infidelity and Indifference.**—"I wish to see the Established Church great and powerful; I wish to see her foundations laid low and deep, that she may crush the giant powers of rebellious darkness; I would have her head raised up to that heaven to which she conducts us. I would have her open wide her hospitable gates by a noble and liberal comprehension, but I would have no breaches in her wall; I would have her a common blessing to the world, an example, if not an instructor, to those who have not the happiness to belong to her; I would have her give a lesson of peace to mankind, that a vexed and wandering generation might be taught to seek for repose and toleration in the maternal bosom of Christian charity, and not in the harlot lap of infidelity and indifference. Nothing has driven people more into that house of seduction than the mutual hatred of Christian congregations."—House of Commons, Speech in 1773.

**Southey : relation of an Established Church to Civil Order and Patriotism, and the beneficent operation of the Patrimony of the Church.**—"Religion is the basis upon which civil government rests—that from which power derives its authority, laws their efficacy, and both their zeal and sanction. . . . Sub-sects will be again divided—carrying the principle of schism in their constitution, as grafts take with them the diseases of the parent stock. . . . The principle of nonconformity in religion is very generally connected with political discontent; the old leaven is still in the mass, and whenever there is thunder in the atmosphere it begins to work. In the time of the American war they were wholly with the Americans; and during that of the French Revolution their wishes were not with the Government, nor their voice with the voice

of the country. At contested elections their weight is uniformly thrown into the Opposition scale; at times when an expression of public opinion is called for, their exertions are always on the factious side. They are what Swift called them, schismatics in temporals as well as in spirituals. The truth is that, as Burleigh said of the English Papists, they are but half-Englishmen at heart; for they acknowledge only one part of the twofold constitution under which they live, and consequently sit loose in their attachment to the other. Of the two strands of the cable one has been cut through. . . . No property is so beneficially distributed for the general good as that which, by the wisdom not less than the piety of our forefathers, was set apart to be a provision for the ministers of the altar. Let any parent who has a diligent and hopeful son at school or at college ask himself whether the youth's chance in life would be as good as it is if the Church lands were secularised, if tithes were abolished, and the clergy left, like the Dissenting ministers, to depend upon their congregations. And if we had Dukes of Durham and Winchester instead of Bishops, would the lands attached to the title be more productive, or the tenants sit at easier rents? Should it not, on the other hand, seem as evident as it is certain that every one is interested in upholding an Establishment by means of which some of the public wealth is set apart to be disposed of, not by the accident of birth, but among those who may deserve it by their learning, their abilities, and their character; and that, too, under the notorious condition that without character neither learning nor abilities, however eminent, will be regarded as a claim,—a distribution whereby no man has been, or is, or can be injured, while some scores of individuals in every generation are raised by it to stations of dignity, and some hundreds of families placed in respectability and comfort?"—  
 "Colloquies."

**Coleridge: the Church completes and strengthens the State.**—"Whatever is beneficent and humanising in the aims, tendencies, and proper objects of the State, the Church collects

in itself as in a focus, to radiate them back as in a higher quality; or to change the metaphor, it completes and strengthens the edifice of the State, without interference or commixture, in the mere act of laying and securing its own foundations.”—‘Aids to Reflection.’

**Burns : Church and State :—**

“ Oh, let us not, like snarling tykes,  
 In wrangling be divided ;  
 Till, slap, come in some unco loon,  
 An’ wi’ a rung decide it.  
 Be *Britain*<sup>1</sup> still to *Britain* true,  
 Among oursel’s united ;  
 For never but by *British* hands  
 Maun *British* wrangs be righted.

The kettle o’ the Kirk an’ State,  
 Perhaps a clout may fail in’t ;  
 But deil a foreign tinkler loon  
 Shall ever ca’ a nail in’t.  
 Our faithers’ bluid the kettle bought ;  
 An’ wha wad dare to spoil it,  
 By heaven, the sacrilegious dog  
 Shall fuel be to boil it ! ”

—“ Does haughty Gaul.”

**Wordsworth : Church and State :—**

“ Hail to the crown, by freedom shaped to gird  
 An English sovereign’s brow—and to the throne  
 Whereon he sits ! whose deep foundations lie  
 In veneration and the people’s love ;  
 Whose steps are equity, whose seat is law.  
 Hail to the State of England ! And conjoin  
 With this a salutation as devout,  
 Made to the spiritual fabric of her Church ;  
 Founded in truth ; by blood of martyrdom  
 Cemented ; by the hand of wisdom reared  
 In beauty of holiness ; with ordered pomp,  
 Decent and unreprieved. The voice that greets  
 The majesty of both, shall pray for both ;  
 That, mutually protected and sustained,  
 They may endure as long as sea surrounds  
 This favoured land, or sunshine warms her soil.”

—“ The Excursion.”

**Gladstone : Church and State, both needed.—“ Christ died**

<sup>1</sup> Substitute Scotland and Scottish.

for the race : and those who notice the limited progress of conversion in the world until alliance with the civil authority gave to His religion a wider access to the attention of mankind, may be inclined to doubt whether, without that alliance, its immeasurable and inestimable social results would ever have been attained. I for one cannot desire that Constantine in the government of the empire, that Justinian in the formation of its code of laws, or that Charlemagne in refounding society, or that Elizabeth in the crisis of the English Reformation, should have acted on the principle that the State and the Church in themselves are separate or alien powers, incapable of coalition.”—Gladstone’s *Autobiography*, 1868, p. 59.

**Mr Forster, M.P. : Value of the Parochial System.**—“In disestablishing the National Church you would destroy the parochial system. What do I mean by the parochial system? Simply this, that at this moment there is no place in England, no country parish however secluded, no back slum in any city however squalid, in which there is not a minister of the Church—that is, a State servant whose business it is to care for the highest good of every man, woman, and child in this parish and in these streets. Now I am not prepared to ask the State to dismiss these servants.”—Right Hon. W. E. Forster (1877).

**Writer in ‘Scotsman,’ 9th Feb. 1882 : on the work done by the Church in return for its Endowments.**—“But the question immediately arises, What does Scotland get for the money? In the first place, the money is represented by the labours of between 800 or 900 clergymen, all of whom have received some University education, and most of whom must be presumed to be earnestly engaged in the duties of their sacred profession. Of course, opinions may vary greatly as to the value of the work they do. Each Church will naturally think her own clergymen the best. In every flock are some black sheep ; and consistent Voluntaries (if any are left in Scotland) may think that a State Church has necessarily a deadening influence on those who serve her. But nobody suggests that the clergy of the Church of Scotland are not, on



the whole, conscientious and Christian-minded men, who are working, according to their light, for the spiritual good of the people. The historical and national position of a parish minister lends him a certain dignity, and makes him a more valuable agent for good than his Dissenting brother. But it is one of the premisses of the present agitation for Disestablishment that the old Church is thoroughly honest and pure. There are no fat bishops rolling in the luxury of a prince's income and a magnificent palace. There are no idle fellows; there are no pluralities; there are no curates doing the work of absentee rectors; there are no great inequalities of income; there are no seats in the House of Lords; there is no sale of livings. It is not a Church maintained for the benefit of an aristocratic class. On the contrary, the national clergy of Scotland are decidedly of the people. That may not be an unmixed advantage, but it is nothing to be ashamed of. They have almost no political privileges. They have systems of doctrine and government which are popular in Scotland. They are also, for the most part, very poor, or only in moderately comfortable circumstances. And they must all work. The best living in the Church is said to be North Leith. One incumbent has just given up the work in despair; his predecessor was killed by overwork. Indeed, the controversy could proceed on no other footing. The challenge comes from the Dissenting Churches; and if they were to say, 'Our clergy are good; yours are bad,' the country would laugh at them. They are put upon their honour, and they admit that, as a Church, the Church is admirable; only as a political institution it is wrong. Upon the whole, it may be said that, if the Church costs £330,000 a-year, it is very cheap at the price—perhaps the cheapest Church in Christendom."

**Mr M'Lagan, M.P.:** shows that the Church does not interfere with Religious Equality.—"I am, then, in favour of a national recognition of religion in some form or other, and the Established Church of Scotland is the best form known to me consistent with the liberties of the subject,

with justice, and religious equality; and though it is alleged that there cannot be absolute justice when there is an Established Church, we must remember that often many things that are just may not be expedient. The same may be said of religious equality. What is it? It is that every one, whatever may be his religion, is equal in the eye of the law—that no one shall be deprived of his civil rights on account of his religious opinions. When complaints have been made to me of the injustice caused by the Church of Scotland, I have requested to be informed of the civil rights of which Dissenters have been deprived, of the civil disabilities under which they labour from the existence of the Church of Scotland. In making this request, I have given the assurance that I would use every endeavour to have these evils removed where they exist. I have shown my willingness to do so by votes which I have given in the House of Commons. The grievance complained of appears to be more social than political or religious. In saying this, I do not wish it to be supposed that I underrate social grievances. They are often more irritating and more difficult to bear than political or religious; but even in the best constituted societies we must have several distinctions, and the aim of legislation is to make them as little felt as possible.

“The Church of Scotland is the Church of and for the people; it is the poor man’s Church, and for him it possesses peculiar privileges and benefits. Every one, including Dissenters, in a parish can claim the services of the parish minister for the dispensing of religious ordinances, for the solemnising of marriages, for baptisms, for attendance in sickness and at the deathbed. Every one in a parish has a right to a seat in the parish church, and even when a *quoad sacra* church is erected, one-tenth of the seats must be left free for the parishioners. There is no religious inequality recognised in anything I have mentioned here.”—Letter to his constituents in ‘Glasgow Herald,’ 23d July 1885.

**Lord Selborne warns against carrying Disestablishment**

by a bare majority in Parliament, or by taking it piecemeal over the kingdom.—“There may be, and there often has been, a clear, sometimes a large, majority in Parliament returned by an inconsiderable aggregate majority of the total number of votes given by the constituencies. I wish that more consideration than is commonly given to it by party politicians were bestowed upon this distinction. It would be a great moral security against the oppression of classes, and other acts of tyranny and injustice on the part of representative assemblies, if it were generally felt that it can rarely be wise or prudent, and may very often be unjust, to make great changes affecting the interest and the happiness of large numbers of the people, and seriously disturbing the balance of social forces without something approaching to a general consent. I am persuaded that if the question of Disestablishment and Disendowment were to wait until such measures could be carried with the general consent of the nation in any real sense, it would never ‘become practical.’

“To the enemies of all Church establishments it might doubtless be convenient to carry on their campaign by successive operations of sap and mine in different parts of the kingdom rather than by a general assault, but this method will not recommend itself to practical men who have no object in view. No one can have the simplicity to imagine that if by such tactics Disestablishment were carried as to Scotland, that Scottish and Irish members of the House of Commons would leave English members to decide the question of Disestablishment in England without their interference, or that the advocates of Disestablishment in England would have the least scruple about carrying it—if they were able—by the aid of Scottish and Irish votes, although a substantial majority of the representatives of England might be on the other side.”—“Defence of the Church of England.”

**Lord Hartington at Nottingham, 24th November 1887, denounces Mr Gladstone’s making Disestablishment a bribe to promote Irish Home Rule.**—“I should like for a few

moments to glance at the manner in which one of the most important subjects of political discussion at the present time was treated by the Liberal party and by its leader—I refer to the question of religious equality. Mr Gladstone declared that, in his opinion, the question of Disestablishment was ripe for settlement both in Scotland and in Wales, and that so soon as the Irish question can be got out of the way, the time was ripe for settling the question of Disestablishment in those parts of the empire. Well, in regard to Scotland, I have myself long ago said that in my opinion Disestablishment was a question which ought to be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of Scotland themselves; but I think that this is not such an insignificant question that it would not have been worth while for Mr Gladstone to state on what grounds he had altered the opinion he had deliberately stated in the House of Commons, even though it may be fifteen years ago, in which he had proved that it was impossible to separate the question of Disestablishment in England from the question of Disestablishment in Wales. No doubt, at some early period, we shall hear the reason for this new development of the views of the leader of the Liberal party; but what I want to call your attention to is the method in which these questions are being treated in the new programme of the Home Rule Liberal party. I do not think it is possible to call to mind anything so cynical as the manner in which these questions of great national and imperial importance, as well as of supreme local interest, were put up the other day for auction, for sale, to the highest bidder in Home Rule voters. How was the case stated both in Scotland and in Wales? ‘The question,’ said Mr Gladstone, ‘is ripe for settlement; but there is this difference: The case of Scotland is perhaps more urgent, for the grievance in Scotland is perhaps the greater of the two; but then in Wales you have got more unanimity. In Wales you have twenty members out of thirty who are not only Disestablishment advocates, but also good Home Rulers. In Scotland opinion is more divided, not only



as to Disestablishment, but also as to Home Rule ; and you in Scotland,' Mr Gladstone said, ' have got something to do before you can bring your question of Disestablishment to the front ; you have got to give us—the Liberal party, the Home Rule party—more support—you have got to give us something in return for what you expect from the Liberal party, and then, perhaps, you may find that the question of Disestablishment is considered as urgent in Scotland as it is in Wales.' Now, lest I should be supposed in any degree to be misrepresenting what was said, let me read the very short passage in which Mr Gladstone himself summed up what he had to say upon this subject. ' And therefore,' he said, ' finally, and by way of winding up, I have a piece of advice for my friends in Scotland who are anxious for Disestablishment, and that is, that they should endeavour to bring the division of parties in that country more nearly like what it is in Wales. Let them compete with Wales in that respect—let them send us as good a body'—of what ? Not Disestablishment men—' of Home-Rulers from Scotland, who will also be, I believe, generally Disestablishers ; let them send us as good a body as Wales does, and I have not the least doubt, when the day of competition comes, Scotland will be able to hold her own.' Now, I ask you, what is that but the holding out of a bribe—a simple, undisguised, and naked bribe—to those in Scotland who are conscientious advocates of Disestablishment ; and to tell them that the settlement of their question shall depend, not upon the merits of the case, not upon the justice or the expediency of the case, but upon the amount of support which Scotland can be prevailed upon or can be bribed to bring to the cause of Home Rule in Ireland ? I have never taken, I do not feel myself able to take, high religious views upon these questions. I cannot assert that I believe that the cause, that the maintenance of religion in this country, of religious instruction and teaching is inseparably connected with the Establishment either in Scotland or in any other part of the country. I cannot take that high ground on this question. I have been

accustomed to look at it, whether it be in Scotland, or in Wales, or in England, as a great subject of national and imperial importance. I think this question of the maintenance or the severance of the connection which has so long prevailed between certain Churches and the Government of the country is, at all events, a question of sufficient political importance—to say nothing of its religious importance—to be judged and decided upon by the people of this country upon its own merits ; and that it is a degradation of these questions to put them up for decision by the constituencies of this country, not upon their own merits, but as they may stand in relation to some other totally distinct, though perhaps eventually important, question.”

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

**Review of the Pre-Reformation Church of Scotland.** —

This period, Celtic and Roman, A.D. 400 — 1100 — 1560, shows with great distinctness the origin of church sites and church property not to have been in any one generation, but spread over many centuries and proceeding from hundreds of donors, chiefs, kings, nobles, abbots, and bishops, acting from individual and pious impulses as freely as any modern benefactors.

In the Celtic period, A.D. 400—1100, we see famous saints, like Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, and Cuthbert, followed by a galaxy of God's servants whose names shine in the most ancient local calendars, and are enshrined in hundreds of church dedications. Their creed, while common to Christendom, was more kindred to the Eastern than the Western Church. Their government was non-papal, and for a long period before its suppression was controversially anti-papal. Their system was monastic and tribal, scholastic and missionary, never diocesan or prelatie. Their chief settlements numbered about fifty; and latterly their property was extensively robbed and secularised by lay and lazy abbots, who became founders of families and ceased being churchmen. This Celtic Church in Scotland, moreover, was a branch of a wider Celtic Church that included Wales and Ireland, and had many mission settlements spread over the continent of Europe.

The main points of this earliest system did not perish, but were absorbed into the system that succeeded. Thus church and monastery sites of Culdees became the sites reorganised as

Roman; the old graveyards were graveyards still. The old fairs were held on the old days and old spots, and in honour of the old patron saints. This system, once so simple, earnest, and pure, fell partly through the worldliness of its later abbots seizing Church lands for their own families, and partly through its own general decline of piety and zeal, unable to cope with a Continental Christianity more earnest, and possessing a more military organisation and discipline, symbolised in an architecture of larger dimensions and higher art.

In the Roman period, A.D. 1100–1560, which followed the Celtic, the outstanding characteristic is a far fuller organisation of the Church territorially into dioceses, parishes, chapelries, and prebends, not all at once, but again by fresh stages, and now with more systematic help from kings and nobles, especially from Queen Margaret and her three royal and like-minded sons. No general law ever compelled the building or endowment of churches, or regulated the boundaries of diocese and parish. Part followed part by local arrangement and local gift, so that, for good or ill, the church system in its material aspect was afresh the growth of circumstances and ages, varying in revenue and otherwise according to the different degrees of liberality of friends in different provinces. Almost the only point of uniformity consisted in the general acceptance of the idea of supporting religious fabrics and services, by giving one-tenth of the produce of the land to the clergy. As fresh gifts were made point by point, large old parishes like Stobo, S. Cuthbert's, Kinkell, S. Machar's, were subdivided; or a great bishopric like Dunkeld was reduced by creation of a new see like Argyle. The clearest of all evidence of this method of private and gradual gifts to the Church is that which is seen in the list of forty-three provostries or collegiate churches, where name of founder, date of foundation, and number of clerics or value of foundation, are for the most part distinctly on record.

This magnificent system of the Roman Church in Scotland at last fell a victim partly to internal corruption, chiefly of



its own dignitaries, and partly to its own overgrown wealth and power exciting the jealousy, cupidity, and hatred of poor, proud, and turbulent barons. The admirable organisation, however, very largely survived, especially as to parish churches, parish graveyards, parish boundaries, presbyters' houses, presbyters' duties, and presbyters' revenues from the tithes. The dignitaries, monastic and episcopal, being at once the most corrupt and also the most wealthy, were the chief objects of attack by the Reformers and robbers, so that the new clergy and their benefices resembled only too closely a wood of pollard trees severely dressed into symmetry and parity. Many of the old presbyters accepted the change, and continued to serve in the Church thus reformed, and it was their ordination that gave consecration and apostolic succession to the Church that succeeded the Roman, as the Roman had succeeded the Celtic. All three are in the best sense one continuous Church, first Oriental, then Romanised, then Reformed, "they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters" (*pace* Bishops Sage and Wordsworth !!)

**Review of the Post-Reformation Church of Scotland.—**

The Church of Scotland, as constituted afresh in 1560, was distinctly, but not bigotedly, Presbyterian; was one of the original group of Reformed Churches, and shared all or nearly all the features characteristic of these in method of government, Catechism, Confession of Faith, and Prayer-book.

The subsequent struggles of the Church (as to whether the government was to be by presbyters or bishops) had their origin and strength, not within the Church in its ministers or members, but outside the Church in the interference of Royalty in the way of dictation or intrigue; so that Episcopacy (as distinct from Romanism) never was native or national or patriotic in Scotland.

In point of theory, Presbytery is not provincial, narrow, or poor, as some prejudiced persons suppose, but occupies a firm and logical place as a protest against Roman corruption, and as a return to the first principles of the New Testament. The

group of reformed Churches of Presbyterian type is not tied down to the theory of apostolic succession for validity, which becomes a very hard, if not impossible, question apart from Roman or Greek orders.

In point of fact, the present standards of the Church of Scotland (Westminster Confession, Shorter Catechism, and Directory of Public Worship) are wider and deeper than the narrower theory of Presbytery commonly current (especially among Dissenters), and are more akin to the less rigidly defined system that arose at the Reformation.

The Revolution Settlement marks the close of *external* dictation or intrigue for the Church (with the exception of the reimposition of patronage in 1712); but one great effect of the two anti-prelatic struggles has been to introduce an element of controversy and limitation into the Church of Scotland foreign to its original and proper character—an element which, in the present generation, is being steadily eliminated.

The one exception to the close of external dictation and intrigue, in the Patronage Act of 1712, brought in a new element of evil, in the form of dissension and dissent. This discontentment ending in dissent had to a considerable extent good ground; but also it largely arose from morbid exaggeration, whereby a few real grievances were made to hide the merits of a Church that was in the main sound and faithful—the strongest proof of the morbid exaggeration being that the dissenting body has, in course of time, changed its original complaint of defective discipline into others totally different, of which the chief is now alliance with the State.

Within the Church itself the long strife between Moderates and Populars was a conflict of two principles, neither of which is essentially or greatly wrong. But as time went on, feeling and temper got keener, and bad language of the worst sort resulted on both sides, so that Moderate came unjustly to be equivalent to heartless and secular, while, with like injustice, Popular or Evangelical became equivalent to unintellectual and

hypocritical. But how base to rewrite our Church history half a century or more after these parties have practically been extinct, and to make capital out of old quarrels in the interest of new ones, by trying slanderously to identify the present Church of Scotland with one of the long-deceased parties !

Coming to a point easily within living memory, we trace the self-same evil principles of exaggeration, acerbity, and change in a fresh dissension and dissent through which the Church of Scotland has held on the even tenor of her way, not only surviving but prospering. A temporary and heated majority of the General Assembly unhappily passed an Act which reached over into temporal interests which they had no right to meddle with alone. When this Act had been calmly and constitutionally tried by the supreme courts of the country, and pronounced to be null and incompetent, a large number of the party that had passed the Act still defended their mistake, and left the Church for that purpose. But when the stern test of separation came, the party that had erred in the law had grievously dwindled down. Only 289 parish ministers became dissenters, while 681 parish ministers remained. A separation where such figures are true is no disruption of the Church, but merely a large secession from it.

Delivered from dissension in this calamitous way of dissent, the Church of Scotland since 1843 has had more unity, concentration, zeal, and charity. Work of many kinds has been her token of life, and her answer to calumny. Lost ground has been largely regained, of which detailed examples are furnished in Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Edinburgh. Chapel debts have been paid. At date of May 1887, 356 new parishes have been added to the Church, besides forty parliamentary churches erected into parishes. The Endowment Scheme is continuing this work of addition, with average revenue of above £10,000. The Home Mission, with revenue of £8540 for 1886, makes fifteen church-building grants, and supports 136 mission churches and chapels, with 11,302 communicants, and 20,796 of certified attendance.

The Association for augmenting Small Livings is annually dividing, in above 310 grants, £8110, and has a capital fund of £78,000. Church work beyond Scotland is annually going on at an expenditure of £44,603 (*viz.*, for 1884,—Colonies, £4176; Jews, £5264; Foreign, £28,806; Ladies' branch, £6357). To the Home branch of work requires to be added above £20,000 of revenue of the Baird Trust.

The total value of the Church of Scotland's Endowments is £275,000 per annum, of which £235,700 are from teinds. This property never was given by the State; it has always been separate from other property—it has always been Church property. No person pays any part of it in his religious capacity; it is not a tax in any sense, far less a religious tax, but a pecuniary transaction pure and simple, as much as any feu-duty or ground-annual.

The Church of Scotland not only uses this revenue for its original and legitimate purpose, but herself from her own membership voluntarily supplements it year by year, to the extent of £407,212 in 1886, for the purpose of more efficiently performing all branches of incumbent duty as a Church.

The membership of the Church of Scotland, moreover, is such, in point of actual numbers and of annual growth, as to put it in a place of marked preponderance in the country, for it is not merely one of three great branches of Scottish Presbytery, but is much more than equal to the other two put together, the figures for 1885 being: Church of Scotland, 571,029 communicants; Free Church, 263,113; United Presbyterian, 180,884. The majority of the Church of Scotland over both together is thus 128,072. The figures are the returns made in each case by the ministers and kirk-sessions of the three Churches concerned.

**How the Church of Scotland is unfairly assailed, and how our social life is hampered by hundreds of needless Churches.**

—The representations made for political and sectarian purposes against the Church of Scotland may be classified as: (1) *sophistical general arguments against all national Churches;*



(2) perversions of the historical facts of the Church of Scotland in a series of garbled versions of former secessions and controversies; (3) railing accusations in which collections of bad words from old quarrels are made to do modern duty; (4) garbled statistics. By these methods in modern times through abuse of platform, stump, and press, the weak are able to persecute the strong.

To meet this new and inverted style of persecution, it is necessary to read both sides of history to arrive at truth as to parties, and to go to official documents to ascertain facts, and after this has been done to put real history and real statistics, and sound political and social and ecclesiastical principles, within the reach of the people, so as to deliver them from the snares of dissenting clerical leaders and hired agitators. The rapid growth of the Church of Scotland in recent years, and the comparative stagnation or decline of dissenting bodies, is a token that the popular mind and heart on this great subject is able to appreciate a quietly earnest Church, which attends to its own business and lets its neighbours alone, as contrasted with persecuting and slandering Churches, largely substituting politics for the Gospel.

One important part of the whole case, especially in its present aspect, is, that while there is still need to build new churches in remote places, where churches are very far apart—in new villages springing from modern causes—and in new suburbs of large towns,—there are other cases, especially in small burghs with populations of 1000 to 5000, and in rural parishes, with populations of 1000 to 2000, where there is a superfluity of churches, to the great dispeace of the community, waste of good money, and lowering of the ministerial office. If several hundreds of these struggling and mutually weakening churches could be suppressed by any system of reasonable compromise, it would be one of the greatest religious blessings which Scotland could receive in this generation. How plentiful these weakling, because superfluous, churches are in connection with the Free Church, is seen in

the fact that of all their 1064 churches existing in 1883, only 291 were self-supporting. The self-supporting in the United Presbyterian Church are only 328 out of 559.

On this subject, 'The Scottish Church' for January 1887, admirably says:—

“ Union of Churches in Scotland, lifted out of the Disestablishment squabble, is of great importance to the cause of religion. For the waste of money on useless kirks and ministers, the Dissenters are themselves chiefly responsible. The average parish congregation in Scotland is about 400 communicants; the Free, 250; the U.P., 300; the Episcopal, 120; and the other denominations, 110. Outside the large centres of population the average congregation is much less, and there is scarcely a rural parish with two or three congregations but what would be as well if not better served with one minister and one congregation. Of the 2200 Dissenting ministers, two-thirds are practically unnecessary, and are sheer waste of men and money, except for the maintenance of the sect. Wherever there are two or more congregations in the same village, with a united membership of under 500, or a population of under 1500, the congregations ought to be united, unless there are very exceptional circumstances of a permanent character. There are scores of such cases in every part of the country.

“ Take Perthshire as a sample. Collace has a population of 409, for which there are two ministers, with a united membership of 231. Kinfauns, with a population of 583, has two ministers, with a membership among them of 294; and a recent attempt on the part of the local Presbyteries to unite the U.P. congregation of Pitrodie (85 members) with the Free of Kinfauns (94 members) entirely failed. Dunbarney (Bridge of Earn), with a population of 756, has two ministers, with a united membership of 368. Logiealmond, with a population of 581, has three ministers, with a united membership of 338, or about 100 each. A recent attempt by the local Presbyteries to unite the Free and U.P. congregations of this parish also failed. Forgandenny, with a population of 627, has three ministers, with a united membership of 289. Clunie, with a population of 582, has two ministers, with 298 members. Kinclaven, with a population of 490, has two ministers, with 306 members. Kirkmichael, with a population of 568, has two ministers, with 311 members. Ardoch, with a population of 1100, has three ministers, with a united membership of 463. Madderty, with a population of 527, has two ministers, with 250 members. Trinity-Gask, with a population of 396, has two ministers, with a membership of 166. Balquhiddier, with a population of 759, has two ministers, with 302 members. This list of parishes might be greatly extended. In the Synod of Perth and Stirling there are 116 parish ministers, 78 Free, 44 U.P., and 54 of other denominations, or a total of 292; while 140 ministers are more than sufficient for the spiritual wants of the population. There is

thus a useless waste of 150 ministers and £22,000 of stipends, besides the expenses of their ecclesiastical property. It is a scandal to religion that the churches should be converted into shops, in which the 'isms of the sects compete for popular favour, under the cloak of the religious interests of the people; for these 'isms in no way represent an important principle of Christianity, but only a petty opinion of no practical consequence to the life of religion in the souls of men."

**The fair and true Ideal of a National Church for Scotland.**

—"A National Church is something far more than an endowed institution for Christian preaching and work.<sup>1</sup> It is the legal organisation of all the intellectual and Christian forces within a country, which do not by their professed principles repel such organisation, for Christian good. It exists under public law, and is governed by public principles in a manner in which no dissenting Church can ever exist or be governed; and so it gathers to itself a force of intellectual and social opinion which can belong to no other institution. It is often the very best and wisest minds which are disposed to a Church, not on any dogmatic or denominational grounds, but simply because it is the Church of the nation, embodying its noblest traditions, and consecrated by its most touching and sacred memories. Let our National Churches be destroyed, and it will soon be seen how much real dignity and usefulness both of them owe to this mere instinct of national respect. A disestablished Presbyterianism can have no attractive force of this kind, and will soon sink far below all the best traditions of the old Church of Scotland.

"While the Church therefore advances in freewill giving, let none of its clergy or elders or members ever suppose that this makes the question of Disestablishment one of indifference. The capacity of a Church to maintain itself has, rightly viewed, nothing to do with this question. The present establishment is the Church of Scotland because *it is established*, resting on the basis of the national will under legal sanction, and so entitled to represent—as it does represent—to the

<sup>1</sup> Principal Tulloch, "Parting Word" in 'Missionary Record,' September 1879.

world the national Christian sentiment, as no other Church does or can do.

“ There is much, no doubt, that is troubled in the future of the Church of Scotland ; and complications may arise to overthrow it, amidst much else that is good in the institutions of the country. But, to a large extent, this future is in the hands of the members and office-bearers of the Church itself. Let its ministers never cease to be Christian gentlemen, full of evangelical life by God’s blessing, but full also of intellectual thoughtfulness and the broad sense which remembers that there are other forms of Christian activity and usefulness besides those which are Presbyterian,—that the noise of Scottish Christianity, however important, is not the murmur of the catholic world. What is needed, above all, is the spirit of Christian justice and moderation to rule all the counsels of the Church, while the spirit of Christian enthusiasm inspires all its work. In nothing has the Church grown so strong during the last ten years as in the increase of the spirit of Christian tolerance and fair-mindedness—in a word, of Christian moderation—in its treatment of public questions and competing parties. It was its loss of this spirit during the ‘ ten years’ conflict’ as it is called, which imperilled the national Establishment, and wellnigh brought it to its ruin, in 1843. It has once or twice in the interval been near to the old dangers, but by the blessing of God it has steered clear of them ; and others are at present the monument of the spirit of faction and of violence. That spirit has been the bane of Scottish history, and, above all, of Scottish ecclesiastical history, and nothing but shame and confusion have ever come of it. Never was it more true than in the case of Churches, that ‘ they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.’

“ May the Church of Scotland live by God’s blessing ! but let it be remembered that the blessing never goes with violence nor intolerant harshness of any kind—never with fanaticism in the name of zeal, nor dogmatism in the name of orthodoxy. In every Church, and in every National Church especially,



there must be room for intellectual, theological, æsthetic growth—room for all who are willing to serve the Church in the spirit of its constitution, or to advocate any changes whatever consistent with its essential principles. No Church lacking in so much freedom as this deserves to live, or can live in these times. It may be doubted whether any but National Churches can ever have such freedom—at least, legally secure. And freedom without legal security is not worth much. Mere ecclesiastical instinct, unhappily, in all Churches is apt to be tyrannous rather than free and justly ordered.”

Round the sacred city gather  
 Egypt, Edom, Babylon ;  
 All the warring hosts of error,  
 Sworn against her, are as one.  
 Vain the leaguer ! her foundations  
 Are upon the holy hills,  
 And the love of the Eternal  
 All her stately temple fills.

Church of God ! if we forget thee,  
 Let His blessing fail our hand :  
 When our love shall not prefer thee,  
 Let His love forget our land.  
 Nay ! our memory shall be steadfast  
 Though in storm the mountains shake,  
 And our love is love for ever,  
 For it is for Jesus' sake.

J. S. STONE.

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A handbook of the Church of Scotland,

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