A DISCOURSE

ON

SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

"Non ita certandi cupidus quàm propter amorem
Quòd te imitari aveo."

—LUCRET.

"Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."

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SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE
PRESENT TIME

WITH PREFATORY REMARKS ON THE S. GILES'S LECTURES,
AND APPENDIX OF NOTES AND REFERENCES

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PREFATORY REMARKS

ON

THE S. GILES'S LECTURES.

It is well known that during the last six months, twelve Lectures upon Scottish Church History have been delivered fortnightly—first in Edinburgh, and afterwards in Glasgow—and subsequently published in succession, by twelve eminent clergymen of the Established Church. The undertaking, wise and judicious in itself, and for the most part executed in a corresponding manner, could not fail to excite very general interest.

Reading the Lectures, one after another, with the attention due alike to the character of the authors, and the importance of their subjects—

First, we see lucidly set before us what Scotland gained by its conversion from heathenism to Christianity (Lect. 1).

Next, we follow the graphic sketches which represent to us what our country further gained from the devoted lives, and divinely assisted labours, of S. Ninian, S. Columba, S. Kentigern, and of our saintly Queen Margaret (Lect. 2).

Next, we mark the transition from the independent Celtic to the medieval Romanising Church, with the in-

troduction and the upgrowth of the Parochial, Diocesan, and Monastic Systems (Lect. 3).

And then, as we approach the period of the Reformation, we appreciate and admire the contrast, vividly drawn, between the noble and upward course of the pioneers of the recovery of Gospel Light and Truth—especially Patrick Hamilton, Alexander Alesius, and George Wishart, and the perverse downward course of their opponents, the champions of Darkness and Error—the ill-fated Cardinal Beaton, the double-minded Earl of Arran, and the weak and dissolute King James V. (Lect. 4).

In these first four Lectures, it is scarcely necessary for me to say there is little or nothing which we Episcopalians should not have listened to with pleasure, or should have hesitated to welcome, had they been heard from any of our own pulpits; and though, when we reach the Reformation itself, it was not to be expected that this harmony of sentiment would continue to be maintained to the same extent, yet we thankfully observe that the points on which we become constrained to differ from the positions of the succeeding Lecturers, are still very few in comparison with those upon which we can cordially and unreservedly agree with them.

With this observation, we enter upon the fifth Lecture, which it is necessary to notice in more detail.

No one can be more ready than the present writer (as, indeed, I showed in a discourse preached and published more than twenty years ago on occasion of the Tercentenary in 1860) to pay to Knox the honour he deserved for his "supreme loyalty to the Word of God" (p. 151), his unswerving "vindication of the paramount authority of Holy Scripture" (p. 133). But when it is objected to our "landed gentry," that they "stand aloof from the Church of Knox" (p. 148), I must be permitted to reply that it is Presbyterians themselves who, at the present day, stand further aloof from the Church of Knox than Episcopalians do. I must venture to point out that, whereas Knox himself stood off further than was right, in some

respects, from the Primitive Church — partly, perhaps, through insufficient knowledge of its principles and usages, at a time when they had both been miserably obscured and corrupted for many centuries, but mainly, I believe, because he was driven to do so from the necessities of his position, as the foreign Protestants also were, through the same cause; whereas this was so, the Presbyterianism of the present day has fallen off still further from the Church of the early centuries, without any similar necessity, or sufficient excuse for so doing. Is not the service of Knox's Liturgy, "universally in use for about seventy years," more in accordance with the service of the Prayer-Book (which our Lecturer generously pronounces to be "the grandest devotional service ever furnished to any Church," p. 136) than the ordinary Presbyterian service as now performed? It is true, we are told that Knox "disapproved of what he termed 'the mingle-mangle' of the Anglican Liturgy." But though the English Prayer-Book, in its original form, when it began with the Lord's Prayer and ended with the third Collect, was somewhat liable to this description, from the large proportion of it made up of versicles and suffrages, and the short Litany, yet it ceased to be so when the more substantial parts of prayer and thanksgiving, which it now contains, were subsequently introduced. Again: I am unwilling, for various reasons, to lay stress upon the provisional appointment of "superintendents" who certainly do not now exist;[1] but, I may ask, is not Knox's Confession of Faith of 1560—which was practically accepted by us on both occasions when Episcopacy was restored—in more substantial harmony with the doctrine of our XXXIX. Articles, in the revision of which Knox himself assisted, than that of the Westminster Confession, by which it has been superseded? Again: where are

[1] "That Knox had not that abhorrence at Episcopacy, which soon after his days was unhappily introduced into Scotland, is very apparent." —Dr Cook's Hist. of Reform., ii. 384. See also Burton's Hist., v. 79. Knox's two sons were both episcopally ordained in England.

now to be seen the churches of our Presbyterian brethren open upon week-days as well as upon the Lord's Day, not only for preaching but for divine worship, as Knox practised himself, and prescribed to others? (See First Book of Discipline, ch. xi.) Once more—and this is a question to which I desire to draw special attention on the part of those who claim to take advantage of the *prestige* of Knox's name, as against ourselves—where are now to be heard the appeals which Knox professed himself ready to make to the Church of the early centuries, "not only to the precepts and rules of the New Testament, but to *the writings of the antient Fathers*, to decide the contest between him and his adversaries;" and again, "*to the most antient Councils*, nighest to the Primitive Church, in which the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by God's Word"? These are Knox's own expressions (see Works, vol. iv. p. 508 *et seq.*, and p. 518 *et seq.*) And where, I ask, are such appeals to be heard now, *except upon our side?* Such appeals, as made then, would indeed, if accepted, have availed little against the claims of supremacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome. But let them be made now by our Presbyterian brethren, and not only will they be (I can promise) most readily accepted, but they will suffice to put an end at once and for ever to the unhappy division which at present exists between ourselves and them.

No! It is not we who stand aloof from the Church of Knox,[1] except in so far as he himself—whether willingly or not, whether intentionally or not—stood aloof from the teaching and practice of the early undivided Church. And upon this account there is one point at least in regard to

[1] Our Lecturer himself elsewhere complains of the Presbyterianism of the present day as a sad falling off from the Knoxian standard. "The Church of the Reformation was furnished with a richness and variety of instrumentality *in startling contrast to the denuded and unsystematic condition of the Church now*" (p. 134.) And again, at p. 145, he will not allow that Knox should bear "the blame of the *ugliness which has so long characterised our ecclesiastical system.*"

which the Church which he himself had founded, speedily —*i.e.*, not more than eight years after his death—fell away from him; I mean no less a point than that of Ordination, which S. Chrysostom speaks of as *that which is far the most principal thing of all, and which mainly holds the Church together* — τὸ πάντων μάλιστα κυριώτατον, καὶ ὁ μάλιστα συνέχει τὴν Εκκλησίαν (Hom. xvi. in Ep. 1, ad Tim. § 1)— but "as to the necessity of which," our Lecturer admits, "Knox did not entertain any very strong beliefs" (p. 139). His error was partially corrected in the Second Book of Discipline, by the restoration of the laying on of hands, which had been abandoned as "not necessary" (First Book of Discipline, ch. iii.); and since that time, or at all events since 1638, there has been, we are told, a return to "the validity of Ordination," and therewith to a true "apostolic succession," only not through the line of bishops, but of presbyters. How far such a theory is defensible (except upon a plea of *absolute necessity*, such as the Church of England admitted for a time in the case of foreign Protestants), I will not now discuss; only I must say it has never been the theory of the Catholic Church. It is not to be found in any canon of "the most antient Councils,"[1] or in any of "the writings of the antient Fathers"—not even of S. Jerome (who writes, "*Quid enim facit, exceptâ ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* Epist. ad Evang. 1)—to which Knox appealed to decide the contest which he had raised. No previous Lecturer has given so much as a hint of the existence of such a theory at any preceding period since Christianity was introduced into Scotland; and doubtless if any evidence could have been found to that effect, it would have been produced. The only passage bearing in any degree upon the point, so far as I have noticed, is that which I have quoted below, p. 102.

Neither, again, can I acquiesce in the representation of

[1] The 13th Canon of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, has been sometimes quoted as an exception, but it is not a real one.—See Bishop of Lincoln's Church History, p. 46, note.

the same Lecturer, when he would lead us to conclude that, whereas the Reformation in this country was effected by the convictions of the people, especially of the middle class, in England the Reformation was brought about, primarily at least, by the will of King Henry VIII. That the final breach with Rome was caused by the will of that imperious sovereign is undoubtedly true; but the great doctrinal and practical issues of the English Reformation, which did not take effect till after Henry's death, were due, under young King Edward, mainly to the influence of Archbishop Cranmer—as the Jewish Reformation, under the young King Josiah, was due to the influence of Hilkiah, the high priest—to the influence, I say, and convictions of Cranmer, who vacillated indeed through the extreme difficulties of his position in Queen Mary's reign, and through the infirmities of our fallen nature, but eventually sealed his testimony with his blood; and not only of Cranmer but of Ridley, who never vacillated, and who also sealed with his blood the same testimony—convictions in the case of both founded simply upon the Word of God, as interpreted by the Primitive Church: witness Cranmer's manuscript collections, still preserved in the British Museum, which "consist of *a vast number of quotations* on various theological subjects, taken not only from *the works of the Fathers and other antient authors*, but also from the recent controversial writings of the Lutherans and Zwinglians" (Jenkyns's 'Cranmer's Remains,' vol. i. p. 73 *et seq.*) Whereas the convictions of Knox, and of those who imbibed his spirit, were founded indeed upon the same Word, but as interpreted only by themselves; and hence arose those two fatal mistakes which caused such lamentable confusion in the following century: first, that nothing is to be admitted into the worship of God which is not expressly found in Scripture; and secondly, that Scripture is all-sufficient for its own interpretation, without the guidance of a living and purely-teaching Church.

It is the practised hand of a Church historian which, in

the next (sixth) Lecture, groups together with much skill, and in a fair and manly spirit (not untinctured with an occasional spice of irony, almost of banter) the events of a sufficiently stern and ungenial character which call for notice during the long and changeful period from 1572 to 1660—that is, from the death of Knox to the Restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II. And throughout this survey the philosophic eye is no less conspicuous than the skilful hand. It recognises the *Nemesis* displayed in the fact that the clause of the Act of June 1592—"known as the Magna Charta of Presbyterianism in Scotland—which stripped the bishops of the most essential attribute of their office"—collation to benefices—"and gave it to the presbyteries"—was the very clause "which in 1843 split the Church asunder, from the Church's refusal to take on trial the presentee to Auchterarder: thus the bishops who were dispossessed in 1592 were avenged in 1843" (p. 169 *et seq.*) And again, when Cromwell became supreme, and one of his colonels in 1653 entering the Assembly, asked by what authority they had met, and then told them to be gone—treating them as his master had shortly before treated the Long Parliament,—it is the recognition of a similar *Nemesis*, which, half indignantly half pathetically, exclaims, "And it was for this"—the overbearing supremacy of Cromwell —"the Church of Scotland had given up its own Confession, its own Prayer-Book, its own Traditions! The glorious vision of a great united Church on the Presbyterian model, in Scotland, England, and Ireland, had vanished for ever; and sectaries of every kind, who scorned the Covenants and preached universal toleration, carried everything before them" (p. 187 *et seq.*)

We must not indeed expect to find, even in this candid and liberal-minded Lecturer, all that we, with our sentiments, could wish. We can go along with him heartily when he exposes the blundering and unconstitutional attempts both of King James (pp. 172-174) and of his son (pp. 178-182) to

bring about an ecclesiastical unity between their two kingdoms upon an episcopal and liturgical basis; which proved in the end as great a failure as the similar attempt of the Covenanters to unite the three kingdoms on the Presbyterian model. And still more heartily can we join with him when he expresses his regret that the friendly relations of which, at one time, in Knox's day, there appeared so fair a promise for their mutual benefit between the Churches of this country and of England, should have been broken off (pp. 188 *et seq.*) But here and there, we must confess, our Lecturer falls short of our expectations in a way for which we were not prepared. For example, he tells us (p. 164) that, under the influence of Andrew Melville, the Assembly of 1575 (three years after Knox's death) "declared that the name 'bishop' properly belongs to all who had charge of a flock; and all scholars are now agreed that, according to Apostolic usage, the Assembly were right." How strange it is that a man of so much intellectual acuteness as our Lecturer undoubtedly possesses, should have failed to see the fallacy that lies in that statement! I have no hesitation in saying that "all scholars" who are gifted with the least logical sagacity, are aware that the Assembly "was" *not* "right" in that instance, but wrong. They were misled by not discerning that the Greek word Επίσκοπος has a *wider*, and so far a *different*, meaning in the New Testament from that which the Anglo-Saxon word "bishop," though derived from it, has *ever had*, nay, than the Greek word itself, and its Latin derivative "Episcopus," *have always had from the second century downwards*. "Apostolic usage" of the word (when the Apostles themselves, and Apostolic men, such as James at Jerusalem, Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, &c., were themselves "bishops" in the sense of our Anglo-Saxon nomenclature) was *one thing*, and post-Apostolic usage was *another;* when the name Apostle being, for obvious reasons, dropt, the word "Episcopus" in a restricted sense (just as the word "Diaconus" became restricted too, about the same time)

was wanted to designate the first order of the threefold ministry—which order the Apostles and Apostolic men had previously occupied—and it soon ceased to be applied to the second order (see Hooker, quoted below, p. 96). "A little learning is a dangerous thing;" and although I do not doubt that Andrew Melville was a scholar of real eminence, yet in this instance, in which, according to our Lecturer, he "obtained his first victory through his accurate knowledge of the Greek Testament," it is certain his scholarship was, practically, at fault.[1] And something more important than scholarship was at fault, when he followed up that victory by inducing, as he did, the Assembly in 1580 to declare "the office of diocesan bishop to be unlawful, and without warrant in the Word of God;" whereby the whole Catholic Church, both East and West, from the beginning, was condemned of gross ignorance or wilful disregard of Scripture by a Scottish General Assembly! It is to be regretted that that Assembly do not appear to have remembered the words of Knox (see above, p. 4) how that, "in the most antient Councils *the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by God's Word.*"

Again: the aspirations which our previous harmony of sentiment may have raised, are doomed to still more bitter disappointment when our Lecturer delivers his judgment, that "it might be possible to conform the worship of the Church of Scotland to that of England; but ITS POLITY—NEVER" (p. 176). And from what follows it appears that the objection felt is not one of detail (in which we might have concurred, as not considering the English system, as at present worked, by any means perfect), but to Episcopacy in general, and of any kind; the judgment being based not upon any plea of divine authority or prescriptive right in favour of Presbyterianism—this is disavowed—but upon these two grounds: "We can never now belie

[1] Any reader who wishes to be further satisfied upon this point, may consult my Outlines of the Christian Ministry, pp. 148-199, and especially Bentley's remarks, *ibid.*, p. 151 *et seq.*

our history by surrendering our Presbyterianism, or renounce our reason by believing that religion depends upon a trinity of orders" (p. 176). We need to rub our eyes as we read the words. The history of the past! The renunciation of reason! Surely our Lecturer ought to have depicted the history of the past during its most important century, in other colours, if he was intending to recommend it as a ground for the settlement of such a question. The colours in which he has actually represented it are not attractive: "High-handedness" (p. 181); "excommunications as terrible as the anathemas and interdicts of Rome" (p. 189); the existing standards of the Presbyterian Church "looking like the cast-off slough of controversies long since dead" (p. 187); "internal dissensions—a legacy of bitterness" (p. 188); where also we find a full-drawn sketch of what the country had come to when it had cast off both Episcopacy and Monarchy in the middle of the seventeenth century: "The religion of Scotland at this unhappy period, *sometimes so much vaunted*, consisted mainly in the rival parties hating, cursing, and excommunicating one another. There were Engagers, Remonstrants, Resolutioners, and Protesters, all symbolising special feuds, and doing their best to propagate them. . . . And all this uncharitableness blossomed and bore its fruit in an atmosphere heated with religion, or *at least what was thought religion at that time*." And with regard to that other plea which our Lecturer has alleged—viz., that "he cannot renounce his reason," &c.—who has ever asked him to "believe that religion depends upon a trinity of orders"? What he has been asked—asked again and again—to do, is to accept the threefold ministry as the means which the Word and Providence of God would seem to have conspired to point out and recommend, to enable us to give effect to the prayer of Christ, and to fulfil the repeated and urgent injunctions of Scripture, for the unity of the Church —to accept this means, or else to suggest some other and more probable method by which that end may be attained.

But we must not complain. The same persistency (arising, for the most part out of national pride, and sacrificing to that pride, though unconsciously, the interests of religious truth) which induced Episcopalians of the last century to adhere to the house of Stuart, induces Presbyterians—not excepting such as our accomplished Lecturer—to adhere to the existing system of their Church, even when they themselves are secretly all but convinced that it is indefensible; and to adhere to it perhaps all the more doggedly in proportion to the intensity of their secret mistrust.

But we pass on to the next (seventh) Lecture, which also has a sufficient guarantee, not only for the excellence of its composition, but for the sobriety of its sentiments, and the fairness and elevation of its spirit, in the name of the Lecturer. What can be more just or more candid than the remarks which we read at p. 194? "The men who sought to force Episcopacy on Covenanting Scotland by physical constraint and pressure, were the worst enemies Episcopacy has ever had in Scotland. No Episcopalian need feel specially concerned to defend their memories; and *no fair-minded Presbyterian will hold Episcopacy responsible for their measures.*"[1] What can be more true or worthy of a Christian minister than the character, drawn at p. 221, of that despicable monarch, Charles II.? What can be more judicious or more equitable than the estimate formed at p. 203, and again at p. 214 *et seq.*, of the conduct and character of Archbishop Sharp? Or, in contrast with him, what more kindly and enthusiastically appreciative than the tribute paid to the life and work and writings of Bishop Leighton? Nor can I remember a single instance in this Lecture, though occupied with the difficult and critical period from 1660 to 1690, in which the writer has not carried me along with him, with the exception of one passage, in which I have not concurred, only, perhaps, because I do not feel sure that I understand it. The passage I allude to refers to

[1] Yet this is what Dr Story has done in the next lecture. See below, p. 15.

the crisis of the Revolution, and is as follows: "The action then taken by the Church of England was what, more than anything else, insured the fall of Episcopacy and the rise of Presbytery a second time in Scotland. Even in Scotland, hatred of Romanism was a much stronger passion than love of Presbytery—immeasurably stronger than admiration of the Covenants" (p. 223.) It can scarcely, I think, be intended to intimate that the Scotch bishops and clergy (however they might feel bound to James II. as their lawful sovereign) had shown less of hostility, or more of inclination, towards the Church of Rome than their English brethren; but if so—and this is the only meaning that suggests itself to me—such an intimation can be easily disproved.—See, *e.g.*, Skinner's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii. p. 500 *et seq.* It is true they became Nonjurors, through an error of judgment (the chief motive of which deserves our respect, no less than do the patience and resignation with which the consequences of it were borne); but they shared the error, be it remembered, with the greater part of the ever-memorable "seven bishops" of England, who, headed by Sancroft and Ken, were content to suffer bonds and imprisonment rather than countenance their faithless sovereign in the unconstitutional exercise of the dispensing power. Perhaps some further light may be thrown upon this passage in a future edition of these Lectures.

It is not till we come to the eighth number of the course that we meet with anything that gives a serious jar to our Christian sensibilities; but now we are suddenly made to feel that we have to encounter a tone and spirit out of harmony with those of the preceding Lecturers. The very first sentence is sufficient to announce to us this unwelcome discrepancy. It runs thus:—

"If Episcopal benediction and subserviency could have saved King James VII., he would have been saved from the consequences of his own fanaticism and tyranny. Two days before the Dutch deliverer landed at Torbay, the Scotch bishops were engaged at Edinburgh in concocting

a letter to the king, whom they poetically addressed as 'the darling of heaven,' assuring him of their unquenchable loyalty, 'praying God to give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies.' . . . The prayers of the right reverend fathers in God did not obtain for his Majesty the two impossible gifts they besought"[1] (p. 225 *et seq.*) How easy would it be to retort in a similar style! For example, if Presbyterian intercession, combined with flattery and duplicity and hypocrisy, could have saved King James VII., he would have been saved from the consequences of his own fanaticism and tyranny. Little more than a year (July 1687) before "the Dutch deliverer landed at Torbay" (November 1688), two addresses to the king were drawn up in Edinburgh, and subscribed—one by the Presbyterian ministers, in their own names and in the names of the rest of the brethren of their persuasion, at their desire;" the other "in the names and by the order of the citizens and inhabitants of the Presbyterian persuasion in the city of Edinburgh and Canongate." The addresses were in acknowledgment of the king's so called *Third Toleration.* By the former he was assured that, "as they blessed the great God that He had put this in his royal heart, so they did withal find themselves bound in duty to offer their most humble and hearty thanks to his sacred Majesty," and they conclude by praying him graciously to accept this their humble address, as proceeding from the *plainness and sincerity* of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged by this royal favour to continue their fervent prayers to the King of kings for divine illumination and conduct, with all *other blessings, spiritual and temporal, ever to attend his royal person and Government.*" The language of the lay address

[1] I have no desire to curtail the passage, except for the sake of brevity; and I hope the reader will turn it up for himself. He will rightly think it *very bad;* but perhaps, if candid, he will wish to remember that addresses to royal and noble personages in those days (*e.g.*, dedications by authors) were commonly written in a style which we should not tolerate now. The whole address is to be found *in extenso* in Wodrow, iv. 468. Wodrow tells us (Dr Story does not) that two of the bishops (Argyle and Caithness) did not sign the letter to the king.

is to the same effect, but rather more fervent: "Could we open our hearts, your Majesty would undoubtedly see what deep sense and true zeal for your service so surprising and signal a favour hath imprinted on our spirits, for which we reckon ourselves highly obliged, throwing ourselves at your Majesty's feet, to return your most excellent Majesty our most humble, dutiful, and hearty thanks." Nor do they fail to add "that this late refreshing and unexpected favour will much more engage us in *great sincerity* still to offer our desires to the King of heaven . . . to *bless your Royal Majesty's person and Government, and after a happy and comfortable reign on earth, to crown you with an incorruptible crown of glory in heaven.*"—Wodrow, *ibid.*, p. 428.

It would be easy, I say, to retort thus; and, moreover, to add, that while the flattery and subserviency in the two cases were nearly equal, in the latter case—that of the Presbyterians—they were certainly *less sincere;* and whereas a zeal, "a burning zeal for *liberty*—for *liberty of conscience* and of life" (p. 226) is assumed by Dr Story to be altogether wanting in the former parties, and in the latter to be the great ruling motive of their conduct, it is quite certain that these latter, the Presbyterians, in thanking the king so warmly, and praying for him so heartily, in consequence of the toleration he had granted them, must have been fully aware that the gift which he gave could only be bestowed by the exercise of despotic power, in dispensing with the laws, in violation of his most solemn vow; and, moreover, that it was designed (as even Wodrow points out, p. 427) *not for their benefit*, chiefly or in reality, but *with a view to the restoration of Popery*—the great foe to liberty, temporal and spiritual; and that in thanking him as they did, they were virtually acknowledging *his right* to do these things, and were thanking him *for doing them!* Yes. It would be very easy to retaliate thus; for the facts are undeniably true, and what is more, must, I should think, have been well known to our Lecturer, though he does not mention them: but such retaliation would be

utterly unworthy of the occasion, and the sacred character of those who are engaged in these discussions.

Again: a little further on in the same Lecture (p. 230 *et seq.*), we are reminded of "the words of the most dispassionate and sagacious of English historians—Henry Hallam—who, reviewing the Scotch Episcopacy of the seventeenth century, in calm and philosophical survey, 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 burnt, 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, &c., &c.; it was *a religion* of the boot 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.'"

Now I must beg the reader's attention for a moment to this well-known passage, which, steeped as it is in sophistry, of which the merest schoolboy might be ashamed, is now recommended to our notice as a specimen of "calm and philosophical" criticism! Have we yet to learn that *abusus rei non tollit usum?*[1] And is the abuse of the thing here spoken of (even if it were so—*which for the most part it was not*,—but the action of the civil power, as the candid and more generous Lecturer who preceded Dr Story, freely admitted—see above, p. 11) to be held sufficient to condemn its use? And why is "the forfeiture" to extend, in the one case, to the "institution of Episcopacy," and in the other case to the "Stuart family" only, and not also to the institution of Monarchy? It would have been quite as fair, and far more reasonable, if Mr Hallam had put his

[1] How did Judas *abuse* his Apostleship! And yet it was *necessary* that he should have a successor.—See Acts i. 25.

sophism thus: "It is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty, &c., than that he approves of monarchical government;" and if he had gone on to argue in favour of a continuation of the *Cromwellian Protectorship* —some fruits of which may be seen below, p. 55 *et seq.*

But more than this. Are we to allow the axiom which approves itself so readily to the minds of Mr Hallam and Dr Story to pass unchallenged? We know that God was equally peremptory in ordering the extermination of the Canaanites (which, many will tell us, was more "cruel" than the persecution which the Covenanters underwent), and in vindicating, through the punishment of death by stoning, the observance of the Lord's Day. Now, whatever Mr Hallam or Dr Story may think or say to the contrary, no less a divine than Richard Hooker has told us "not to fear to be herein *bold and peremptory*, that if *anything* in the Church's government, surely the first institution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the Author of it" (Eccl. Pol., vii. 5, 60). So then we have the institution of Episcopacy and the institution of the Sabbath placed by this great divine pretty much upon the same footing. And without drawing the parallel too close—which the gentler and more spiritual character of Christianity forbids — we may assume that the vindication of His own ordinance in the former case as in the latter, is not a matter of indifference to God. Nor is this to be wondered at; for if it be—as the Primitive Church certainly believed—one great object of the institution of Episcopacy to form a bond of visible unity, then consciously and wilfully to frustrate this design of God may be no less, but even more, offensive to Him than the commission of cruelty and persecution. This is a point upon which our modern notions have become lax; but it was not so of old. S. Augustine could write: "The sacrilege of schism surpasses *all other* wickedness" (Contr. Parm., i. § 7). S. Chrysostom could write: "Nothing *so much* excites the wrath of God as a division in the Church"

(In Ep. ad Eph. Hom., xi. 34). And we have to remember that while the Canaanites had only the light of reason to guide them, the Covenanters had also the light of the Gospel; and, moreover, that the position which the latter had taken up, and obstinately adhered to, was one of irreconcilable antagonism to the authority, not only of the ecclesiastical, but of the civil powers.

We shall presently be told by the author of the next of these Lectures that "one of their main intentions must be to soften rather than to harden ecclesiastical prejudices, and to make the controversies and asperities of the past a warning for our better guidance rather than a stimulus to our unspent feuds." How far that good and amiable intention is likely to be fulfilled by the language of Dr Story, which I proceed to quote, the reader will judge; it follows in the same page as that which contains the passage of Mr Hallam, just referred to:—

"The incarceration of all the bishops in Scotland would have evoked no such loyal sentiment,"—as that of the well-known Cornish song in honour of Sir J. Trelawney, one of the seven bishops,—"in any region between Whithorn and Kirkwall. Not a hundred of their countrymen could have been found to strike a blow for them." It does not occur to Dr Story that, as Christian bishops, they might have declined to have a blow struck for them. "They fell, and no one held out a hand to lift them up. They were hustled out of Church and State, and no man bade them stay, or said God bless them, as they and *their hated order* and tarnished honours passed away. The mind and conscience of the country felt relieved when they were gone. Men breathed more freely. . . . The overthrow of Prelacy lifted the weight of a nightmare-like oppression from the national breast."

Now I say nothing at present of the charity of all this,—I am concerned only with its truth; and to convict it of historical misrepresentation we shall require no other witness than Dr Story himself. This will also be seen

presently. Meanwhile, let me ask, is it wonderful that the bishops and their friends should have disappeared before the storm, when we consider the impunity that was given to Cameronian lawlessness and fanaticism during those two or three unsettled years from 1688 to 1690? Moreover, does Dr Story remember that even Bishop Leighton, of whom Professor Flint only a fortnight before had testified in that same S. Giles's Church, that "a purer, humbler, holier spirit than his never tabernacled in Scottish clay" (p. 204), was allowed to withdraw into voluntary exile in England, and there to spend the last ten years of his life (1674-84)—born and bred Scotchman as he was—without *any expression of regret*, so far as we know, from any of those whom, as a bishop for fourteen years, he had been so anxious to make good Christians like himself, with labours and prayers night and day? This was only a short time before the period Dr Story is describing; and was this also "a relief to the mind and conscience of the country"? Was this also "the lifting up the weight of a nightmare-like oppression from the national breast"? Alas! to many it probably was.

But we pass on two pages further, and there read as follows. Our Lecturer is speaking of the treatment received, at the time of the Revolution, by many of the Episcopal clergy at the hands of the Covenanters: "This was that 'rabbling of the curates' over which their representatives and apologists may, to this day, be heard to bleat and whimper (!). Never were enormous wrongs so leniently retaliated. Never in the day when power had passed from the oppressors to the oppressed, was the oppression so lightly revenged" (p. 234).

Here, again, I am obliged to question not only the charity but the truth of Dr Story's representation. As to its charity, I am constrained to ask, Is this the language of a minister of the Gospel? Is this the sympathy of a disciple of Jesus Christ, in speaking of brother ministers of the Gospel, not less than 200 (see p. 224) turned out of

their homes with wives and children, and often without the means of shelter and of livelihood? Is this the teaching which is to assist our fallen nature to overcome its propensity to envy and all uncharitableness? I must ask these questions, though at the risk of being told that "I bleat and whimper." And what is the alleged justification of such callousness? It would seem as if Dr Story, in speaking of "retaliation" and "revenge," had forgotten our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, and had gone back, like the Covenanters, and adopted the spirit of the Old Testament rather than of the New. But are his words to be justified even so? Can any one pretend, with the least regard to historical accuracy, that the case was as Dr Story has put it, when he speaks of "power having passed from the oppressors to the oppressed? No! The "rabbled curates" themselves never were "the oppressors;" and the power taken from them did *not* pass to "the oppressed," as Dr Story himself admits and complains further on (see p. 238 and p. 242), if by "the oppressed" is to be understood the adherents of the Covenant who had suffered persecution. The character of those to whom, at the Revolution, the power really went, is thus described by Dr Story: "The politicians themselves, we may remark in passing, were, as a rule, singularly corrupt and untrustworthy. The very bench of justice was defiled with bribery, favouritism, and servility. *The religious contentions of the Church, or some other equally noxious cause, had been fatal to a high tone of public or private morality*" (p. 240). Is it then to be wondered at that the bishops thought it prudent quietly to withdraw rather than submit their cause to the uncontrolled ascendancy of such instruments?

Notwithstanding what has now been said, it may be doubted whether the contribution of this eighth Lecturer to the S. Giles's series will be much more acceptable to his colleagues, or to his fellow-Churchmen in general, than to ourselves. First, as to his colleagues, Professor Flint

had told his hearers in the preceding Lecture that "no fair-minded Presbyterian will hold Episcopacy responsible for the measures of the last two Stuart kings, and of Sharp and his coadjutors" (p. 194). And yet Dr Story, coming after him, took upon himself to tell the same auditory (borrowing for the purpose the words of Mr Hallam) that "Episcopacy was a religion of the boot and the thumb-screw"! Next, as to his fellow-Churchmen at large: with all his bitterness against us, or at least against our cause, he is also singularly frank in the admissions which he makes concerning certain fundamental transactions, the principles of which he does not scruple to repudiate, though he is apparently well content to retain their fruits. He reminds us that in effecting the Revolution Settlement, "no steps were taken to call a General Assembly" (p. 238). And why? "Because a General Assembly, such as the clergy in the north clamoured for, would have been *too wholly Episcopal* to be safely summoned"! (See also p. 243 and p. 244.) "At Inverness the people defied, *for no less than ten years*, the attempts of the Presbytery to settle a minister among them." Again: "The presbyteries in the north, where *Episcopacy was strong*, were mere skeletons. The whole Synod of Aberdeen, containing eight presbyteries, had to concentrate itself into one; and even *after the lapse of seven years* could only muster sixteen clerical members"! So enamoured were the poor deluded people in those parts of "the weight of nightmare-like oppression" which, in the person of Episcopacy, had sat "upon the national breast"! I said above, it may be remembered, that I should have occasion to call Dr Story himself as an all-sufficient witness to convict of untruth the statements which he has made respecting the strong and utter aversion of the nation—of the country in general—to Episcopacy. The reader will recollect, *inter alia*, the words: "The bishops were hustled out of Church and State, and *no man* bade them stay, or said God bless them, as their *hated order* and tarnished honours passed away."

Let these words be compared with the passages which I have just now quoted from other parts of Dr Story's Lecture. Again: at p. 239, it is admitted that the Act settling Presbyterian government, June 1690, "erred, as the legislation of the Parliament of the Restoration had erred, in an *assertion* and *exercise* of powers which, even though tempered by William's impartial tolerance, were *too harsh and absolute.*" Again: at p. 240, "The ground was now cleared for the meeting of a General Assembly. The clearance had been effected in the most Erastian way, *by the authority of the State alone.* . . . It is one of the ugliest features of the epoch, and worst signs of the generally low standard of the national religion, that it was obviously thought unsafe to trust the settlement of Church affairs to Churchmen."

Verily we have fallen upon evil times; and the times that had gone before do not fare much better in Dr Story's hands. All that we hear of John Knox is a sneer at his "devout theocratic imaginations" (p. 242). All that we hear of Andrew Melville is a gird at "his haughty Hildebrandism." Even the leaders of the Covenant are condemned of "Judaic intensity" (*ibid.*) Still, however, the dregs of the bitter cup are reserved for Episcopacy. Though different now in many respects from what it was, and "having no longer any sympathy with, and, except in few cases, *any knowledge* of (!), its own historical ancestry, it is essentially an alien on Scottish soil; and in any of the great movements of thought, whether theological or political, exercises but little influence" (p. 249). Here, in this last remark, I must confess that Dr Story had done us a service, though without perhaps intending it, and not altogether in the kindliest way. It is true, as a body we have not yet learnt to exercise the influence to which we are entitled. There are various reasons to account for this, into which I cannot now enter. But if our censor's reproof should induce us to reflect more than some of us perhaps are wont to do,

that in order to become a real power in this country for the nation's good — in order to disprove for ever the reproach so freely cast upon our Church of being an *alien*, an *exotic*—something more is needed than increased attention to forms and ceremonies, however good and necessary in their way, or to Nonjuring traditions, profitable for nothing but to engender strife,—if, I say, our censor's reproof should succeed in doing this, we may thankfully regard him as a real benefactor. And further, if he could persuade us that what, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians, we all require in our present circumstances as Christians is, not only—what we trust we already have —honesty of purpose, devotedness of heart and life, zeal for Gospel truth, but patience and candour of investigation, enlarged sympathies, hatred of the bitterness and unfairness of party spirit, more disposition to think better of others and less well of ourselves; if Dr Story would help us to the possession of these, we will readily forgive him all that he has at any time spoken and written less kindly of us than, in our opinion, he ought to have done.

But to return. It would appear from Dr Story's representation, that "the midnight interview of Carstares with King William" in 1694—this, and nothing else—"decided that, for good or for evil, Scotland in future was to be emphatically Presbyterian" (p. 249 *et seq.*) To say the least—considering who the two men were—who William was and who Carstares was—as supreme judges of catholic and everlasting truth, this would seem to be a hard sentence to pronounce upon any country. However, let it be said to their honour, with the Covenant they would have nothing to do. Dr Story's words are few, but very pregnant: "The Covenant was dropped by the Assembly 1690, as it had been dropped by Parliament" (p. 242).

It might have been expected that a man of Dr Story's principles, bearing in mind the candid remark of the sixth Lecturer (p. 186), would have had something to say in dis-

approval of the stringent character of the formulas of subscription introduced first by Act of Parliament in 1694, and afterwards rendered still more stringent and exclusive by Act of Assembly in 1711. But no! There is no telling what mischief the old serpent Episcopacy might not be able to effect if it were to be treated with the least forbearance—if the smallest crevice were to be left through which it might creep in again! A probationer for the ministry, or an elder designate—to say nothing of presentees for ordination—might, after diligent inquiry, be disposed to entertain a secret inclination or predilection for some one portion of the Episcopal system, in preference to the Presbyterian, and might wish sooner or later to unburden his mind to that effect. But no such misgiving must be allowed; it must be rigorously stamped out. It is true, we have seen of late years advocates for relaxation of tests in the case of elders—and Dr Story, I believe, is one of them; but not, so far as I can remember, in *any* direction which would give the *least* encouragement to Episcopalians. It is of no avail to us that we have contributed largely, in a spirit of charitable disinterestedness, to the schemes for founding and endowing new Presbyterian churches and chapels, where the increase of population has rendered them necessary. It is of no avail that we have offered again and again to prove our claims to equitable consideration, upon the strongest possible grounds, scriptural, historical, political, philanthropic. We have been trampled on now nearly for 200 years, and if certain individuals can have their way, however we may "bleat and whimper," we shall be trampled on still. No Episcopalian to the end of time need dream of touching tithe or teind, however they may be still *called* "Episcopal." No Episcopalian need think himself admissible to a theological professorship, even though founded by his own forefathers; or that he can be permitted to exercise any political influence upon religious matters except for the benefit of the Presbyterian Establishment. And all this—because it has so seemed good not

so much to the people of Scotland as to King William and William Carstares!

In passing to the next Lecture, we are at once conscious of a change not unlike to that which we experience when we escape from exposure to a keen east wind and begin to enjoy the genial breezes of the south; or when we leave the heated atmosphere of a stormy public meeting in a city hall, to refresh ourselves with the purer and healthier influences of a quiet evening's walk in the open fields.

The topics prominently discussed by the accomplished Principal of S. Mary's College are not such as to possess any special interest for ourselves; but we thankfully recognise the charitable forbearance which abstains altogether from insulting over a fallen adversary; and which, if it notices us at all, it does so, not in order to upbraid us, as another might have done, with our suspicious infatuation in adhering to the house of Stuart, notwithstanding their open and avowed apostasy to the Church of Rome, but only to condemn the Presbyterian policy of that day in opposing the Toleration Act of 1712, passed in our favour by the Government of Queen Anne. "It is," he remarks, "melancholy to think that even the Church of Carstares did what it could to oppose such a law, and that it can be said with truth by the modern historian that the Scottish Parliament would never have ventured to pass it" (p. 260). Yes; and I must add that it is no less melancholy for us to think that the infatuation of our forefathers was carried so far, that within three years after that toleration was granted, they did all they could to throw away the benefit of it by the encouragement which they gave, directly and indirectly, to the rebellious rising of '15.

Without entering into the merits of the "Moderation" controversy, which does not concern us, we may fully sympathise in the satisfaction with which our Lecturer contemplates the galaxy of intellectual gifts displayed in the last century by ministers of the Established Church, and the various works which, in almost every department of litera-

ture, they so successfully achieved. Nor would we willingly have it said that we ourselves, however numerically reduced to the merest skeleton of the body we had formerly been, had no part or lot in that matter. It is true, among our clergy of the last century we cannot boast of an historian to compare with Robertson, or with Ferguson, or with Henry; but it may be doubted whether any author has done more essential service to the truth and accuracy of Scottish history than Bishop Keith, whose work, first published in 1735, on 'The Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation to 1668,' was, according to P. F. Tytler, the historian, "the great mine from which Robertson drew his stores; and it formed the chief basis of Hume for the Scottish portion of his History" (Hist. of Scot., vol. vi. Pref., p. x). We can boast of no poet of repute sufficient to be matched with the author of "Douglas;" but the name of John Skinner of Longside, is one which, we feel assured, the Scottish muse would not willingly let die. Born and bred a Presbyterian in humble life, he early chose what he considered the better part; and having cast in his lot with our Church at the time of its greatest depression, some years after he had taken orders, viz., in 1753, he suffered imprisonment in the common jail at Aberdeen during six months for disobedience to the law which forbade our clergy to hold divine service when more than four persons were present in addition to their own family. Besides his Church History in two vols., and some theological treatises, first given to the world in his Posthumous Works, and besides other poetical compositions of more or less merit, it was he who wrote the ballad of "Tullochgorum," which Burns himself, in a letter to the author (1787), pronounced to be "the best Scotch song ever Scotland saw," and spoke of it as his "delight." And what, perhaps is still more remarkable, considering the circumstances of real poverty with which he had to struggle during the greater part of his life, his numerous copies of Latin verses, especially his

translation of Homer's "Batracho-myo-machia," (notwithstanding some few offences against prosody which disfigure them here and there) deserve to be classed among the most elegant specimens of that kind of composition which have appeared in Scotland since the days of Buchanan and Andrew Melville. Again, in the department of general literature, it is no small credit to us, that when Mr C. Macfarquhar, the original editor of the third edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, died (*circ.* 1792), we supplied a successor to that important post, in George Gleig, afterwards Bishop of Brechin and Primus, who carried on the work to its completion, and contributed some of the ablest articles which appeared in its pages, especially on the subjects of Language, Logic, and Metaphysics. Once more: we may have had no one in our Episcopal ministry to bear the palm from Dr Hugh Blair, but Archibald Alison did not at least follow far behind him in both the departments in which he acquired so much celebrity—viz., Homiletics and Belles Lettres; while in regard to more strictly clerical qualifications, to the greater, though less popular, gifts and attainments of combined theological study and a saintly life, I know of no two Scottish names, during the time we speak of, which deserve to be more remembered than those of Bishop Rattray, who died 1743, and Bishop Jolly, who, born in 1756, lived far on into the present century.

But to proceed to the more general issues of the survey which our ninth Lecturer takes of the period assigned to him, *i.e.*, the eighteenth century. It cannot be said that they are such as to justify the self-satisfied strain assumed by his predecessor in regard to the promise of the Revolution Settlement. On the contrary, the remarks with which he sums up, can scarcely fail to remind those who are familiar with his admirable sketches of 'The Leaders of the Reformation,' published more than twenty years ago, of the conclusions which he then drew concerning the results of the working of Presbyterianism as yet attained to, though, since the Revolution, placed in circumstances certainly

most favourable to its success. We remember how he complained "that the Scottish Reformation, though uncompromising in its faith and free in its instincts, had no sacred inheritance of traditionary story binding it by beautiful links to the great catholic past;[1] and further, as has been too long sadly apparent, had no sympathetic expansiveness for moulding into religious unity classes widely separated in material rank, and in intellectual and artistic culture" (p. 334). And again: "The Scottish Reformation, hardened, as it soon became, into a Calvinistic creed and a Presbyterian ritual, was not destined to penetrate the old historical families of the kingdom, and consequently it has failed to mould the nation—people, barons, and nobles—into a religious unity" (p. 406). We can also remember how, twelve years later, he did not scruple to admit that "there are few wise Presbyterians who do not see weaknesses in their own system from the disuse of Episcopacy"[2] (Contemp. Rev. 1872, p. 236). We remember these passages, and we recognise the echoes of a similar tone in the present Lecture—as, for instance, when we read: "If we turn from the administrative and theological aspect of the Church to its internal character—its worship and discipline—it cannot be said that the spectacle is a pleasing one. . . . The Scottish people had unhappily lost the sense, *from the Reformation downwards*, not only of ecclesiastical beauty, but of ecclesiastical fitness. . . . "THE SCRIPTURES"—the sole authority, be it remembered, which the Reformation had recognised—"CEASED TO BE READ AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF DIVINE SERVICE" (p. 287). (See also Lecture XI., p. 350, and comp. Dr Lee's 'Reform of the Church of Scotland,' who likewise complains that the Lord's Prayer also was objected to, and "universally discarded," p. 13.) Such

[1] See below, Appendix, Obligation of Continuity. p. 89.

[2] Dr Archibald Scott, though he writes in a highly optimist strain respecting the Established Church, seems almost to admit the same: "Presbyterial supervision of ministers is not indeed what it should be." —Lect. XI., p. 345. And so does even Dr MacGregor, Lect. XII., p. 363.

passages speak for themselves; at the same time, it is only just to add that they are not unaccompanied with others, which fairly mention all that can be said in arrest of a judgment altogether unfavourable to the writer's own cause.

But there were also elements of dissatisfaction of a different kind which could not fail to be present to Dr Tulloch's thoughts, as it fell within the scope of his Lecture to note the first beginnings, and to trace the spread of the process, of disintegration in the body of the Established Church, through the outbreak of Dissent. He does not indeed feel himself called upon to point out (as a previous Lecturer has partly done, see above, p. 7) the NEMESIS that was at work in that disintegration; but I can scarcely doubt it was present to his own mind. It did not indeed require a philosophic insight like his to perceive that the Dissent which he laments was due to the operation of causes which had their natural origin in the Revolution Settlement, made as it was to rest upon "the inclinations of the people," and placing as it did the claims of the spirituality in subjection to the civil power. The first arch-dissenters, such as the Erskines, the leaders of "the Secession," were the champions of "the inclinations of the people" in the matter of patronage (p. 270), only not from the "Moderate," but from their own—the Covenanting—point of view. The second arch-dissenters, such as Gillespie and others of "the Relief," were the champions of the lower against the higher authorities of the Church—of the Presbyteries against the General Assembly (p. 280)—in humble imitation of the grand revolts of the second order of the ministry against the first, which, as "an unsupportable grievance and trouble," had been discarded: while the arch-dissenters of the great Disruption, which followed a century later, represented only too faithfully both those principles at once. They maintained the rights of the inclinations of the people against the civil courts; and they renounced subordination to the superior juris-

diction of the General Assembly, as involving an intolerable invasion of their rightful liberty. Yes! The will of man had been substituted for the will of God in regard to the establishment of the Church itself, and it would be strange indeed if consequences had not followed sufficient to show the fatal mistake of that substitution. It puzzles the wise men of this world to understand how the separated Presbyterian bodies, while they differ so little, should disagree so much. But it is in the little producing great results that the providence of God and the operation of His hands are most plainly seen.

Let the reader compare the first sentence of the Preface to the Ordination Services of the Church of England with the fundamental article of the Scotch Revolution Settlement, and it will be manifest to him at once how deep and broad is the chasm which separates the principles upon which the Church Establishments of the two countries have been made to rest.

Of all the many interesting and highly important subjects touched upon by the next (tenth) Lecturer, there is not, I think, so much as one in regard to which the Established Church comes in any way into collision, or even into contact, with our own. The names of the good men who are marshalled before our eyes as distinguished in the various departments of Christian work for their zeal and labour—such as Principal Baird, Robert Haldane, Andrew Thomson, Dr Duff, and, above all, Thomas Chalmers—are of course not unknown to us. But cast aside, as we had been, like noxious or useless weeds, out of the current of the national life, they cannot be expected to excite in us the full sympathy we could have wished to feel; and while the consequent loss has doubtless been greater upon our side, to some extent at least it must have been experienced upon the other also.

Among the various names which Dr Charteris brings forward for special commendation, is that of Principal Hill. I should be sorry to detract from the eulogy which

is, I can well believe, deservedly passed upon the general merits of his well-known Theological Institutes, as "a noble monument of fairness, clearness, and learning." But I must decline to accept this testimony to its *fairness*, at least in one important instance, which I felt bound to notice on a previous occasion—I mean the passage (p. 181) in which he claims the authority not only of Hooker, but of "the learned and profound Bishop Stillingfleet," in support of a modified form of the doctrine of indifference on the subject of the constitution of the Christian ministry. What was Hooker's real opinion may be seen above, p. 16, and again below, p. 96. What is to be said of the opinion of Stillingfleet, I have pointed out in 'Outlines of Christian Ministry,' pp. 38 and 279; and more fully in 'Some Remarks on Dr Lightfoot's Essay,' p. 76 *et seq.*

We can have no temptation to follow Dr Charteris through the details of the conflict which led to and attended the Disruption of 1843. From his point of view (and the same is evidently shared by the next Lecturer, Dr Scott) it would appear that all the principal persons and parties of every kind,—judicial, political, ecclesiastical, —engaged in that conflict, were more or less at fault (see p. 314 *et seq.*, and p. 322). According to Dr Scott, "*Most people* now look back upon the contendings which led to it with surprise and regret" (p. 321). According to Dr Charteris— When the struggle came, "the time for wisdom was past and gone *on all sides*" (p. 314); so that we seem to discern a higher Power at work throughout the strife, confounding the wisdom of the wise in order to bring about some purpose of its own, which, though gradually unfolding, has not yet been manifestly revealed.—Comp. below, p. 85.

For the reason already given in speaking of the tenth Lecture, we have also but little to say of that which follows it. Of course to Presbyterians they will both be full of interest. Dr Scott exhibits, with much breadth and comprehensiveness, the energetic working of the Established Church from the Disruption to the present time;

and it cannot be doubted that the results which he specifies afford much ground for encouragement in comparison with those which have been achieved at any former period. We heartily sympathise with the tribute paid to the noble character and work of Dr Robertson, the indefatigable and single-minded champion of the Endowment Scheme (p. 339); and also to the vast and varied labours and ability of Dr Norman Macleod (p. 331). But shall we be thought hypocritical if we are tempted to take notice of the singularly *naïf* and apparently unconscious manner in which our Lecturer, in complaining of the treatment which *his own* fellow-Churchmen received from their Free Church brethren at the time of the Disruption, compares it with that which had been inflicted—it is needless to say by whom—upon *our* forefathers when they were disestablished in 1690? "In the north, the scenes which had occurred in 1690, and in the *first twenty years of the eighteenth century*, when the Presbyterian polity was being put in force, *were almost literally re-enacted* after 1843, when the Church sought simply to perform its duties" (p. 325). Almost literally re-enacted! The simplicity of this attempt to excite sympathy, together with the absence of any thought or recognition of the *Nemesis* which so plainly appears in the mere statement of the facts, would almost provoke a smile if the subject itself were of a less painful nature. Nor is this the only instance in which a sign of our Lecturer's concentrated "looking upon his own things" alone, is allowed to peep forth. He is sore—not without cause—at the unbrotherly language of members of the Disruption against the Church from which they seceded. But when he has himself to speak of the attempts which our forefathers might have felt it their duty to make to recover one small portion of the benefits—viz., capability of election to university professorships—from which, without compensation of any kind, they had been thrust out at the Revolution, he can think of no more compassionate or more gentle phrase than "Episcopalian conspiracies"! (p. 341).

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the attractive representation which Dr Scott has set before us of the praiseworthy and successful efforts now made by the Established Church to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the full, the concluding words of the preceding Lecturer (than whom there is no one probably better acquainted with the actual condition of religious life and work in Scotland, and who is prepared to look with greater favour than we can do upon the advantages supposed to be derived from secession and "competition") are still ringing in our ears: "While Scottish Churches are more than doubled in number, those who are outside of all Churches are not fewer, but more numerous than before"! (p. 320).

We now come to the last, and, I venture to say, the ablest of these Lectures. As was to be expected, this Lecturer also, like his predecessor, is largely occupied upon topics with which we have little or no very direct concern. There are, however, some conspicuous exceptions, and of these I proceed to speak as concisely as I can.

1. It is gratifying to find that our starting-point is one upon which we can cordially agree. The faith which S. Ninian, the first father of Scottish Christianity, introduced into this country, at "a time when the bishops of Rome, though powerful, had not as yet attained to supreme jurisdiction," was, we read (p. 353), "the faith of the great Councils of Nice and Constantinople; the faith of Jerome, and Ambrose, and Augustine." It was so. And doubtless Dr MacGregor will remember that by the former of those two great Councils—which consisted of 318 bishops assembled from all parts of the world, east and west, north and south—three canons were enacted,—viz., the third, sixteenth, and eighteenth, which recognise the three orders of the ministry—bishops, priests, and deacons—as then existing universally throughout Christendom. Of the abundant testimony of Ambrose and Augustine to the same effect, I need not speak, and to Jerome I have already referred (see above, p. 5). I remind Dr MacGregor of these

things now, because he himself will presently tell us (p. 361) that "the reason why not the Church of Scotland merely, but all the Churches of the Reformation, had naturally the tendency to assume the Presbyterian form—and did so, wherever they were not thwarted, as in England, by external circumstances—was simply this, that while breaking with the immediate, the Reformers"—meaning, I suppose, more particularly those of the Melville and Henderson periods—"went back to the remoter and purer past, and drew their system from *the fountain-head of Holy Scripture.*" Passing over for the present the former part of this sentence, I would venture to ask Dr MacGregor very seriously—Does he really believe that the primitive Christians, who had the advantage of oral apostolic teaching anterior to Scripture, and supplementary to Scripture, did not understand Holy Scripture, or that, though they were prepared daily to die for it, they wilfully disregarded it? Or does he intend to contradict John Knox, who, as we have seen above (p. 4), did not scruple to assert that "in the most antient Councils, nighest to the Primitive Church, the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by God's Word"? And how they examined and determined the matter of the threefold ministry, I have just pointed out. Or does Dr MacGregor forget how, and in what spirit, the members of the Westminster Assembly went back "to the fountain-head of Holy Scripture," *professedly* indeed "to draw their system" from thence, but *really*, so far as Church government was concerned, to *adopt a foregone conclusion;* they having *previously* bound themselves by a solemn oath to *exterminate bishops*, and so blinded their own eyes that they could not discern the truth? (See my Outlines, pp. 42-44, 77-90). Let me beseech Dr MacGregor, with all due respect, to consider seriously these fundamental questions. He exercises, deservedly, great influence; and surely it is high time that ministers of the truth of the Gospel, placed, as he is, above their fellows, should not only cease to throw dust in the eyes of the great mass of Presbyterians in this country,

but should assist them to look at the broad facts before us in a clearer light. Better to tell them, with Principal Caird and other eminent men of the more Liberal school, that the whole matter is indifferent; and though this will be to belie the past history, upon the glories of which so much stress is laid, yet surely this is less indefensible, less un-Christian, than to do our first ancestors in the faith so great a wrong as to suppose that we are better judges of the Word of God, are wiser and holier than they. It remains to add one word in reference to the former part of the passage on which I have been commenting. What is meant by the statement, that "in England the Reformers were thwarted by external circumstances" from assuming the Presbyterian form of Church government, I am at a loss to understand (see above, p. 6); but the further assertion, in the same sentence, that "all the Churches of the Reformation had *naturally the tendency* to assume that form, and did so wherever they were not thwarted," is, in my opinion, the very contrary to the fact; inasmuch as, I believe, if they had not been thwarted by the tyranny of the Romish Church, they would have continued Episcopalian. My reasons for this belief, together with the strongly expressed opinions of Luther, Melancthon, and even Calvin, to that effect, may be seen in my Outlines, pp. 139 *et seq.*, 217-220.

2. At p. 354 we read, that as "with the Bible in their hands S. Columba fought and won the battle with paganism, and Knox the battle with Popery," so "Melville won the first battle of Presbytery with Episcopacy." I have before (see p. 8) exposed the unscholarlike inaccuracy of this latter representation, and I need not dwell upon it again.

3. Next we come to the broad statement respecting the Celtic Church for 400 years, that "it was neither Roman Catholic, nor Episcopalian, nor Presbyterian. Its rulers were abbots, to whom the bishops were often subject" (p. 335). Yes; subject, just as the late Bishop Philpotts of

Exeter, being also Canon of Durham, was subject, when in residence there, to the Dean of Durham; and just as the late Bishop Monk of Gloucester, being also Canon of Westminster, was subject, when in residence there, to the Dean of Westminster. But may I be excused if I venture to observe that writing such as that which I have just quoted is sadly bewildering; and, what is worse, sadly misleading to plain readers. The simple truth is, that the orders (Scriptural and Apostolic) of the Christian ministry are one thing, and the order (non-Scriptural and non-Apostolic) of the monastic system is another; and though they may run parallel, they can never blend, so as to lose their respective attributes. On this subject, also, see above, p. 5. If Dr MacGregor could produce a single instance in which either a bishop had *not* power to confer ordination, or *an abbot had*, his remark would have been of some avail.

4. Again: speaking of the period of 130 years (1560 to 1690), during which the ups and downs of Episcopacy and Presbytery gave the ascendancy to each alternately not less than three several times, our Lecturer remarks: "There can be no doubt that all through, the feelings and convictions of the mass of the people, except in the north, were on the side of Presbytery. . . . 'The rational inference' which Macaulay draws from the facts of the case 'is this—that at the Revolution more than nineteen-twentieths of those Scotchmen whose consciences were interested in the matter were Presbyterians, and that not one Scotchman in twenty was decidedly and on conviction an Episcopalian'" (p. 359). I think Dr MacGregor, in quoting this statement, which occurs in Macaulay's History, ch. xiii., vol. iv. p. 272, must have felt that it is an *ex parte* or rather a rhetorical one. At all events, it proceeds upon the argument that "there are always multitudes who, though not destitute of religion, attend little to theological disputes, and *have no scruples about conforming to the mode of worship which happens to be established;*" a mode of argument which, if applied at the present day, will go to

prove that every Episcopalian, every Free Churchman, every United Presbyterian, must be such from honest conviction; whereas multitudes of those who are reckoned as adherents of the Established Church are such, either from a certain *vis inertiæ*, or from the sordid consideration that thereby they escape the necessity of providing for the support of their minister. This method of reasoning is not one which will help Dr MacGregor's case when he comes to calculate the membership of his own Church (as he does at p. 367), and finds it, at most, only "close upon the half of the entire population."

5. Proceeding to the next page, we meet with another quotation from Lord Macaulay. It is as follows: "There can be no doubt that a religious union (between Scotland and England, in 1689) would have been one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen either kingdom. The Union accomplished in 1707 has indeed been a great blessing to both England and Scotland. But it has been a blessing, because, in constituting one State, it left two Churches." This is a passage with which I have been long familiar in these discussions. It is quoted in my Outlines, &c., 1872, and again in my article, "On the Law of Christian Unity," in the 'Nineteenth Century,' May 1878. The former publication has these remarks upon it: "I grant there is a sense in which that sentiment is true. Assuming that the religious profession of a majority of the people was fairly represented in 1690 by the disestablishment of Episcopacy, and establishment of Presbyterianism in its room—an assumption, however, which a strict investigation of the facts will scarcely justify; but supposing this, which is the popular belief, it certainly would have been most undesirable that any attempt should have been made to force upon Scotland the re-acceptance of Episcopacy as a condition of the union between the two countries. But that the circumstances were such as to require the establishment of two Churches, unlike each other, in the same State—this, so far from having been proved a great blessing, must be acknowledged to

have been the very reverse by all who have at heart the interests of true religion, and who also desire the continuance of the union between Church and State. For what—after little more than a century and a half—has been the result of this *ecclesiastical biformity* within the same kingdom? It started with the anomaly that Scotch Presbyterians were thenceforth to be admitted to legislate for the Episcopal Church of England, and English Episcopalians to legislate for the Presbyterian Church of Scotland." [And *how* the latter did legislate for that Church, within a very few years, Dr MacGregor tells us, in these emphatic words: "The fruitful and far-reaching influence of a great national wrong, was never more strikingly illustrated than *in the long train of miserable and not yet exhausted consequences which followed the ill-omened Act of Queen Anne*, whereby, in 1712, against the unanimous will of the Church, patronage was restored," p. 364.] "Hence Churchmen and Dissenters—both being capable of either description, according to the point of view and of locality, from which they are regarded—would be equally at a loss to maintain their true character; and the barrier was broken down, which had hitherto fenced ecclesiastical legislation in both countries from illegitimate intrusion. It is easy to see that by such a policy something more than *the thin edge of the wedge* was inserted, whereby all the subsequent breaches into the Constitution, upon its ecclesiastical side, have followed logically."—Outlines, &c., p. 268 *et seq.*

I do not know whether Dr MacGregor accepts the opinion given by Dr R. Lee, that "the two Churches established in Great Britain, as now existing, are rather *antagonists* than *allies*" (Ref. of Church of Scot. p. 4); but if he does, I think he must admit—in spite of Lord Macaulay, who, it is to be feared, had no strong interest in the welfare of any Church—that such a state of things, while at home it cannot fail to give very great advantage both to the Church of Rome and to advocates of the Voluntary principle, it must also have a very injurious effect upon the

propagation of the Gospel by the British nation throughout the world.

6. Our Lecturer observes at p. 378 that the agitation stirred and sustained by the Liberation Society is "more *of English than of Scottish origin.*" If by this he means to impute to England the blame of being the birthplace of that agitation, I am inclined to think he is mistaken. I can remember when the Society in question, then bearing the name of the "Anti-State Church Association," had its headquarters in Edinburgh; and it was from thence that it spread, and eventually located itself in London under its present designation, probably in order to strengthen the hands of those who were then seeking to bring about the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. I have good reason to remember this, because twenty-nine years ago—viz., in 1852—I had occasion to allude to the proceedings of that Association, in a pamphlet which I addressed to the present Prime Minister, and therein ventured to warn him against its principles, to which he had appeared to me to be *veering round;* so much so, that I had, most reluctantly, been obliged to decline to support him when he first became a candidate for the University of Oxford, five years before, 1847, because *even then* I felt persuaded that, however able and accomplished, he would not really be a safe representative of opinions such as I held—viz., Conservative, especially in matters affecting the alliance of Church and State; and never afterwards was I able to vote for him on the same account;—a resolution which his subsequent career has, from my point of view, more than justified. No! Scotland, I believe, is fully entitled to the credit, such as it is, of giving birth to the movement, which Dr MacGregor has denounced with such fervid eloquence; and now that it has borne fruit in Ireland, with Scotch concurrence if not encouragement, it is not unnatural that they who advocate its principles should expect to find a congenial soil for their propagation in Scottish ground.

Such are the particular passages of this last Lecture to

which I referred as naturally demanding some notice from us; and what little of further remark I have to make upon it will be merely general. I sincerely rejoice that Dr MacGregor, "speaking with the experience of a ministry of twenty-five years," is able to give such a gratifying report both of the material progress and of the spiritual condition of the Established Church. No one could have pleaded its cause more zealously, more powerfully. At the same time, I am sorry that I cannot congratulate him upon the breadth or largeness of the view which he has taken in so doing. Of the early centuries of the Church he appears to entertain no remembrance. Whenever he has occasion to refer to our sister country, he speaks of it with disparagement. The disastrous effect, to which the late Dr Norman Macleod on his return from India bore testimony, upon the evangelisation of the heathen caused by our unhappy division, especially between our two Established Churches, does not come within his range of thought. It is little to say that, for anything that appears to the contrary, he regards with perfect self-complacency the fact that the larger portion of the Proprietory of this country, by whose ancestors the endowments of the National Church were originally bestowed, are separated from its communion as it now exists. At the same time, he draws a pathetic picture of the perilous times that are come upon us through the increase of scepticism and infidelity, "through the aggressive efforts of Romanism on the one hand, and Rationalism on the other." It would have been well if such complaints had been preceded by some indication of a consciousness that matters, such as those to which I have alluded, were honestly entitled to some regard. Nothing, as I have said, could be more energetic than our Lecturer's denunciation of Disestablishment, and of its advocates. He remarks, at p. 379, "It has been asserted that the connection between Church and State is *unscriptural*, and *sinful*, and *injurious to religion and morality*. It must be a poor cause which could use such weapons." But did it not occur to him

that the very same things, *totidem verbis*, have been said against Episcopacy, and the "poor cause" which had recourse to such weapons was Presbyterianism?

Dr MacGregor admits, that in the event of Disestablishment, "to some extent, perhaps to a large extent, Episcopacy will gain" (p. 382). There is little doubt of it. Are we, then, become Voluntaries with a view to our own interests? I see no evidence that such is the case; and our venerable Primus has, not long since, spoken decidedly in deprecation of such a course. But what has been the result? I am sorry to have to say that while no indication of a recognition of the fact has come to my knowledge from the mouth of Dr MacGregor, or from any other quarter, I have observed, with pain, that even in the discussions of the General Assembly, the treatment we have received has sometimes been not only unbrotherly and unsympathetic, but contemptuous.

In concluding these remarks, I may be allowed to express a hope that the effect of the S. Giles's Lectures will be, upon the whole, good and salutary. And if I have appeared, more especially in one instance, to resent a harshness of language towards our Church, which, I think, is to be regretted, as much as it was uncalled for, I am fully conscious that the general tone and spirit of the Lecturers have been, for the most part, not unkindly or inconsiderate. If I have given vent to the conviction that there are *some* who, not content with the depression to which our Church has been subjected for nearly 200 years, would rejoice to see that depression continued still without hope of reprieve—*some*, in a word, whose ignoble courage prompts them "*τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον*," and whose exclusive patriotism would hope to invigorate the religious life of the nation by so doing!—the observation, be it remembered, was strictly limited to individuals. The great mass of the most respectable portion of the Presbyterian body are, I am persuaded, quite otherwise-minded.

A DISCOURSE

ON

SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY.

PART I.

REFORMATION—RESTORATION

PART I.

REFORMATION—RESTORATION.

ISAIAH liv. 2.—"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes."

REFORMATION, RESTORATION, REVOLUTION, DISRUPTION.—Such are the four key-notes (so to speak) which mark the four great epochs of our Scottish Church History downwards from the middle of the sixteenth century. And whether or no we shall have occasion to add to them a fifth—viz., DISESTABLISHMENT—will, in all probability, be seen ere long. If the Reformation had done its work wisely and effectually, there would have been no need for Rebellion first, and Restoration afterwards; because there would have been no provocation for men to rebel, no exile out of which the sovereign would need to be restored. If the Restoration had done *its* work wisely and effectually, there would have been no occasion for the Revolution afterwards, to punish its backslidings, to amend its

faults, and to provide against their recurrence for the time to come. If the Revolution had done fully and effectually what it undertook to do—viz., to secure for the people the accomplishment of their wishes in matters of religion; and had provided also what certainly was not undertaken, but nevertheless was fondly hoped by some—viz., complete spiritual independence of the civil power—the fatal movement which ended in Disruption would have been unknown.

The interval of time which has now elapsed since the date of the last of these great epochs has placed even that, and still more those that preceded it, at a sufficient distance to enable us to judge (it may be hoped) dispassionately and without prejudice, of the results of the whole in their true proportions, and consequently to see in some good measure what it is that we of this generation and our successors have to do, if we would honestly endeavour to hold fast the benefits which our forefathers have bequeathed to us; and would also seek, wisely and hopefully, to acquire those, which hitherto in our collective capacity as members of Christ's Church in Scotland, we have failed to gain.

To begin then with the *first* epoch. Let no one of us, my brethren, entertain doubt for a moment upon this point—viz., that the Reformation of the sixteenth century, as the necessity for it was great and urgent, so was it a work inspired by noble aims; and that men of truly noble hearts and minds, though

raised for the most part from among the people, were its chief promoters. Let no one of us hesitate to adopt the words of Archbishop Spottiswood, when he bears testimony to our great reformer, as "certainly a man endued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times." (1) * But it was not long before coarser elements obtained an undue ascendancy in the movement; and no one complained more bitterly than Knox himself (2) of the corrupt motives which influenced many of his followers, especially of the higher class, and urged them on to acts of spoliation and sacrilege, under the shelter of a holy cause. (3) The main defect, however, lay deeper, and, in the imperfect knowledge of those days, failed for a time to attract attention. But when the heat and excitement of the first collision with the enemies of Reformation had passed away, and the upholders of the corrupt medieval system had been utterly overthrown, it was only natural that men of thoughtful and well-instructed minds should look with something like dismay at the chasm which had been made—should begin to feel uneasy at the strange position in which they found themselves, so unlike to that which the English Reformers had taken up,—a position in which they stood, broken loose, as it were, from all the traditions

* This and following numerals, inserted in the text between brackets, refer to the "notes and references," which the reader will find in the APPENDIX at the end of this Discourse.

of fifteen centuries, and, if they were to be content to swim with the stream, without any certain guidance to direct their course. I say, without any certain guidance. They looked indeed for guidance to the great Prize which they had won—the open Bible—as good King Josiah looked to the copy of the law which had been discovered in the Temple—and they did well (see Pref. to Confession 1560, and ch. xviii.) But the Bible was not, and was never intended to be, an all-sufficient guide under such circumstances. This can be proved abundantly, were there time to do it.(4) They felt that something was wanted to bridge over the chasm—as it had been bridged over more or less successfully in England—in order to connect them with the Church of preceding centuries, and through it with the Church of our Lord and His Apostles. This is the key to movements which, in a sound and laudable sense, may be called reactionary: such as that of the Leith Convention in 1572; and again, such as that of the Perth Articles in 1618. We need not, therefore, have recourse to any extreme views of divine right and consequent necessity of Episcopal Church government to account for this; nor to any exaggerated notions of English influence; and still less to a motive—of which we hear too often at the present day—a mere superficial, foppish desire to ape the practices of the upper social class. Without these there were motives enough—and more than enough

—to account for the spreading uneasiness of which I speak. The *obligation of continuity,*(5) in the existence of a body which was to undergo no disseverance till the end of time; the *obligation of unity,*(6) which lies upon the surface in every page of the Epistles of the New Testament; the *obligation of gratitude,*(7) which could not fail to urge what was due to the memory of the first preachers of the Gospel upon Scottish soil, many of whom were most unquestionably of Episcopal rank;—all these were enough to haunt the consciences of the more considerate, who would not suffer themselves to be led away blindfold by a spirit of party, alien from the love of truth. Yes, apart from all controversial arguments upon any one or more particular points—upon orders of the Ministry, or Government, or Worship, or Confirmation, or Observance of Anniversaries—however desirable in themselves these things might be regarded by many — the feeling I have described has been smouldering all along, and will continue to smoulder, in minds which are the last to betray the secret fire by which they are consumed; will continue, I say, to smoulder, until some vent shall be found to carry off the flame, through the judicious application of sound religious and ecclesiastical principles. Happy the time which shall see the discovery made! Happy the men who shall be God's instruments in discovering it! The independent self-reliance of the Scottish character—an admirable trait when engaged in strug-

gling for the right, and in nothing displayed more tenaciously than upon matters of religion—will make the task hard to achieve; but may we not—must we not—*hope* that in God's good time it will be accomplished? If there shall be men to "seek" it, as we cannot doubt, we have Christ's promise to assure us there will be men to "find."

Meanwhile it cannot be denied that the moral gain of the transition from the unreformed to the reformed era had been great in many ways; when the worship of the Church was no longer held in an unknown tongue; when the written Word of God became again as the light of the sun, a common possession available for all; when many frivolous or degrading superstitions had been swept away; and when the people and native Church of Scotland were no longer held in subjection to the usurped authority and tyrannical domination of the foreign Church and Court of Rome. And even in regard to exorbitancies and defects, when we consider the extreme difficulties which, on every side, beset the course of the Reformers, ought we not to bear in mind, in palliation of much which we ourselves, judging calmly and securely, may disapprove—

> "It were not meet at such a time as that,
> That every nice offence should have its comment"?

But reverting to the actual gains of the momentous change, shall we say that among *them* is to be reck-

oned the closer relations established with England when the union of the two kingdoms, which had been looked forward to during the long minority of James VI., and the exile of his mother, was eventually accomplished at the death of Queen Elizabeth (1603)? The Churches of both countries had become reformed and Protestant against the errors and usurpations of the Church of Rome. But did the union of the nations, in the person of a Scottish sovereign, produce the fruit which might have been expected, in the greater consolidation and advancement of the faith which they both professed?

The answer to this deeply interesting question must be given, I fear, in the negative. In the early days of the Reforming movement, there had indeed been evidence of a wise desire on the part of both to combine their efforts as in a common cause. John Knox, after his release from the French galleys (1549), had been employed as a preacher of Reformed doctrine in England during the reign of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth, by military aid, had contributed materially to the great and marvellously decisive triumph of the Reforming party in Scotland in 1560, as no one acknowledged more fully or more feelingly than Knox himself. (8) But even before that date a change had come over these friendly relations, mainly through Knox's own impetuous and violent temper, as shown more particularly by the publication (early in 1558) of his 'Blast of the Trumpet against *the*

Monstrous Regiment (*i. e.*, Government) of Women:' Mary of Lorraine, the queen-dowager, being then Regent of Scotland, and her Tudor namesake the reigning Queen of England. When Elizabeth had succeeded her sister upon the throne — an event which took place before the end of that same year— such a publication could not fail to cause much embarrassment, if not actual exasperation, as we may well suspect, between its author and the English Court.

This weighty circumstance is not to be forgotten when we undertake to estimate the various particulars which give a bias to the ecclesiastical course pursued in this country during the remainder of the great Reformer's life; and after his death—up to the conclusion of that century—the untoward posture of political affairs offered little hope of mutual help to be given or received on either side. Scotland, under the influence of Andrew Melville, had been drifting into the doctrine of Calvin and the Genevan parity of Church government; while England, less inclined to hasty innovations, though not insensible to the value of co-operation with the Continental Reformers, was content to settle down upon the ancient landmarks, when the soil of the vineyard had been thoroughly broken up and cleared of the noxious weeds by which it had been overgrown. Upon the accession, however, of the Scottish sovereign to the English throne at the beginning of the seventeenth

century, a process of assimilation of the Churches of the two countries was at once commenced, for which the northern country at least was but ill prepared; and the policy was pursued—for a few years with some little prospect of success—but eventually with results of confusion and anarchy throughout both kingdoms, —leaving us a lesson such as the student of our history, both civil and ecclesiastical, ought never to forget.

And this, indeed, is the greatest of the lessons which we, my brethren, have to learn from the consideration of this first period. Assimilation between Scotland and England in ecclesiastical affairs, if it is ever to come at all, must come as a perfectly natural and spontaneous effect of causes, not only strictly constitutional, but qualified to produce it for the good of both: that is, it must come out of pure conviction, out of riper knowledge, out of wider sympathies, not only with the sister country, but with universal Christendom, both of the past and present, and especially of the early past. As it was, however, never was there a policy, good and rational in design, more marred in execution, more utterly disastrous and fatal in its results. Begun in the sovereign's attempt to assimilate Scotland to England by unconstitutional and arbitrary means, it ended in the people's determination to assimilate England to Scotland by force of arms. (9) And as a trophy of the success, short-lived as it was, of this latter attempt, the Scottish Church Standards

of our Presbyterian brethren are still seen to bear the cast-off trappings of the English Puritans, known by the name, not of Edinburgh or of Aberdeen—not of Glasgow or of St Andrews—but of Westminster: a phenomenon in the nature of a Nemesis, which, if we take into account the chief characteristics of the Scottish people—especially their love of independence—is certainly one of the strangest to be found in the history of the Church or of the world. Looking back over that century, and casting up (as I proposed) the account of gain and loss, we cannot but mark how the blessed recovery of the open Bible—being unrestrained by the sober influences of reverence for the past, and unguided by the authoritative interpretations of the primitive and undivided Church—served only to throw a more lurid light upon the crimes and wickedness that prevailed. We see the teaching of the Old Testament not only set above that of the New, but, through the fanatical misapplication of its lessons and examples, employed to justify principles and actions which, rightly understood, it would have been found utterly to condemn.[10] We see the Lord's Day rescued, indeed, from the open violation and profaneness which had formerly prevailed, but only to be perverted into a day of gloom, too often tainted with hypocrisy; while in the havoc which rightly swept away the worship of saints and the keeping of minor holidays, which had become excessive in number, and tended to demoralise rather than to improve the people, the fasts and festivals of the

Universal Church—the observance of which might have assisted to place the hallowing of the Christian Sabbath in its proper light—were altogether abolished. (11) We see, as a punishment for past abuses, endowments not reformed and converted to better ends, but sacrilegiously withdrawn into the coffers of dissolute and ungodly nobles and dependants of the Court; and consequently a dearth of theological proficiency just at the time when it was most needed to form the opinions and to guide the actions both of clergy and laity. We know how the great blessing of liberty of thought and speech too often degenerated into licentiousness through the "speaking evil of dignities," even in the house of God. We remember only too well how, in the name Christ and of His religion, prince and people were arrayed against each other till the former had been led to a bloody death; and the latter, delivered over to the iron sway of a usurper, sank down exhausted under the effects of their own violence.

But to pass on to the *second* epoch. I know of nothing which is calculated to cover the faces of Englishmen—and of Scotchmen too, though in a less degree—with a deeper blush of shame and confusion than the remembrance of the name by which I have designated this period — the name "Restoration." What might we not suppose would have been the salutary effect of the various troubles and disasters which had been undergone during the previous cen-

tury—*i. e.*, from 1560 to 1660? What species of chastisement was there which God could have inflicted, short of calling in the agency of a foreign enemy, as He did in the case of the disobedient Jews — what chastisement was there, I ask, which He did not inflict upon our forefathers through their mutual animosities, fermented chiefly in the holy name of religion, and continually breaking out—not once only, but once and again—in civil war? Within less than two years after the popular party of the two countries, having joined their forces (1643), had dethroned their king and brought about his execution (1649), the Scotch and English of the same party were engaged in a second civil war against each other, which led to the bloody battle of Dunbar in September 1650. And more than this. In October of that year there were actually in Scotland four different armies severally at enmity, and each prepared to maintain with the sword a different cause. ([12]) And meanwhile, what was the condition, not only materially, but morally and religiously, of the people who had suffered themselves to be provoked into these extremities by the ill-judged, indeed, and arbitrary, but well-meant action of their king? We have only too much and too trustworthy evidence to tell us what it was. It is no other than Robert Baillie, the well-known Principal of the University of Glasgow, and one of the Scotch Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, who thus writes from Perth,

January 2, 1651, to his cousin and fellow-minister, Mr William Spang:—

"It cannot be denied that our miseries and dangers of ruin are greater than for many years have been; a potent, victorious enemy (*i.e.*, Cromwell) master of our seas, and for some good time of the best part of our land: our kirk, state, army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people south of the Forth spoiled and near starving; they north of the Forth extremely ill-used by a handful of our own; . . . none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help, though called. What the end of all shall be, the Lord knows." [13] Again; it is the Commission of the General Assembly itself which two months later (March 20, 1651) thus speaks in a short exhortation and warning which it issued "To the ministers and professors of this kirk. . . . The eminent danger of religion, king, and kingdom, by the unjust invasion of the blasphemous sectarian army; the sad condition of our countrymen in the south parts of the kingdom, and groaning under the grievous oppression of strangers" (the same who not long before, be it remembered, were their allies in rebellion against their sovereign), "of strangers, devouring their substance and enslaving their persons; the sad silence in many congregations, whose teachers are driven into corners by the violence of the enemies, contemners of God's ordinances, and mockers of His messengers; the adversaries roaring and making a

strange noise in the midst of some congregations; the inevitable hazard of our dear brethren to be seduced into pernicious heresies and errors by the deceitful practices and speeches of sectaries that are cunning to deceive and speak lies in hypocrisy; the innocent blood of our brethren murdered by the sword of a merciless enemy; the sighing of the prisoners, inhumanly and cruelly used by those who keep them prisoners:" such is the description of Cromwell and his army of Independents, given by this Commission of the General Assembly to their Presbyterian brethren, just two years after the Westminster Assembly had completed its labours (March 1649) by the joint action of the two parties for the extirpation of Prelacy, and purification and better settlement of the Church in both countries! "All these things," they continue, "do cry so loud in the ears of all who have ears to hear, and a heart to understand, to be awake and quickened to the necessary duty of the time, that it is a wonder that any Jonah should be found fast asleep in so great a storm, wherein this kirk and kingdom are like to be overwhelmed. . . . We exhort all men unto repentance, to return from the evil of their thoughts and ways, and to mourn after the Lord. . . . It is more than high time for all to be humbled under the weighty hand of God who hath cast us down, and is able to raise us up again. . . . Let it be seriously laid to heart how much blood is spilt, how many towns and shires are spoiled,

how miserably our brethren are distressed and oppressed, how much the common enemy is strengthened, while you be only preparing for relief." They go on to denounce the principle of toleration, which the Independents (be it said to their honour!) were the first to advocate. "If you tender true religion, you see how the sectaries show themselves plain enemies thereto, and maintain that impious monster of toleration." But what must strike us now as most strange of all, is the claim they make for subjection to King Charles II., who had then been recently crowned, under Presbyterian auspices, at Scone (January 1, 1651). "Though religion" (they proceed) "were not the question, let loyalty to your king—the *only king in the world who is in a religious covenant with God and His people*—animate you against these, who are his enemies, *because he is a king*, and *because covenanted*." (14) A covenanted king! And now this king, after ten years' additional exile, is restored to his father's throne. Doubtless it was in pity for the woful condition to which our forefathers had reduced themselves, and in hope that the chastisements inflicted upon them might have sufficed to produce the desired effects; and doubtless, too, out of regard to the secret prayers and intercessions of many who had shrunk from the turmoil of those distempered times;—doubtless, I say, it was owing to these causes that the Lord relented, and the outcast sovereign was received back, with every indication of triumphant joy, into the

bosom of his fatherland. And with what result? Alas! only that we might see

"A fouler vision yet."

It was true of the prince himself—to whom more especially this marvellous mercy was vouchsafed—and not of him alone, that the returning prodigal became after his return a prodigal still more abandoned; and so God had occasion again to withdraw His face, to turn "the music and dancing" into lamentation and woe, and to summon His instruments of vengeance, more grievous and more terrible even than before, for the punishment of iniquity, now aggravated by fresh ingratitude. And He did summon them. Such were the foreign wars in which, five years after the Restoration, the country became engaged with France and Holland; such was the great plague of that same year 1665; and such, too, the great fire of London in the following year. Let me remind you how an eminent dignitary of the English Church, preaching in Westminster Abbey, November 5, 1688, described these accumulated calamities:—

"Not to insist upon more remote instances of the divine judgments, let us cast our eyes upon these latter ones, much surpassing all the former. And here we shall see three kingdoms for some years bleeding by an unnatural civil war, weltering in their own blood, and wasted and spoiled by the fury of

their own inhabitants: a calamity so universal, that like a deluge it involved all sorts, estates, and conditions of men—from the prince to the peasant, from him that wielded the sceptre to him that held the plough. And this war, we shall find, concluded with the success of the rebel cause and army, which, in the midst of peace, continued all the miseries of war; acting all the cruelties of banishments, imprisonments, sequestrations and decimations upon all those that durst own the least loyalty to their prince, or affection to their Church.

"And when it pleased Providence to blow over this storm in the happy restoration of both, it was not long before the destroying angel stretched forth his hand over us in that woful calamity, caused by a spreading devouring sickness, that ceased not to destroy and mow down thousands before it without stay or stop, till at length it gave over, as it were, out of very weariness with killing.

"And when we were still *unconcerned*, after all these blows falling so thick and heavy upon us, a fire more dreadful than all breaks forth upon the metropolis and glory of our nation, the great magazine of our strength and riches, and makes as great a mortality of houses as the sickness had made of inhabitants.

"And lastly, when the growing impiety of the nation had baffled this judgment also, and brought us out of this fiery furnace *with all our dross about us*,

God commissions the enemy, whom He had so often delivered into our hands, to come and outbrave us at out very doors, and to fire those ornaments and bulwarks of our English nation, even under our noses—a disgrace and a blot upon us not to be fetched out by the fire that burnt them, nor to be washed off by the whole ocean that carried them; and it is well that there followed not a destruction greater than the disgrace."

Thus, he adds, "We have seen and felt what an angry God can do." (15)

It would be unjust to cast upon the prince him self all the blame for these latter calamities; one portion of his subjects at least must share it with him. The force which was put upon his conscience by the Commissioners from the Scottish Parliament, at Breda, in his twentieth year—1650—the year after his father's execution—and for which more than one of those Commissioners afterwards confessed his shame and remorse—was enough to demoralise his character for life. Let me quote, for example, the words of Mr Alexander Jaffray, Commissary of Aberdeen:—

"We did sinfully entangle both the nation and ourselves, and that *poor young prince* to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a covenant which we knew . . . that he hated in his heart. Yet, finding that upon these terms only he could be admitted to rule over us, he sinfully complied with what we most sinfully pressed upon him; where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was more

than his." [16] This was the first downward step in the career of duplicity and degradation which the young king subsequently pursued. [17] From that fatal moment he must have lost a large portion of his self-respect, and thereby greatly weakened his motives for amendment. But he must have lost also all respect for those whom it was most essential he should esteem—the ministers of the religion which he had been made to swear that he would uphold. One instance may suffice. In the sermon preached on the day of his coronation at Scone, which was the New Year's Day of 1651, by Robert Douglas, then Moderator of the Church of Scotland, are these words: "There are here who were witnesses of the coronation of the late king. The bishops behoved to perform that rite; but now, *by the blessing of God*, Popery and Prelacy [18] are removed,—the bishops, or limbs of Antichrist, are put to the door;" the bishops who are thus described having been, be it remembered, bishops of a Reformed and Protestant Church, in close communion with the Reformed Church of England, and certainly not less anti-Popish than their English brethren, but rather the contrary. And the said sermon of the Moderator is pronounced by Principal Baillie to have been "pertinent, wise, and good"! (See Letters and Journals, vol. iii. p. 128.) These, it must be confessed, are sad reminiscences, and sufficient to have excited in a *royal*, nay in *any*, breast, an invincible antipathy to the system out

of which they sprang. At the same time, I would not be understood to imply that nothing was gained to the cause of religion and godliness during that period of the restored Stuart dynasty, the thirty years which elapsed between 1660 and the Revolution of 1690. It is true the disastrous policy of assimilation was again attempted. And nothing could be more offensive than some of the measures adopted by the civil power to carry out that policy—nothing more monstrous than the claims of ecclesiastical supremacy advanced on the part of the Crown,—as, for example, in the so-called "Assertory Act" of 1669. But on the part of the spiritual power, as such, and in regard to the details of purely spiritual administration —notwithstanding the misrepresentation to the contrary which has too commonly prevailed—it may be safely asserted there was, for the most part, great forbearance. The lessons of the past had not been altogether thrown away upon our forefathers of that period. The Diocesan Synods, held at Dunblane during Leighton's episcopate (1662-72), and continued down to the Revolution by his two successors, Ramsay (1673-84) and Douglas (1684-88), afford ample proof that there is nothing in Episcopacy, when properly administered, with a due regard to the rights of the two other orders of the ministry, and of the laity, to prevent the introduction and the working of the same synodical element which the champions of Presbytery have been wont

to insist upon and to claim as a peculiar recommendation of their own system. (19) We do not indeed find the presence of the laity in those Dunblane synods; and this was a defect. But we have found and seen it since in many of the Anglican Colonial Churches; in the entire system of North American Episcopacy; (20) in our own communion, though as yet in less perfect measure; and even to some extent, which we may hope will go on increasing, in the Established Church of England. Nor can I omit to mention at least one redeeming point in the character and administration even of King Charles II.,—that it was he who not only appointed the saintly Robert Leighton to his bishopric of Dunblane in this country, and the saintly Thomas Ken to his bishopric of Bath and Wells in England, but who also showed, on more than one occasion, in the case of both, that he entertained a just appreciation of their respective merits.

And here—with the names of Leighton and Ken upon my lips—I think it expedient to pause for the present, reserving the remainder of this Discourse to be delivered (if it shall please God) on the evening of Sunday next.

PART II.

REVOLUTION—DISRUPTION.

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ISAIAH liv. 2.—"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes."

RESUMING the discussion of the subject upon which we were engaged last Sunday—we have now arrived at our third epoch—the epoch of THE REVOLUTION of 1690.

It was on the Fast Day appointed by the General Assembly, and sanctioned and enjoined by the Privy Council, to be kept on January 7, 1691, that Lawrence Charteris, then minister of Dirleton, having conformed to the Revolution Settlement, in a public discourse addressed to the people of his parish, thus expressed his sentiments:—

"All who are wise and have a right sense of true religion, cannot but see there has been a great defection among us; . . . a defection from the life of God and the power of religion, and from the temper and conversation which the Gospel requires of us."

But whereas the Act ordering the Fast had expressly named the introduction of Prelacy at the Restoration as one of the sins for which the nation had cause to be humbled and to repent, to this Mr Charteris demurred. "I cannot think," he went on to say, "that the settling of an imparity among the officers of the Church is to be looked upon as a defection, or that it is a thing in itself unlawful, or that it was of itself introductory of the abounding of wickedness and scandals in the Church. This I may with the greatest confidence affirm, that religion never flourished more in the world than it did when and where there was an imparity among the officers of the Church. And this I know, that some famous Protestant Churches do allow Episcopacy, and continue to this day under that form of government." And then, turning the tables upon the members of the Assembly who had appointed the Fast, for the gross unfairness they had thus displayed, he reminded them that they had "passed over many sins of those of their own way, . . . whereof some are almost proper to them. How many of them are proud, fierce, covetous, turbulent, seditious, and ungovernable! . . . Not a few of them seem to place all religion in a zeal for their proper opinions, and in running separate courses from those who are not of their own persuasion. Many of them are of a factious, schismatical, and uncharitable temper, and have, by their bitter and indiscreet zeal, been prompted to such inhuman, barbarous, and cruel

actions, which have been so much the more scandalous, as being acted under the colour and pretence of religion. These and suchlike should be confessed ingenuously and mourned for." ([21])

It was under the circumstances, and in great measure through the instruments thus described, that the Revolution Settlement—involving once more the rejection of Episcopacy and the substitution of Presbytery—was brought about.

But how was it brought about? It cannot be doubted that the immediate cause—though commonly, for obvious reasons, not put so prominently forward as it ought to be—the immediate cause was the action, the independent action, of the bishops themselves. They dashed to the ground the cup of goodwill and mutual support unreservedly presented to their lips by the Prince of Orange. It was soon after he had arrived in England that, in speaking to the Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr Alexander Rose, who had gone up to London as commissary and representative of his brethren at that anxious crisis, and had been summoned by the prince to an interview at Whitehall, the latter expressed "a hope that the Scotch bishops would be kind to him, and follow the example of England." To which the bishop replied: "Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, and conscience shall allow me." At this, we are told, the prince not unnaturally broke off the conversation and turned himself away. It is Dr Rose himself who

has recorded the occurrence; [22] and from this and other details, given in the same document, there can be no question as to the meaning both of the prince's words and of the bishop's answer. Had that answer been such as William had looked for, and might naturally have expected, there is good reason for supposing that Episcopacy in this country might have retained its hold, and that Scotland would have been Episcopalian at the present day. For though William himself had Presbyterian predilections, they were not of such a kind as to lead him to lay stress upon them in comparison with his political interests; and it is equally certain that his knowledge of the relative strength and balance of parties in this country was already quite sufficient to have prevented him from making any such implied overture to Bishop Rose and his brethren, unless he had felt assured that his cause would be at least as safe, if not safer, in their hands than in the hands of the Presbyterian leaders, who he knew would be only too ready to welcome and espouse it in case the bishops refused to do so. Under such circumstances, it is idle to speak of any deeply rooted or largely predominant feeling as then existing in this nation in favour of Presbyterianism, such as to demand the settlement which the new sovereign, thus thrown into the arms of the anti-Prelatist and anti-Stuart party, out of regard to the necessities of his position, was constrained to adopt.

It has been customary with the writers of our

communion to look only to the brighter side of the conduct which our bishops pursued at, and subsequently to, the crisis of the Revolution; to represent them as noble champions of a chivalrous loyalty, as devoted confessors and sufferers for conscience' sake. But who that has studied the intricacies of human character can close his mind to the thought that motives of a less laudable kind may have been at work, almost unconsciously to themselves, in leading them to take up and to adhere to that disastrous course? Motives derived from a sentiment of a narrow nationality, because the Stuarts were of Scottish blood; motives derived from the selfish sentiment that it was the Stuarts who had befriended Episcopacy in the past, and from the suspicion that they alone could be depended on to befriend it in the time to come; motives derived from a feeling of jealousy towards England, which had taken its own course, without consultation with the Scottish Parliament; motives, in short, allied more or less to the short-sighted policy which, on this side the Tweed, so long and obstinately opposed the union of the two countries, which has proved so beneficial to them both, but especially to the more northern country. But whatever may have been the motives by which Bishop Rose and his brethren were mainly actuated, we cannot but remark with regret that, even when the Stuart family had openly renounced the cause of the Reformation, the bishops and their adherents

did not cease to cling to them rather than follow in the wake of the English Church and the English State in transferring their allegiance to William and Mary, and afterwards to the house of Brunswick.* And this infatuation (can we honestly call it by any other name?) not only continued for a whole century —from 1690 to 1790—but allowing itself to cherish a traditional sentiment of disaffection and discontent, actually broke out, on three several occasions, into civil war. It is idle to complain of what our forefathers suffered under such circumstances. It is idle to complain either of the English Church or of the English State; of the desertion which followed, almost unavoidably on the part of the former; of the penalties which the latter had only too much cause to inflict in self-defence. Moreover, it is to be remembered, if we wish to be impartial, that the example of such intolerant and severe laws had been set by the civil power acting in behalf of Episcopacy under Charles II.; and though it may be said, and said justly, that the bishops for the most part were in no way responsible for those laws, yet neither did they protest against them as they ought to have done.† The

* Sir Walter Scott, whose genuine love of his native country no one can dispute, speaks of this matter with his usual good sense and sound judgment in Waverley, chap. xxviii., vol. i., p. 382, edit. 1832. And comp. the "motives" attributed to Fergus MacIvor as a Nonjuror, *ibid.*, p. 223.

† There was, indeed, one exception. Leighton *did* protest against the persecuting Act of 1670, directed against the conventicles of the Covenanters, and said to have been the model of that directed against

language of whining and complaint is rarely dignified—rarely calculated to promote a cause; and least of all when the matters of which we complain have mainly arisen from our own fault. And looking even to the brighter side, what reason is there to expect that a Church, whose interests are, or ought to be, mainly centred in the life to come, can thrive merely upon Romance? And it was upon Romance, or something near akin to it, that the Episcopal Nonjuring Church was attempting to live during the last century. I say the Nonjuring Church. The so-called English or qualified congregations were founded, if you please, in schism, but in schism fully justified, as a temporary expedient, on the part of Scotchmen, and still more of Englishmen, residing in Scotland, who desired to reconcile their ecclesiastical convictions with the duty which, as dutiful and well-affected citizens, they owed to the reigning prince; who considered that, after the perfidious conduct of James II., his abdication of the throne, and the declared adhesion, both of himself and of his son, to the Church of Rome, the Church and State in England had taken the right course in altering (so far as they did alter) the legitimate succession to the British Crown.

Thus while Episcopacy, from the rebellious spirit which it had shown and fostered, was put down by a

our forefathers after the Rebellion of 1745.—See Life by Pearson, p. xcvi, and compare Lawson's Hist., i. 798.

strong, a severe, and, it must be added, a cruel hand, till itself and the community it represented had become almost extinct, the ground was left open and free to Presbyterianism, now fully invested with all the privileges of establishment and endowment which its rival had forfeited, and consequently supported in England by the right hand of political, and to some extent also of ecclesiastical, fellowship.

There were two features in the Revolution Settlement with which they who profited by it most could scarcely have been satisfied at the time, and of which all their more honest and more intelligent successors do not scruple to avow their dislike. One is, that the settlement was made, virtually indeed through the dictation of the sovereign, but formally through the exercise of an authority which, being composed entirely of laymen, was constitutionally incompetent so to act. Of this, however, we, as Episcopalians, cannot reasonably complain, having, in the persons of our predecessors, accepted a foundation equally insufficient, equally unconstitutional, when Episcopacy was restored by Charles II. The other cause for dissatisfaction consists in the fact that no higher ground was taken as the basis of the settlement than the will of the people. The express reasons given for the rejection of Prelacy were, that it had been not only "an insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation," but "contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." Now, here again, however

much we may argue, and argue justly, that "the inclinations of the generality of a people" form a very unsafe and insufficient ground for judgment, or for action in matters which concern religion and the truth of God; and however we may see reason to raise objections—valid objections—against the accuracy of the record on the score of exaggeration or of prejudice, ([23]) yet our wisdom will be to turn our thoughts in a different direction; to admit that the minds of the people would not have become alienated to so great an extent as unquestionably they were, unless there had been, on the Church's own part, great unfaithfulness—unfaithfulness shown not least by undue subserviency to arbitrary government: and in such a case the popular will becomes in the hands of God an effectual instrument of the punishment which we compel Him to inflict. But an instrument that is variable, as the inclinations of a people proverbially are, may become in the same hands no less effectual for His purposes of mercy, when judgment has produced its desired effect in the amendment of those whom it had been necessary to chastise. It would ill become us to assume that we have already paid as a Church a sufficient penalty for past shortcomings; but it cannot be amiss to mark the evident tokens with which we have been favoured of the relenting of God's just displeasure; and, as we mark them, to brace ourselves afresh for renewed efforts towards self-amendment, and a more

zealous discharge of the duties which He requires at our hands. Among those tokens we cannot fail to observe that the mind of the people is undergoing change; that there is less of prejudice against the truth as it has been retained among ourselves; less of satisfaction felt with portions of the prevailing system which we believe to be erroneous, or at least inferior to the corresponding portions of our own system; and, I rejoice to add, there is far greater disposition on the part of our own members to strengthen the hands of those who labour among them, and to promote the progress of the Church to which they are, as we trust, not only nominally, but conscientiously and zealously attached.

I pass over the tale, so often told, of the hardships and privations of our forefathers during the last century, and proceed at once to our fourth and last epoch, THE DISRUPTION of 1843.

I have not scrupled to indicate that, in my opinion, our Episcopal communion, through its resolute adherence to the Stuart cause, became a martyr by mistake. Was no similar mistake committed by our brethren of the Free Church in the Disruption of 1843? As in the former instance, no one hesitates to describe the act as one of a noble and magnanimous character. And here — whatever there may have been in the former case—there is less room for the suggestion of inferior motives. The question for which there is room, is whether the act was or was

not a mistaken one; in other words, whether the guidance of the Word of God, fully and faithfully ascertained, would not have disallowed the action rather than approved it; whether, if the like occasion were to occur again, the same action would and ought to be repeated. There are many, we cannot doubt, who would so judge. To some, however — and I confess myself to be one of these—it would rather appear that, while on the one hand the requirements of the Word of God would have been satisfied by steps short of disruption, by protests, by continuance of the struggle *within the body*, on the other hand, the plain violation of other portions of that Word—those I mean, more particularly, which forbid divisions and separations—would have been avoided. I would not have asked the minority in question to "shift their responsibility," or to attempt "to escape the Judge's eye;" [24] but I would have asked of them to bear in mind the revealed promise of their Lord, that "He would not suffer them to be tempted above that they were able, but would with the temptation also make a way to escape, that they might be able to bear it,"—to bear it without violation of His plain commands. I would not have asked them—when in their conscience they considered that wrong had been inflicted by the civil power—to forbear to "call that wrong persecution, and to take all proper pains to fasten the charge of persecution on the conscience of the nation;" [25] but I would have asked them to feel

assured that God's strength would be sufficient for them in all time of their tribulation, and that it would, in His own good time, if they continued steadfast in their obedience, be openly manifested in their behalf.

But must we not say more than this? Must we not ask our Presbyterian brethren to bear with us while we venture to trace the origin of the Disruption to a remoter source than any that was assigned at the time by those who made it? Is it not an historical fact that whenever a Church or nation has broken off and separated itself by an organic change from the visible communion of the body of Christ, then a similar separation and disruption within itself has been permitted to take place? Such has been the case in Germany, in the separation between the "Lutherans" and "Reformed;" such has been the case in the Low Countries, in the fearful struggles which arose between the "Calvinists" and "Remonstrants;" such has been the case in Switzerland, and especially at Geneva. But the most remarkable instances are to be found in the history of that Church which claims to be the bond and centre of unity. When Rome had severed herself from the communion of the Churches of the East, through the overbearing conduct of the Pope's legate, in the eleventh century, she was punished, not long after, by the portentous schism of the anti-Popes: first, from 1159 to 1180; and afterwards from 1378 to

1424; and again, when she had consummated that organic change which separates her virtually from the communion of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of every country and of all times—I mean the change which substitutes the usurped autocracy of the one successor of S. Peter for the legitimate authority of all the successors of the Apostolic company; when this was so, then was rent from her the nobler portion of her ill-gotten realm—then was the grand signal for the liberty of the Churches which she had so grievously oppressed. It would seem then, as I have said, to be in accordance with a divine law—and who can question the righteousness of the judgment?—that a body which has broken itself off from the unity of the Church, by a substantial deviation of whatever kind from catholic rule, should, in God's own time, be rent and divided, as we see the Presbyterian body is at the present day.

Meanwhile, for ourselves, we take our stand with all confidence upon the three principles which I mentioned at the beginning of the former part of this Discourse: the obligation of *continuity*, the obligation of *unity*, the obligation of *gratitude*. Of these three principles, one only—viz., the last, the obligation of gratitude, was or could have been claimed for Presbyterianism at the Revolution Settlement. After stating the reasons, which I have before alluded to, for abolishing Prelacy—viz., "that it had been an insupportable grievance to this nation," and "that it was con-

trary to the inclinations of the people"—the Claim of Right (July 1689) adds, as a further reason, that "they had been reformed from Popery by Presbyters." By all means let the full weight be given to that noble motive, so far as it consists in truth with the fact itself. ([26]) But at the same time, let it not be forgotten that Episcopacy on that score has not only a prior but a stronger claim. We were converted from heathenism by bishops, and by missionaries sent and ordained by bishops. S. Ninian, the converter of the Picts, was a bishop; S. Palladius, and his coadjutor S. Serf, and his disciple S. Ternan, were all bishops; S. Kentigern was a bishop; S. Machar, a disciple of S. Columba, was a bishop. ([27])

Looking then to these obligations, which are equally binding upon us all, may we not venture to address our Presbyterian brethren, one and all, but especially the members of the Established Church, in the words of the evangelical prophet which I have chosen for my text? "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes."

We know the cords that require to be lengthened, we know the stakes that require additional strength. To name but one or two examples: Is it too much to say that the Presbyterian formulas of subscription, both for the ministry and the eldership, narrow and stringent as they now are ([28]) beyond all comparison

with our own, or those of any other Episcopal Church, defeat their own ends, and tend to weaken by their exclusiveness the fabric they were designed to fortify? Or again: is it too much to say that so long as the ordinance of Confirmation is disused, an instrument of strength which God has provided for the young—an instrument scriptural, apostolic, catholic—is cast aside?

But the appeal we have to make to our brethren of the dissenting bodies—and especially of the Free Church—must carry us over wider ground. May we, then, be permitted to say to them, we honour the devoted homage which you pay to the crown rights, the supreme headship of Jesus Christ? And what do we understand by that headship? We understand it to imply that most glorious of all facts which the divine mercy has revealed to be the comfort, the pride, the security of our redeemed race. Christ's headship is one which equally comprises Church and State, though its nature in these two respects is essentially different and distinct. Over all states and nations it is a headship of rightful and absolute dominion, inseparable from the providential government of the Almighty Creator. Over the Church, visible and invisible, it is a headship as over His own body, not of dominion only, but of the most intimate relationship and unity and love (Eph. v. 29, 30). But how is it that Christ, being invisible in the heavens, exercises His sovereignty over these two

kingdoms, both of which (one altogether and the other in part) are visible upon earth, and exposed to all the accidents and reverses of this lower world? It is thus: as under the one headship He employs kings and rulers to carry on His government, and to attend continually on this very thing, whereby they are unauthorised to challenge our obedience for the Lord's sake (Rom. xiii. 1, 6; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14); so, under the other headship, He has ordained divers orders of clergy to act ministerially in His behalf, and to carry out those purposes of unity and love which are effected by the rightful application of His own ordinances. And hence they too are authorised to challenge the submission of those for whose souls they watch in the Lord's name, not for their own but for His sake (Heb. xiii. 7, 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Philip. ii. 29).

The Word of God is plain and express in asserting for our blessed Lord, as the price of the universal redemption which He has wrought for man, both the one and the other of these two widely different but not inconsistent sovereignties (see, especially, Eph. i. 19-22; Ps. viii., cx.; Matt. xxviii. 18; Rev. i. 5, 12, 13). It also teaches us that the civil sovereignty (so to call it) equally holds good, whether a State be heathen or Christian (see Dan. ii. 21, iv. 32); only, if the State be Christian, it will know of its privileges, that it is a portion of Christ's kingdom; and further, as a consequence of this knowledge, it will be bound

to act so as to recognise the existence and promote the ends of that infinitely more glorious, because more intimate and mysterious, everlasting headship which Christ holds over His Church; and, moreover, it will be at its fearful peril if it neglect to do so (see Isa. xlix. 22, 23: Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. lx. 10-12; Ps. ii. 10-12). Nor is the well-known saying of Christ to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world" —when properly understood—at all at variance with this general tenor of the teaching of God's Word.

That there would always exist extreme difficulty in reconciling and adjusting the relation of these two sovereignties on the part of their administrators, so long as man's nature in this world is to remain what it is and has been hitherto, and so long as the prince of this world is bent upon thwarting the revealed word and designs of Christ, was surely to be expected. And the truth is, we have witnessed too often the failure of that adjustment in both its extremes: for instance, on the one hand, in the claims of the Church of Rome, founded upon the text *Ecce! duo gladii*—"Behold, here are two swords" (Luke xxii. 38); and, on the other hand, in laws such as those of Charles II. and James II., which placed the spiritual in undue subjection to the civil power. And what is the remedy? I know of none that will not make the difficulty greater, and eventually more disastrous, except in the exercise, especially on the part of all Churchmen (who are bound to set the

better example), of the patience and forbearance, the moderation and long-suffering, which the Gospel teaches.

At the same time, I concur with the advocates of the so-called "Voluntary system," that it is no part of the duty of the civil magistrate, even when professedly Christian, nicely to *distinguish between differences of religious creed*, unless it be, as in the case of Romanism, where foreign associations may call for a separate treatment upon religious grounds, or unless the creed itself be such as to sap the foundations of public security or of moral truth. To establish the *one holy Catholic Faith* under the teaching of the *one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*—both of which are matters not so much of argument as of fact—to do this, wherever the evangelisation of a country has been sufficient to justify it, and at the same time to allow the fullest toleration of every species of dissent, which threatens no danger to morality or to the laws—this is the duty of the civil magistrate; a duty, the performance of which, if we believe the Scripture, we cannot doubt that Christ will demand, under severe penalties, at the hands of those to whom He has intrusted that portion of His sovereign power.

I must crave your indulgent consideration, my brethren, for these last remarks. They are offered in the conviction that, unless we are to reconsider our ways in the light of all these past vicissitudes, the next great epoch in our Scottish Church history will

be known by the name of Disestablishment. Upon that, whether it is to come or no, as I can express no desire, so I will offer no prophecy. That God can bring good out of the evil, *if* and *when* it comes, we all know. That Christ's Church, having been once planted in this land, will survive that, or even a greater catastrophe, we may hope at least with much assurance. Neither can we doubt, I think, that if a council could be held of the departed spirits of those whose memory we all agree to cherish with veneration—from Patrick Forbes and Robert Leighton to Thomas Chalmers and Norman Macleod—they would have little difficulty in framing such a reconciliation of our existing differences as should embrace the true disciples and descendants of them all; little difficulty in showing us how we might be able, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to attain to that greater harmony and co-operation which we must all desire, and which would remove all fear of disestablishment: still less can we doubt that they would earnestly exhort us so to do. They would speak of the fatal blow which has been already given to our national system of education—that system which has deservedly won for Scotland so proud an eminence—a blow given to it simply and solely in consequence of our divisions; and they would point to the downward course which lies before us in other respects, unless the progress of these divisions is to be checked, and their unbrotherly animosities repented of and as-

suaged. They would entreat us to consider whether, through these same divisions, the evangelisation of our Indian empire is not rendered more difficult, and whether the heathendom of our home population is not rendered more unassailable. They would refer us for guidance to the broad principles of the Gospel; and though, where those principles are at stake, they would doubtless encourage us to give place by subjection no not for an hour even to one of Apostolic authority, yet they would also warn us that the danger of misapprehending the truth, except upon points actually determined by the undivided Church, must, when men are heated by mutual opposition, be always great. The spirits of those holy men would combine, I believe, to tell us of these things. Shall we listen to their admonition coming to us from beyond the grave; or, like the simple ones in the Book of Proverbs, turning a deaf ear to the words of wisdom, shall we "set at nought all their counsel, and have none of their reproof"?

It avails not to say more; and I have done. One desire only, in conclusion, would I earnestly express for us all—viz., that when we are to be called hence we may be found in the true faith and love of God, in the true grace of Christ, and in the true fellowship of the Holy Ghost; and that meanwhile, having sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, we may find that in the life to come all the good things which in this life we are not able to conceive, will be added unto us. Amen.

APPENDIX.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Page 45 (1). Archbishop Spottiswoode's testimony in favour of John Knox.—See his Church History, ii. 184.

Ibid. (2). "No one complained more bitterly than Knox himself."—See Knox's History, book iv. A.D. 1562; Works, ii. 310.

Ibid. (3). Speaking of the hasty manner in which the Confession of Faith of 1560 was adopted, Dr Cook writes: "The truth is, that the nobility gratified the ministers as to *doctrine*, that they might more easily gain their object respecting the *patrimony* of the Church."—History of Reform., ii. 333, note. See also Dr M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 71.

Page 46 (4). The sufficiency of Holy Scripture.—When it is said in the text that "the Bible was not—and never was intended to be—an all-sufficient guide under such circumstances," it must not be supposed that I doubt the full sufficiency of Scripture, *properly understood*, upon all points of necessary doctrine; and also upon all points of necessary, or most expedient, practice. For instance, I consider the threefold ministry *at least* highly expedient, and most especially so, out of regard to the *duty of unity;*

and I venture to think that the Scriptural authority of Episcopacy, as the key-stone of that ministry, has been unanswerably demonstrated elsewhere in a volume[1] dedicated to four of the most accomplished Scotch Presbyterian divines, my fellow-labourers in the work of the revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament—a work carried on in the same Jerusalem Chamber which witnessed the labours of the Westminster Assembly (1643-47). But the remark in the text is made out of regard to the facts, (1) that Scripture *cannot* be "properly understood," unless certain conditions which itself prescribes for its right understanding are complied with on the reader's part; and (2) that plain instances can be given where it has *not* been understood, because the said conditions have been disregarded. That a suffering, as well as a victorious Messiah, had been predicted in the Old Testament, *we* can now see most plainly; but the Scribes and Pharisees could not see it; Paul himself, though instructed by Gamaliel, in his time the most learned expounder of the Scriptures, could not see it, before his conversion; for reasons which we all know—viz. (1) they were strongly prejudiced against such a view, as offensive to their national pride; (2) they had lost the true traditional interpretation of the texts which declared it. In like manner, the Covenanters and others could not see Prelacy in the New Testament—though it had been seen most plainly in the Primitive Church, and catholic-minded Christians have been able

[1] 'The Outlines of the Christian Ministry Delineated, and brought to the test of Reason, Holy Scripture, History, and Experience; with a view to the reconciliation of existing differences concerning it, especially between Presbyterians and Episcopalians,' 1872. Also, 'Some Remarks on Bishop Lightfoot's Essay on the Christian Ministry, with reference especially to the Presbyterian Formula required at Ordination of Ministers and Elders, and to Dean Stanley's Sermon, preached at Glasgow, on "the Burning Bush,"' 1879.

A copy of the former work may be obtained as a gift from the author, by any *Presbyterian minister or elder* who may desire to read it, on application to Messrs Grant, Booksellers, 107 Princes Street, Edinburgh; only, if required to be sent by post, sixpence must be paid as postage.

to see it all along—because (1) they were strongly prejudiced against it; (2) they had lost the true traditional interpretation—in other words, the true method of understanding certain texts of the New Testament, which declare it; and declare it, not in connection direct or indirect with the Church of Rome, or, in other words, with Popery —the only view which the Covenanters were able to entertain—but with the Church of Jerusalem, the first-born, and the model of all Churches; which had "James" for its bishop, in the Scriptural and Apostolic age; as we know from a right understanding of certain texts of the New Testament, which have received that interpretation from the beginning, and have received, and *can admit of* no other.—See Outlines of Christian Ministry, pp. 58-70; Remarks on Bishop Lightfoot's Essay, pp. 19-32. And yet even the Westminster divines (so far as I have been able to discover from the published Minutes of the Assembly, together with the several journals of Lightfoot, Baillie, and Gillespie) either were not aware, or dissembled their knowledge, of that interpretation, and also of the early testimonies which unanimously support it.—See Outlines, &c., pp. 77-85.

Page 47 (5). Obligation of continuity.—It may help to explain to the reader what I understand by this expression, if I may be permitted to quote a few words out of letters I received not long since from two Presbyterian clergymen—unknown, I believe, to each other, and known but slightly to me: one an eminent theological professor, the other an esteemed parochial (city) minister; but neither, let me add, of St Andrews or its neighbourhood:—

(1.) "Think of the enormous injury we have done ourselves in Scotland by cutting, as we have done, the ties of our connection and sympathy with the Church of the fifteen centuries preceding the Reformation."

(2.) "Whatever the ecclesiastical changes to take place among us—and great changes must before long ensue—it

is to be hoped that the past will not be disowned and discredited as it was in the course of the sixteenth-century movement. Juster views of what is rightfully due to it, and of the influence it should exert over the present, are beginning to prevail."—See also Dr Tulloch, quoted above, p. 31.

Doubtless there are still too many who have no share in this feeling; who, void of self-distrust, and disregardful of the provision which our complex human nature requires to meet its various wants and aspirations, are thankful to Presbyterianism for having swept away, as it has done for the most part, all such provision in the Church of Christ. Even so able and accomplished a divine as Dr Rainy would appear to be of this class.—See his Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland, 1872, pp. 13, 16. He would still draw the line hard and fast where, as he imagines, the New Testament itself has drawn it, without taking any account of what our own enlightened sense of the τὸ πρέπον may suggest in the practical interpretation of S. Paul's rules: (1) "Let all things be done εὐσχημόνως," 1 Cor. xiv. 40; (2) πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν, 1 Cor. xiv. 26; (3) ἐν ἀγάπῃ—towards the long dead as well as towards the now living, 1 Cor. xvi. 14; (4) "The rest, τὰ λοιπὰ, διατάξομαι, when I come," 1 Cor. xi. 34; see also 2 Thess. ii. 15. But does Dr Rainy's Presbyterianism really include all that the New Testament expressly sanctions and prescribes? I fear not, *e.g.* Confirmation? And does it not include some things which the New Testament does not expressly sanction, *e.g.* infant baptism?—See my Tercentenary Discourse on the Scottish Reformation (second edition, 1863), Appendix, chaps. ii. and iii.

Page 47 (6). Obligation of unity.—Dr Rainy has appended to his Three Lectures &c., a note in which he states his views upon the subject of Church unity. Such a statement, coming from such a quarter, could not but be interesting, and is entitled on every account to receive our

best attention. Indeed, had I been aware of its existence sooner—for I only met with it for the first time a few months ago—I should probably have taken an earlier opportunity of noticing it. It is a satisfaction to learn from it how much we hold in common. He "acknowledges that the *visible* Church ought to be one." He "acknowledges that breaches which interrupt unity imply sin somewhere." He "acknowledges that in proportion as they are recklessly or wantonly made, or maintained under manifestly carnal influences, in the same proportion the guilt of schism is incurred or enhanced." So far, we seem to have obtained all that we could desire. But he "refuses to see unity *only* in unity of constitution." He "maintains that not all unity, not all *visible* unity, has failed even when breaches have taken place which imply sin, and are attended with evil." And we, on our part, most assuredly agree with him upon both these points; we refuse what he refuses, and we maintain what he maintains. Where, then, do we differ, if indeed we do differ? I put the question doubtingly, because in what Dr Rainy proceeds to say he appears to me to be going off the subject, which, as I understand it, is *our practical duty in regard to the confessed obligation of unity.* Whereas what he goes on to urge comes to no more than this—that it is more schismatical to impute schism in the case which he supposes, than it is to be the schismatic. But, strictly speaking, what has this to do with *the obligation of unity?* Our wish is, I suppose, to help one another to see the truth upon that subject; otherwise it would be better to keep silence concerning it.

It is obvious, then, to remark that there are degrees of guiltiness in the failure of this duty. There is, first, the degree which consists in religious separation between Christians, foreigners to each other, and speaking different languages, the guilt of which may be comparatively slight, and in regard to the individuals who have been in no way parties to it, none at all. Next, there is that which consists in separation between fellow-countrymen, speaking the

same language, and subjects of the same civil government. Then there is that which consists in separation between fellow-citizens and fellow-parishioners, which the primitive Christians looked at from the central point of view of a common altar, which implied partaking together of the Communion of the body and blood of their common Lord and Saviour — and, I must add, of the bishop's cathedra. Lastly, there is the degree which consists in separation between members of the same family, related by ties of blood or of affinity to a common hearth. The guilt of these three last degrees will be proportioned, in the case of individuals, by a variety of circumstances; among which is especially to be kept in view the responsibility incurred by those who originally caused the separation, or subsequently have given not only private but public, and not only public but official or ministerial, countenance and encouragement to it.

We are speaking, be it remembered, of an *obligation* which is such because founded confessedly upon the command of God. We see God's commands plainly written in every case; and *visible unity*, I repeat, and Dr Rainy admits, is one of those commands. But we do not see written with equal plainness, except in a very general way, the precise nature and consequence of disobedience. Accordingly, our Church teaches us to pray, generally, to be "delivered from schism;" but she nowhere teaches us particularly in what the sin of schism consists, or what the award which may be expected to follow as its punishment. She tells us, indeed, that "it is evident unto *all men*, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's church—bishops, priests, and deacons;" and she says the same of no other ministry; thereby suggesting to us *how* we may at once fulfil the obligation both of "continuity" and "unity." Further than this—and the statement made in solemn prayer, that God, "of His divine providence, hath appointed," not parity, but

"divers orders in his Church"—she has not gone. But while our Church herself has been thus judicious, thus charitable, her individual members have been often too prone to take upon themselves to determine the sin in question, and to deduce its consequences, with more or less strictness, or more or less laxity, according as their minds have been differently constituted—and sometimes, it must be admitted, with little wisdom and less charity in either case; forgetting the express admonition of our divine Master, "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged." Whether the saintly Bishop Jolly, following the unanimous judgment of ecclesicastical antiquity, erred, as Dr Rainy thinks (p. 22), by too much particularity and too much strictness, when he pointed out the method by which every Christian might be able—and, in his opinion, was *bound*—to avoid the sin of schism, I will not undertake to "judge." But I do not see that Dr Rainy himself has any better, or indeed any other, method to propose. And meanwhile, I may remind him of the counterbalancing statement made in 1872—the same year in which his own Lectures were delivered—by the present Bishop of Edinburgh in a Synodal Address to his Clergy, as follows: "We do not dispute that your members"—he is speaking of Presbyterian ministers—"receive through the sacraments administered by you that which your Church leads them to expect they will receive; nor do we doubt that the Holy Ghost works in the conversion of souls to God in and through your ministry. *It would, in our judgment, be sinful* to doubt this." For myself I have said elsewhere that "I cordially concur in these sentiments."—See Nineteenth Century, May 1878, p. 906.

I hope Dr Rainy will now understand, better perhaps then he did before, what the real position and sentiments —I will not say of individuals among us, but—of our Episcopal Church itself are upon the subject of unity. It is not with our Church a question of "unchurching" or "churching" others—of asserting or denying the validity of non-Episcopal ordinances—but of approving of one

method, and *pro tanto* disapproving of all others, with a view to the avoiding of the sin of schism, and to the obeying of God's command, the obligation of which we both equally acknowledge—the command of *visible unity.* With this view, her dutiful and well-instructed members, while always upholding the fullest right of appeal to the New Testament upon all matters both of faith and practice, are prepared to point to the Creed and the Constitution—not the Creed "alone," or the Constitution "alone"—of the undivided Church of the early centuries, as affording the only basis of unity yet discovered, and consequently as offering the best, if not the only, hope to ourselves of recovering the unity we have lost. And further, while the Reformation in this country produced not so much SCHISM as CHAOS (in which the old Romanised Church of the country ceased to exist as an organised body for nearly a century and a half, *i.e.*, till 1784, when Pope Innocent XII. appointed Dr Thomas Nicolson as the first Vicar Apostolic, with Episcopal jurisdiction), we can point to the fact that the great divines of the Church of England—with whom we take our stand—have always maintained that the repudiation of the usurped dominion of the Church of Rome was not intended for, and did not constitute, on their part, or on the part of the English people, an act of separation from that Church (however much they might feel called upon to *protest* against its corruptions as well as against its aggressions), but rather an act of *restored, confirmed, and improved union with the Catholic Church of the primitive ages* before the overbearing spirit of Rome had caused the division of East and West.

If Dr Rainy can show to us what he considers a better method than this to assist us to fulfil the obligation of visible unity, I will not say that we shall at once accept it upon his recommendation, when we consider the kind and extent of authority upon which our own method rests; but I can say confidently that we shall listen to it with much interest, and gladly give to it our earnest attention.

In the meantime he will, I trust, perceive that there is something more, very much more, in the matter, and involving other and far larger results, than he appears to suppose, when he expresses his "surprise that an honest difference of judgment regarding the number and relation of office-bearers whom Christ appointed to watch over His Church—a difference involving possibly some degree of sin on one side or other—should be conceived to place either party in an exceptional or critical relation to salvation, or to the care of the Great Shepherd."

Dean Stanley, like many others, in his Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, has repeatedly spoken of Episcopalians as "Seceders" (see pp. 149, 169, 172). If by this he means "separatists," he is mistaken. There has been no "separation" on our part. We have been disestablished and disendowed once and again by questionable—because constitutionally incomplete—authority, but we have never separated. The separation of Free Churchmen, as of the Original Seceders and other Dissenters, was their own act—an act doubtless in their own opinion amply justified and fully called for.

Having said this, let me add that I readily join with Dr Rainy in maintaining:—

(1.) That "no [church] institution should be accepted or sanctioned unless it could be made good to the Church's conscience out of God's Word, and set up on that ground, cordially, heartily, and resolvedly" (p. 27)—only I must stipulate that the Church's conscience be well and competently informed.

(2.) That, "if we are to have the Church, then we must have regard to what the Church was meant to be" (p. 27).

(3.) That "if Episcopacy be the right way of it, then we ought to keep it, and organise our Church with bishops; but to put it in working order" (p. 28). Very good advice, which has been much needed heretofore, and more or less is still needed; and the more it is needed the

more we have to lament that Dr Rainy himself and other good Presbyterians are not helping us to carry it into effect.

(4.) That "the Church has to realise its peculiar position and calling by a constant regard both to *truth* and *liberty*, the authority of the Lord being supreme over both; and constant regard both to *purity* and to *charity*, the authority of the Lord being supreme over both" (p. 44 *et seq.*)

(5.) That "the Christian people feel [or ought to feel] that their footing is as good and sure as that of the office-bearers" (p. 51).

(6.) That "as Christians, as Churches, we ought never to forget that first—unconditionally, always first—we have truth to speak, whether men will hear or forbear, and we have a type of life to fulfil, and be, whether men will approve or condemn" (p. 83).

On the other hand, may I not be allowed to request Dr Rainy, as a lover of truth and charity, to reconsider the description which, at p. 94, he gives of Episcopacy, as "*an empirical arrangement*, so doubtful in its evidence that the Scripture proof of it is given up as hopeless by many even of the Episcopalians"! and to compare that description with the words of the greatest divine who has appeared in Western Christendom since the Reformation—Richard Hooker?

"A thousand five hundred years and upwards the Church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of bishops. Neither for so long hath Christianity been ever planted *in any kingdom throughout the world*, but with this kind of government alone."—Ecc. Pol., vii. 1, 4.

"It *clearly appeareth out of Holy Scripture* that Churches Apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of ecclesiastical order: *at the first*, apostles, presbyters, and deacons; and *afterwards*, instead of apostles, bishops."—*Ibid.*, v. 78, 79.

"I may *securely*, therefore, *conclude* that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the same

degrees of ecclesiastical order, namely, bishops, priests, and deacons, which *had their beginning from Christ* and *His blessed Apostles themselves.*"—*Ibid.*, sect. 12.

Page 47 ([7]). Obligation of gratitude.—It is a curious instance of the power which, among his other various gifts, Dean Stanley possesses, of making his imagination domineer over the facts with which he has to deal, that he has not scrupled to write, publish, and republish in a second edition, what follows; he is speaking of the Revolution of 1688: "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."—Four Lectures, &c., p. 24, 2d edit., 1879. The reader will be able to judge of the accuracy of this statement from what he will find below, p. 101, where the subject is again referred to.

Page 49 ([8]). No one acknowledged more fully than Knox himself the assistance received from England. —See his History, ii. 84-87, and compare S. Giles's Lectures, p. 129.

Page 51 ([9]). The people's determination to assimilate England to Scotland by force of arms.— "The Solemn League and Covenant" was framed in Edinburgh, 1643, under the influence of Vane, who had gone thither to induce the Scotch to join the Parliamentary forces against the king; which they did *upon the condition* that England was to accept the same League and Covenant. —Comp. the remarks of Dr Rainy, Three Lectures, p. 39 *et seq.* "The effect was that the nation proved to have pledged itself to a work beyond its strength, and Scotland to a task as much beyond her rights as beyond her strength."

Page 52 ([10]). Mistaken prominence given to the Old Testament.—See Dr Cunningham's Church History, ii.

137. "The Old Testament epoch seemed to have been revived in our country. . . . Religion was dominant in the national mind, but *it was not that of the Gospel;* it was narrow in its notions, and somewhat bitter in its spirit." Again, *ibid.*, p. 255—"The partiality for the Old Testament, *which began immediately after the Reformation,* still continued, and was very characteristic of all the Covenanters." A quotation from the Old Testament lost the battle of Dunbar.—See Lyon's Personal History of King Charles II., 1650-51, p. 78; and comp. Macaulay, Hist., iii. 25, quoted by Dean Stanley, Four Lect., p. 83 *et seq.*

Page 53 (11). OBSERVANCE OF FASTS AND FESTIVALS ABOLISHED.—See First Book of Discipline, chap. i.

Page 54 (12). FOUR ARMIES IN SCOTLAND, EACH MAINTAINING A DIFFERENT CAUSE.—Viz., (1) the Scotch (Presbyterian) army, under General Lesley, for King and Covenant combined; (2) the English (Independent) army, under Cromwell, which was for neither; (3) the Highland army, under General Middleton, which was for the King without the Covenant; (4) the Westland, or ultra-Covenanting army, which was for the Covenant without the King.

Page 55 (13). PRINCIPAL R. BAILLIE'S TESTIMONY TO THE STATE OF THE TIMES.—See his Letters and Journals, ed. 1842, iii. 127.

Page 57 (14). TESTIMONY OF THE COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE STATE OF THE TIMES.—See Balfour's Annals of Scotland, iv. 318-321.

Page 60 (15). FOURFOLD INFLICTION OF DIVINE PUNISHMENT.—See South's Sermon on Isaiah v. 4; Works, iv. 91 *et seq.*

Page 61 ([16]). Conduct of the Breda Commissioners towards Charles II. — See Jaffray's Diary, first published by one of his descendants in 1834. Lyon's Pers. History, p. 30. The Rev. John Livingston, one of the three clerical commissioners, seems to have been conscience-smitten by a similar feeling of remorse. See Lyon, *ibid.*, pp. 20, 29, 41; and comp. Burton, Hist., viii. 20; and Carlyle, there quoted.

Ibid. ([17]). The king's subsequent course of duplicity. —See, for example, his Dunfermline Declaration, Aug. 16, 1650, and his speech in the Parliament of Perth, Nov. same year. Dr Rainy, in reference to the Breda document, though manifestly anxious to make the best of that unhappy period, confesses that "immediate entanglements followed, which got worse and worse, till Scotland was utterly paralysed and bewildered." — Three Lect., p. 40. No king had ever to undergo a more painful contrast than Charles II. underwent in the religious ceremonies of his coronation at Scone, Jan. 1, 1651, and of his coronation at Westminster Abbey, April 23, 1661. It is things like these which ought to lie heavy upon the conscience of a Christian people, and which give so much occasion for the solemn petition of our Litany: "Remember not, Lord, our offences, *nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins*"!

Ibid. ([18]). Fallacy of confounding Popery and Prelacy. — Among the various weapons forged, with little regard to truth and fairness, in order to be used against Episcopacy, there is none that has been employed more frequently or more unscrupulously than the fallacy which represents it as necessarily tending to, or closely allied with, Popery. Whereas the fact is, that even Presbytery itself has not been to it a more fatal enemy. This has been felt and understood so well throughout Eastern Christendom, where Episcopacy was universal from the beginning, that

so far from any token of sympathy or alliance being visible there between it and Popery, the most determined antagonism is to be found between them. On this subject, which is a highly interesting and important one, the reader may see the facts of the case fully, and I trust accurately, stated in my Tercentenary Discourse on the Scottish Reformation, Appendix, chap. v., and in Outlines of the Christian Ministry, pp. 117-136.

Page 63 ([19]). DUNBLANE DIOCESAN SYNODS (1662-88). —See the authentic and complete Report, preserved in the Diocesan Register, which was published in 1877 by Dr John Wilson, the late esteemed parish minister of Dunning.

Ibid. ([20]). TESTIMONY OF THE LATE PRINCIPAL P. C. CAMPBELL OF ABERDEEN IN FAVOUR OF NORTH AMERICAN EPISCOPACY. — "Surely the the visible Church is not always to remain in its present divided condition. . . . In the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, *the admirable constitution of which combines the advantages of Presbytery and Episcopacy,* the lay element is represented and employed in a most wise and efficient manner." —Theory of Lay Eldership, p. 66 *et seq.*

PART II.

Page 69 ([21]). TESTIMONY OF LAWRENCE CHARTERIS, MINISTER OF DIRLETON. — See Grub, Eccles. Hist., iii. 325-327. Charteris had been a friend of Leighton, and was a man of such high and independent character, that he resigned his professorship of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, rather than consent to the Test Act of 1681.

Page 70 ([22]). Bishop Rose's interview with the Prince of Orange.—See his letter to Bishop Campbell, October 1713, first published by Bishop Keith in his historical Catalogue, 1755. In the second edition, 1824, it is to be found, pp. 65-72.

Page 75 ([23]). Article of the Revolution Settlement in favour of Presbyterianism, April 11, 1689.—The reader who wishes to see the accuracy of this article of the Claim of Right fully canvassed may consult Bishop Sage's work, Fundamental Charter, &c., Examined, first published 1695, and reprinted for the Spottiswood Society, 1844. Burton's History, chap. lxxxiii. will also afford sufficient light upon the secular and unconstitutional character of the same settlement.

Page 77 ([24]). See Dr Rainy's Three Lectures, in answer to Dean Stanley, p. 46.

Ibid. ([25]). See Dr Rainy, *ibid.*, p. 49.

Page 80. ([26]). Was Scotland reformed from Popery by Presbyters?—On this point, see Bishop Sage's Fundamental Charter, pp. 98-101.

Ibid. ([27]). Scotland converted from heathenism by bishops.—This subject has been already touched upon above, p. 47. On the facts stated in the text, see Grub's Eccles. Hist., vol. i.: for S. Ninian, p. 12; for S. Palladius, S. Serf, and S. Ternan, pp. 26, 28 *et seq.;* for S. Kentigern, p. 36; for S. Machar, p. 55.

Having mentioned in the text that the first evangelisers of Scotland, even when not bishops themselves (as S. Columba probably was not), were ordained and sent by bishops (as S. Columba was ordained by Finian, Bishop of Clonfert, see Cunningham, Church Hist., i. 54), I may add here that the only reference to Ordination which I have

observed throughout the S. Giles's Lectures (except what is said of Knox's loose sentiments concerning it at p. 139) is as follows: "The superiors of the greater monastic bodies possessed the privilege of wearing the mitre, which carried with it the power of *conferring minor orders on the members:*" therefore not the power of conferring the orders of bishop, priest, or deacon. — See Third Lect., p. 78.

Page 80 ([28]). UNDUE STRINGENCY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SUBSCRIPTION FORMULAS. — I readily admit that upon all points of essential doctrine every Church is fully justified in requiring of its spiritual or *quasi*-spiritual office-bearers a promise that, so long as they retain the office to which she admits them, they will teach only as she prescribes; they will not directly or indirectly attempt to subvert or gainsay what she in her authorised formularies holds to be the truth. But to extend this requirement to questions of Church polity and Church worship is surely inconsistent with high notions of *Christian liberty;* so much so, that our Episcopalian Churches, which attach a much greater relative value to questions of that kind, and are complained of by Presbyterians for so doing (see, for example, Dr Rainy's Three Lectures), have abstained from making it; and however in the past Presbyterians might have thought it excusable as a security against undue or arbitrary influence, they can scarcely any longer avail themselves of such a plea. So long as that requirement remains in its present form, I do not see how Dr Rainy can fairly take us to task upon this score, or claim for Free Churchmen a greater degree of liberality, as he does, when he writes: "We on our side are withheld from erecting any of our *points* into corresponding importance,"—*i.e.*, importance corresponding to that which Episcopalians attach to theirs—"not by any doubt about their authenticity, but by *the view we take of our Lord's way of dealing with men in matters of salvation.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 94.

Now, all I need say in answer to such a boast is this: I should be sorry indeed to see our Episcopal Church attempt to lay a yoke upon the neck of our candidates for orders—upon our lay officers, of all kinds, we lay no yoke at all, except that in some instances we require them to be communicants—such as would be implied in the precise words, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Presbyterian formulas.

The subscription formula of the Church of England, as relaxed since 1866, for all her clergy, is as follows:—

"I, A B, do solemnly make the following declaration: I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority."

Our own Episcopal Church, besides "the form of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles," and "the form promising obedience to the canons" (see App. to Canons, Nos. VIII. and IX.), requires nothing but the promise in the ordination service; "I will give my faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrines and sacraments and discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded and this Church hath received the same."

Our Episcopal sister Church in the United States of America is still more concise and sparing in her requirements: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

In short, it must be said, our Episcopal Church in these days has too much self-respect, too much regard to the just freedom of her ministry, and too much confidence in the soundness of the principles which guided her in adopting

her forms both of Church worship and Church polity, and in the wisdom and authority of the forms themselves, to think of requiring from her clergy—and still less from any of her lay or semi-lay office-bearers—a solemn promise, such as the Established Church and the Free Church of Scotland alike demand from all probationers before receiving licence, and from all office-bearers at the time of their admission, to the effect "that they will not endeavour, *directly* or *indirectly*, the *prejudice* or *subversion*—not only of 'the doctrine,' but 'of the worship, discipline, and government of this Church; renouncing all doctrines, *tenets*, and *opinions whatsoever*, contrary to or inconsistent with the said doctrine, *worship, discipline, and government*.'"

We all know that what forbids every "endeavour" tending to the "prejudice or subversion" of a form or institution, *may be* and *is* construed to forbid every endeavour tending to its correction and amendment, or its adaptation to altered circumstances. That the Presbyterian formula has an evil effect upon the minds of some distinguished members of their ministry, we have seen confessed under their own hands. They consider themselves precluded by that obligation from advocating improvements of which they feel the need in their system. I know of nothing to prevent me from advocating, if I please, the use of extemporaneous prayer; but Dr Rainy, I conceive, must be precluded by his solemn promise from advocating the use of a liturgical service; yet these things, confessedly in his judgment, have nothing to do with "the view taken of our Lord's way of dealing with men in matters of salvation," and ought not therefore to be circumscribed by such barriers.

I cannot conclude these remarks without desiring to remind our Presbyterian brethren, both ministers and elders, that the stringency of which I complain is no proper part of their ecclesiastical system, as derived from the Westminster Assembly—it is a more recent innovation; and in dealing with it, I would venture to plead, their duty

is to go back to the ground taken up by the Assembly, of which an authority so weighty and unexceptionable as Professor Mitchell thus writes, in his valuable Introduction to the publication of the original Minutes in 1874 :—

"Some will have it that English Presbyterianism from its origin was narrow and illiberal. . . . It cannot be denied at least that it led the van and bore the brunt of the battle in the struggle for civil liberty. . . It objected to the gradual tightening of the subscriptions in the English Church, desiring that these *should be limited to the Articles, and to those of them directly relating to matters of faith.* Among its first uses of its victory in 1640 was the abolishing of the Court of High Commission, and setting aside the Canons of Archbishop Laud, that the clergy should bind themselves by oath *never to consent to changes in the government of the Church.* The Westminster divines themselves, *from their earnest desire to form one comprehensive Church, did not require subscription to their Directories for worship and for Church government.*" —P. lxxi, note.

Upon this matter, then—if we look to the forms of subscription now required under Episcopacy and under Presbyterianism—would it not seem that the former is treading in the steps of the liberal Puritans, and the latter in the steps of Archbishop Laud?

The various changes which the Presbyterian forms of subscription have undergone, may be seen in Mr Taylor Innes's Law of Creeds in Scotland, chap. ii.

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