Handbook of the Church of Scotland

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A HANDBOOK

OF

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

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INTRODUCTION.

The object of the following historical sketch is to present briefly, truthfully, and without needless temper, a narrative of the career of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation in 1560 on to the present time; together with a statement of the distinctive principles of its government and constitution; and finally, an account of its present position and missionary work, drawn from official documents. Of late years an organised system of attack has been directed against the Church of Scotland from several quarters, but especially from the so-called Liberation Society, which is annually spending large sums in spreading cheap publications, and getting up public meetings, where statements are circulated of which it is hard to tell whether the uncharitableness or the arithmetical distortion is the more reprehensible. The Liberation Society, although possessing Scottish branches, was originally,

and is still, essentially an English organisation. Its work in Scotland is simply a case of intermeddling, at variance with one of the alleged fundamental principles of letting the Scottish people settle their own ecclesiastical affairs.[1] The friends of the Church of Scotland, however, are quite prepared to defend their Church, and to do so on any line of attack that the enemy may choose—whether the enemy be native or hireling—provided only that fair weapons of fact and argument be employed. Nothing does the Church of Scotland more sincerely invite than a calm study of honest facts and figures in each department of her life and work. She only asks that none of her assailants' statements be accepted until they are tested by some independent or official authority. The position thus assumed is exactly the same as that of the Church of England in its relation to nonconformity. Nonconformist and Liberation portraits of the English Church are in nineteen out of twenty cases caricatures and slanders.

The representations made in the following pages claim no official or representative character. The writer occupies a standpoint identical with neither of the two leading parties in the Church. Devoted to the Church with my whole heart and hereditarily (my lineal ancestor left his land beside the Kirk of Shotts, and fought as one of the picked guard of 300 at Bothwell Bridge under Hackston), I pray God to bless my effort on behalf of the noblest of our Scottish institutions. May no weapon formed against it prosper!

[1] As a proof that the Liberation Society is English and not Scottish, appeal is made to the sources of its income for 1878, which was above £15,000, of which Bradford gave £3536, London £1521, Manchester £1345, Bristol £485, Ashton-under-Lyne £216, Leicester £165, Glasgow £129, Norwich £119, Nottingham £91.—Blackwood's Magazine for Sept. 1878.

CHAPTER I.

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

In setting forth the story and position of the Church of Scotland, it is unnecessary to allude in detail to the ecclesiastical state of the country previous to the Reformation, because the uniformity of the Church of Rome made ecclesiastical matters substantially the same here as in England, France, or Germany. Probably the chief difference lay in the more open licentiousness and worldliness of some of our prelates, like Cardinal Beaton, and in the irritation arising from the extreme degree to which ecclesiastical wealth in the double system of churches and monasteries overshadowed the secular wealth of the country.

Three Constituents of Reformation.—The Reformation of the Church in Scotland was consummated on the 24th August 1560 by the Scottish Parliament. The gist of what was done on that momentous day consisted in three particulars: (1) Sanctioning of a certain new Creed or Confession of Faith; (2) Abolition of the Mass; (3) Abolition of Papal jurisdiction in Scotland. This Confession of Faith is important as the earliest such document in Scotland in the Reformed Church, and as received at once by Parliament—in fact, at their own special request, having been drawn up by

the chief reforming clergymen. The work was done in four days, and was approved by Parliament on the 17th, whereas the other two were on the 24th August.

Character of the Confession of Faith of 1560.—The Confession is thus favourably criticised by Tytler: "It is a clear summary of Christian doctrine grounded on the Word of God. On most essential points it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances uses the very words of, the Apostles' Creed and the Articles of the Church of England, as established by Edward VI." Principal Lee (Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. V.) says: "It corresponds in its general features with the Confessions which had previously been published by the other Churches of the Reformation, but it is not copied from any of them. . . . It is much simpler and more perspicuous in its structure than the Confession of the Swiss Church, from which the Scottish Reformers might have been expected to borrow more liberally than from any other, as this was the form of words with which Knox was most familiar, and to which he had already expressed his adherence. . . . It is not unworthy of notice that the composition is extremely correct, being in this respect far superior to the Catechism published only eight years before by Archbishop Hamilton." Edward Irving, after analysing the Confession of 1560, says of it: "I now dismiss this document with the highest encomium which I am capable of bestowing upon a work of fallible man. It hath been profitable to my soul and to my flock. For several years I was in the habit of reading it twice in the year to my people. . . . Its doctrine is sound, its expression is clear, its spirit is large and liberal, its dignity is personal and not dogmatic, and it is all redolent with the unction of holiness and truth."—(Quoted by Duke of Argyll on "Disestablishment.")

The First Book of Discipline.—So early as the 29th April 1560 (nearly four months previous to the legalising of the Reformation), a commission was given by the great Council of Scotland to five distinguished Churchmen to draw up a "Book of Discipline"—viz., Knox, Spottiswood, Winram, Willock, and Row, added to whom, at the subscribing of the completed work, was Douglas—all six bearing the same Christian name of John. The title-page runs: "The First Book of Discipline, or the Policie and Discipline of the Church, drawn up by Mr John Winram, &c., . . . and presented to the Nobilitie anno 1560, and afterwards subscribed by the Kirk and Lords." It has the peculiarity of having been accepted by the General Assembly, but not by the Parliament, as the Confession of Faith had been. But appended to it are thirty-three of the best and noblest names in Scotland of that day, headed by James, Duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, followed by the Earl of Argyle and the Good Regent Murray. These signed it in their individual capacity, but the number and quality of the names in point of weight fall little short of formal Parliamentary sanction. The signing was accompanied by a condition alike kindly and statesmanlike, "Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men which els have adjoined themselves to us, bruik [retain] the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers as herein is specified, for the preaching of the Word and ministering of the Sacraments." The First Book of Discipline occupies about 56 octavo pages, while the Second (agreed on in 1578) has the merit of having only about 20. It is a great defect of every one of these early documents that they enter far too much into

regulation of every detail, and on account of this tediousness have never been much read, at least popularly. For our purpose here, the important part of the First Book of Discipline is that which deals with the official persons who were to do the work of God in the new system. The striking feature is, that we are not presented with a fine-spun theory drawn, or supposed to be drawn, from the New Testament, but with a plan confessedly temporary and imperfect, to tide over the difficulties of the period, and ripen in due time to something better. The official persons of the Church were the five following: ministers, readers, superintendents, elders, deacons.

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

Reader.—The reader was an interim substitute for a fully-trained clergyman, so long as these were scarce. He did not baptise, or marry, or celebrate

the communion, but in certain cases he conducted the ordinary service of the church—a matter then more easy, inasmuch as a printed prayer-book was in regular use. In dealing with Scripture the reader was allowed to add a few words explanatory or hortative; but he was cautioned not to be too long, nor to attempt preaching, properly so called. A trace of this early office still meets us in the popular name of *lectern* or *lettern*, applied to the precentor's desk. The office itself still survives in the Swiss Church, and partly in the Church of England, where the lessons are often read by laymen. A large proportion of our country churches, for some time after the Reformation, had readers only who were also the first schoolmasters. In 1581 their abolition was voted by the General Assembly, but they lingered on long in many remote places.

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

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

at a time. The main question as to these superintendents is as to their relation to bishops. The name is evidently a translation of ἐπίσκοπος (overseer), bishop being the word itself without translation. Also the duties are kindred to episcopal—viz., charge of a number of churches and churchmen in a given district, together with more ample income (but still very small). There the resemblance ends; it fails in all that is most essential in either Roman or Anglican bishops. (1) It was confessedly a temporary expedient. (2) There was no special consecration beyond that of ordinary ministers; and one of the five superintendents (Erskine of Dun) was only a layman when appointed, being a well-educated and devout country gentleman. (3) They were liable to be called to account by the General Assembly, which was composed only of ordinary ministers and elders. In point of fact, the superintendents were not very useful or successful, but the plan was one that seemed very reasonable for setting the new ecclesiastical machinery in motion.[1]

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

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

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

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

Early General Assemblies.—Some of the details of the early meetings of the General Assembly are remarkable. The custom was to meet *twice* a-year, in June and December, the December meeting being on the 25th—Christmas-day—expressly to thwart observance of it according to Roman usage. At the first General Assembly, on December 20, 1560, there were only 42 members, of whom only 6 are named as ministers. The first 7 Assemblies had no President or Moderator. It was on Christmas 1563 that it was first agreed to have a Moderator in future. Nor was there at first any definite mode of calling an Assembly. The fourth General Assembly, in June 1562, consisted only of 5 superintendents and 32 other members. In June 1563 an Assembly met at Perth. These very meagre meetings tell their own tale as to the absence of postage for sending messages to distant clergymen, and as to the difficulty and cost of travelling—not to speak of danger—in the unsettled state of the country. Most of all, these thin meetings indicate that there were many parishes yet altogether unprovided with minis-

ters. No proportion was as yet fixed as to ministers' and elders' seats. Apparently, barons and lairds were allowed to sit, simply on the ground of property and friendliness to the new order of things.

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

The Lord's Supper.—The communion was to be celebrated at least four times a-year. Knox's Liturgy prescribes "once a-month."

The regular Sunday Services.—The regular Sunday services consisted of two meetings—the one beginning at 8 A.M., and the other in the early afternoon for

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

Book of Common Order.—The Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy) was used in Scotland in 1559, or even earlier (before the Reformation). Its use was enjoined in 1562 by the General Assembly, especially for the sacraments, marriage, and burial. In 1564 it was enlarged and improved, when the Assembly "ordained that every minister, exhorter, and reader shall have one of the Psalm-books lately printed in Edinburgh, and use the Order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments." It remained in use in this form from 1564 to 1645. The use of a prayer-book in the Church of Scotland for the long period of 85 years at its commencement is a historical fact somewhat overlooked in later days.

Outline of the Political History of the Period.—Such was the nature and position of the Church of Scotland at its origin, and for some time after. But the early difficulties of the Church can be appreciated only in connection with some outline of contemporary political history. A chief cause of the plots and changes characteristic of the period was the fact that two regencies came comparatively close together—the first in the youth of Mary, whose father, James V., died very shortly after her birth at Linlithgow in 1542. Again, James VI., Mary's son, was crowned at Stirling in 1567, when he was only one year old—his mother having been forced to resign already in her 25th year. These weaknesses of the throne opened the way to the schemes and rivalries of barons already too turbulent and powerful for good subjects. At the date when the

Reformation was achieved (24th August 1560), Mary of Guise, widow of James V. and mother of Mary Stuart, was regent; and the Reformation itself in one aspect was a revolution,—a seizure of all power, civil and ecclesiastical, by a crowd of feudal barons in revolt against the lawful regent, whom they deposed—and practically in revolt also against the girl queen herself, whom they expected to turn as they pleased. At the end of the Reformation year (6th December) Mary's husband, Francis II. of France, died at Orleans, and Mary very early and properly made up her mind to quit the fair land of France, much as she loved its people and ways, and betake herself to that smaller and ruder land where she was queen in her own right. Accordingly, she arrived at Leith 19th August 1561, only in her 19th year. Her reception was joyous and sincere. But matters soon changed, more through the fault of her nobles than of herself. The queen's personal talent for government was very great—as eminent, perhaps, as her beauty and accomplishments; but the divergence between queen and nobles as to creed, and the intrigues of the nobles among themselves and with Queen Elizabeth of England, rendered it impossible for Mary Stuart to follow any quiet and consistent policy. In fact, she never had a fair chance as a queen. After a great deal of scheming and counter-scheming as to a proper match for the queen, at last, on 29th July 1565, she was married to Lord Darnley, one of her own subjects, but partly of royal blood—the queen being now 23, and her husband 19. This was the first great mistake made by Mary, who was one of the cleverest women of the age, independent of her rank, while Darnley was an incorrigible fool of a boy, silly and jealous, and made worse by his royal alliance. The crisis both of folly and crime came when Mary's Italian secretary, David Riccio, was foully mur-

dered, clinging for refuge to the queen's dress, on 6th March 1566—not a year after the marriage. In this assassination Darnley was a leading spirit, his dagger being left in the poor secretary's body. Blood leads to blood, and the next victim was Darnley himself, whose death was compassed by a "band" of nobles who despised him for his silliness and hated him for his rank. He was got rid of at Kirk-of-Field, near Edinburgh, 10th February 1567, only a year and a half after his marriage. For this conspiracy, murder, and treason, the Earl of Bothwell was brought to trial within a month, but on 12th April acquitted. To this unprincipled earl the queen was actually married on the 15th May 1567—*i.e.*, only three months and five days after Darnley's tragic death. One party says the queen was in collusion with Bothwell when she was carried off, and therefore grossly guilty. The other party says her seizure by Bothwell was pure violence and treason, and the queen an unwilling victim. Whichever it was, the wretched union lasted only one month exactly, for on the 15th June the queen parted from Bothwell, and surrendered to the confederate lords at the head of their troops on Carberry Hill. By the confederate lords she was immediately sent prisoner to Lochleven, where she was forced to sign papers of resignation—her half-brother (illegitimate) Murray being appointed regent 12th August 1567, and her son James, a child of one year old, being crowned king at Stirling.

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

The regency of Murray, which began 12th August

1567, lasted only till 1570, when, on 23d January, he was assassinated at Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. In July 1570 the Earl of Murray was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Lennox (who belonged to the king's party); but Lennox was shot in the High Street of Stirling the very next year, when the regency passed to the Earl of Mar, who died the next year again, 1572, and was succeeded by the Earl of Morton, who continued from 1572 to 1578, when he resigned. Meanwhile the castle of Edinburgh was held in the interest of the captive queen, but in 1573 was taken, and the governor, Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange (one of Cardinal Beaton's murderers) was hanged. Before this, on 24th November 1572, Knox had died.

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

Provisions of the Concordat.—The Concordat at Leith, where the king's party was encamped, took place during a period of civil war and great disorder. The meeting of clergy was called a Convention only, and not a General Assembly. A committee of this Convention met with a committee of the Privy Council, and entered into an arrangement as to Church dignities "that the names and titles of archbishops and bishops are not to be altered or innovate, nor yet the bounds of the dioceses confounded; but to stand and continue in time coming as they did before the reformation of religion—at least to the king's majesty's majority, or consent of Parliament." It was provided further "that there be a certain assembly or chapter of learned ministers annexed to every metropolitan or cathedral seat." It was provided also that archbishops and bishops should have no further jurisdiction in spiritual matters than the superintendents had exercised "until the same be agreed upon;" also,

"that all archbishops and bishops be subject to the Kirk and General Assembly thereof *in spiritualibus*, as they are to the king *in temporalibus*.

Reluctantly confirmed by Assembly at Perth.—These arrangements came up for final consideration at a General Assembly held in Perth in 1572, when they were agreed to hesitatingly and temporarily—especially stipulating that the names archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, chapter, "slanderous and offensive to the ears of many," should be changed into others, and that the whole be only "interim until further and more perfect order be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty's regent and nobility."

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

The Concordat an Intrigue and Surprise.—This Concordat was an intrigue managed by Morton and the intended archbishop John Douglas, Provost of New

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

Andrew Melville leads the Struggle against it. — As Knox was the leading Churchman in the early Reformation period (1560-1572), when the First Book of Discipline represented the Church's views, so Andrew Melville was the leading Churchman in this later period, when the Church's views were represented by the Second Book of Discipline. Melville was one of those men of whom any Church might have been proud — one of the most accomplished scholars of that energetic age when everywhere, almost, the men of the highest learning were arrayed on the side of the new doctrine. In 1574 Melville returned from the Continent, where during ten years he had both diligently travelled and studied, and enjoyed the closest personal intercourse with the leading literati of the great Continental universities, Paris, Poitiers, Geneva. His fame at once procured for him the high office of Principal of the University of Glasgow, and afterwards of St Andrews.

Committee of Assembly 1575 defines Bishop as in First Book of Discipline.—A report made to the Assembly of

1575 by a committee of six members, chosen three from each side, bore that they were unanimously of opinion that the name *bishop* rightly belonged to every minister who had the charge of a flock, but that out of these some might be chosen to oversee such reasonable districts as might be assigned them beside their own congregations; to appoint ministers, elders, and deacons in destitute places; and to administer discipline with the consent of the clergy and people. This is simply an adherence to the old idea of superintendent. In 1578 a nearer approach was made to the later Presbyterian system by prohibiting territorial names or titles to bishops, and restricting them to their own proper names.

Assembly of 1580 declares Bishop's Office unlawful.—In 1580 no remnant was left at all: "The whole Assembly of the Kirk, in one voice, found and declared the pretended office of a bishop to be unlawful, having neither foundation nor warrant in the Word of God, and ordained all such persons as brooked the said office to demit the same as an office to which they were not called by God, and to cease from preaching the Word and administering the sacraments till they should be admitted anew by the General Assembly, under pain of excommunication." This measure of excessive rigour was submitted to by all the bishops except five.

The Five Acts ("Black Acts") violently replace Episcopacy, 1584. — Years of Court plots and struggles ensued, which culminated in 1584 in a series of five Acts passed by the Parliament, and known popularly as the Black Acts — not only replacing Episcopacy, but securing it by severe penal sanctions. By these Acts "the refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, the pretending an exemption from the authority of the civil courts, the attempting to

diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three Estates in Parliament, were declared to be high treason. The holding assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's permission or appointment; the uttering, either privately or publicly, in sermons or in declamations, any false and scandalous reports against the king, his ancestors, or ministers—were pronounced capital crimes."—Robertson, Hist. of Scot., Book VI. These Acts were passed without knowledge or consent of the Church, in a meagre Parliament, overawed by Arran, the king's favourite for the time. Many of the clergy fled from the kingdom at once, especially the ministers of Edinburgh.

Compromise in 1586.—This royal violence was soon seen to be dangerous to the throne, and a compromise between the Council and clergy was effected and ratified in the General Assembly of 1586.

Temporalities of Sees annexed to the Crown, 1587.—In 1587 an Act was passed by the Estates annexing the temporalities of all the bishopries to the Crown, a proceeding that practically uprooted Episcopacy by leaving mere names without corresponding revenues; and the sacrilegious plunder was mostly squandered among needy and greedy courtiers.

Extravagant Presbyterian Speech of the King.—In 1590, in the General Assembly, the king made an extravagant speech in praise of the Church, now thoroughly Presbyterian. The speech is more damaging to the king's reputation (considering the general character of his policy during a long reign) than almost anything he ever said or did. We can only pity him as an inconsistent time-server. "He fell forth praising God that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the Gospel; to such a place as to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world. The Kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule: what have

they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil-said Mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."

The King veers again, 1596.—This sunshine of royal favour actually lasted four years; but in 1596 Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, lost the king's favour, and from that point there was nothing too small or bitter that the king could do to avenge himself on Bruce and his Church.

The Second Book of Discipline: its Contents.—The Second Book of Discipline, which originated at this period, deserves some special notice. The copy here used is a treatise of 20 octavo pages, divided into 13 chapters, of which the titles are: "1. Of the Kirk and policie thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the civil policie; 2. Of the policie of the Kirk, and persons and office-bearers to whom the administration is committed; 3. How the persons that have ecclesiastical functions are to be admitted to their office; 4. Of the office-bearers in particular, and first of the pastors or ministers; 5. Of doctors and of their office, and of the schooles; 6. Of elders and their office; 7. Of the elderships, assemblies, and discipline; 8. Of the deacons and their office, the last ordinary function in the Kirk; 9. Of the patrimonie of the Kirk, and distribution thereof; 10. Of the office of a Christian magistrate in the Kirk; 11. Of the present abuses remaining in the Kirk, which we desire to be reformed; 12. Certain special heads of reformation which we desire; 13. The utilitie that should flow from this reformation to all estates."

Arrangement of Ecclesiastical Offices.—Thus, whereas there were five offices under the First Book, now there are only four—superintendent and reader are dropped, and we have minister (or bishop), doctor (or teacher), elder (or presbyter), and deacon. Perhaps the weak point here is the introduction of doctor or teacher.

The doctor was a University professor or teacher of the higher order, and the proper dignity and use of schools of learning was a great feature of the Reformed Church; but it was awkward to class them alongside purely ecclesiastical offices.[1] As yet the modern Church courts of Presbyterianism were not fully distinguished. Nowhere in the Second Book of Discipline is a claim made for Presbytery as a divine institution; the highest claimed for it is conformity to Scripture, but not that it is the only thing conformable. When minister (or bishop) and elder (or presbyter) are held as two offices, each distinct from that of deacon, this is not inconsistent with the view accepted by the best modern critics of the New Testament, that originally bishop and presbyter were synonymous and convertible terms; but the duality is adopted as a matter of practical convenience to distinguish those bishops or presbyters who *both* teach and rule, from other bishops or presbyters who rule *only*, according to what is said in 1 Timothy v. 17—"Let the elders that rule well be counted

[1] The teacher or doctor, it ought to be added, retains a like place in the "Form of Presbyterial Church government and of ordination of ministers agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," and approved by the General Assembly in 1645. It is also vigorously defended, both in theory and practice, as an ecclesiastical office, by so sound an authority as Principal Lee, Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. XIV.

worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine."

Probably an improvement would have been to have confined the synonymous words bishop and presbyter to the minister or pastor as now understood, and to have named our present lay elder or *ruling* (as distinguished from teaching and preaching) elder by the name of deacon—thus more clearly bringing out the twofold office in the Christian Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF PRESBYTERY SUCCESSFUL AT GLASGOW IN 1638, AND FINALLY AT THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Restoration of Episcopacy. — When we start again from the date of 1596, we enter on a long period of struggle, divided into two parts. The first was from 1596 to 1638, at which point Presbytery was triumphant in the National Covenant, and in the General Assembly at Glasgow, in which Alexander Henderson was Moderator. The second was from 1638, through the darkest period of both our ecclesiastical and civil history under Cromwell and Charles II., to the Revolution of 1688. The whole period is really one struggle of Presbytery with the alien system of English Episcopacy. While James VI. acceded to the English throne in 1603, the formal restoration of Episcopacy took place in 1606—as usual, not national, but simply royal and arbitrary.

The Five Articles of Perth, 1618.—In 1618 the Five Articles of Perth were issued. These articles were in substance as follows: 1. Enjoining kneeling at communion; 2. Permitting communion in private houses in case of sickness; 3. Permitting private baptism on necessary cause; 4. Enjoining the confirmation by the bishop of children eight years old; 5. Orders for observing as holy-days Christmas-day,

Good Friday, Easter-day, Ascension, and Whitsunday, with abstinence from business and attendance on worship.

Accession of Charles I., 1625.—The death of James in 1625, and the accession of his son Charles I., brought no relief to Scotland. The chief difference lay in Charles being more English and less Scottish than his father, and accordingly, through ignorance of the national taste and temper, more apt to form unworkable plans, and persist in them.

Laud's Liturgy rejected, 1637.—An effectual check was given to all his scheming and obstinacy by the popular outbreak on the 23d July 1637 in St Giles's, when the alien English Liturgy was attempted to be introduced. The form of the check by stool-throwing in church was violent and irreverent; but it indicated how deep and general was the disapproval of the king's ecclesiastical tyranny, that what began so vulgarly went on till it ended not only in a change of Church but a change of dynasty.

National Covenant, 1638.—On 28th February 1638 began the signing of the National Covenant in Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. The first signature was that of the old Earl of Sutherland—the whole congregation followed; then in the churchyard, on a flat stone, the signing went on for days. The enthusiasm for signing spread over the country.

Solemn League and Covenant, 1643.—Five years later came the Solemn League and Covenant, which was everyway inferior to the National Covenant, being more narrow and less spontaneous, especially objectionable in being forced in England in order to spread Presbyterianism there, where it was never generally or even widely desired.

Origin of the present Standards of the Church of Scotland.—This same period is remarkable as giving

to Scotland those books that have ever since served as our standards of doctrine and government—the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory of Public Worship. By far the most influential of these has been the most unpretending—the Shorter Catechism — which substantially in its doctrinal part follows the school of St Augustin.

Our Metrical Psalter.—To the same influence we also owe our present Metrical Psalter, by Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, and lay member of the Westminster Assembly. The Psalter was authorised for Scotland by the General Assembly and Commission of Estates in 1650.

The Westminster Assembly.—The Westminster Assembly, whose name is so familiar in Scottish Church history, was constituted by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons of England on 12th June 1643, "that such a government should be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad." The Assembly consisted of 10 peers, 20 members of the Commons—as lay assessors—and 121 clergymen, with Dr Twiss as prolocutor or president; and its meetings were held in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, and conducted on the model of Parliament itself.

Scots Commissioners.—Commissioners from Scotland were invited to attend the discussions. The clerical commissioners were—Baillie, Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie. Robert Douglas was also named, but did not attend. The lay commissioners were—Johnston of Warriston, Lord Cassilis, Lord Maitland (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale). To these were added Argyle, Balmerinoch, and Loudon, with Robert Meldrum and George Winram.

The Westminster Confession in its Character and Sources. —"The Westminster Confession has taken a firm hold upon the mind of all Presbyterian Churches, not only in Scotland, but throughout the world. And this arises not from its embodiment in statutes of any kind, but from the sources of its own inspiration, and the place which these occupy in the history of religious thought. It is not peculiarly Scotch, nor is it distinctively Presbyterian. There is only a small and comparatively insignificant portion of it which is marked by the influence of local and temporary circumstances. A learned and able defender of it in recent times has said with truth (Lect. on the Westminster Confession, by Prof. Mitchell, D.D., of St Andrews: Edinburgh, 1876): 'It is lined and scored with the marks of conflict, but the deepest and the broadest lines are those which run through all the Christian ages, and which appear distinctly either in the creeds of the early councils or in the writings of the greatest of the Latin Fathers, or which, if they are not found so prominently there, appear broad and deep in the teaching both of the Greek and of the Latin Church, and of the ablest theologians of the middle ages.' It is to this fundamental coincidence with the main stream of Christian teaching that it owes its strength and the hold it has acquired over so large an extent of Christian ground. A corresponding width of interpretation must be given to it. This may be gathered from its history as well as from its words. It was not drawn upon the model of the old native Scotch Confession, but on the model of the Articles of the Church of England. And the amplification which it makes of these articles is one which did not come from any Scotch or Presbyterian hands, but mainly from the hands of one of the most eminent divines of the Episcopal Church, Archbishop Ussher.

It represents his view, not of any local or provincial controversy, but of the sum and substance of the reformed doctrine."—Duke of Argyll, "Disestablishment," Contemporary Review, January 1878.

Discontinuance of Book of Common Order.—It is to the period and influence of the Westminster Assembly that we have to trace the discontinuance of Knox's Liturgy. It was not forbidden, but simply dropped, possibly as a Scottish sacrifice to counterbalance the English sacrifice in passing by the English Prayer-Book. In 1641 a proposal to revise the Book of Common Order and to prepare a catechism was referred to Alexander Henderson, who replied, "Nor could I take upon me either to determine some points controverted, or to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm-Book, penned by our great and divine Reformer."—Hill Burton, History of Scotland, vi. 115.

Restoration of Monarchy, 1660.—Although Charles II. was crowned at Scone in 1651, the monarchy was in abeyance for a period of eleven years, counting from the execution of Charles I. in 1649 to the triumphal entry of Charles II. into London, 29th May 1660.

Rescissory Act restoring Episcopacy, 1661.—In 1661 the Scottish Parliament passed the Rescissory Act, which at one stroke annulled the legislation of the last twenty years, covering the time of the Commonwealth and Civil wars. This Act virtually made return to Episcopacy, so that monarchy and Episcopacy came back together. After bishops had been procured, consecrated, and seated in the Scottish Parliament, severities against the Presbyterians, who formed the great bulk of the nation, especially in the centre and south and west of Scotland, went on steadily increasing. In 1662 signing of the Covenants was declared to be treasonable, yet the Covenant had been subscribed (reluctantly, it is true) by Charles

himself in 1650, when Presbyterian support was of use to him. Another Act of 1662 required that clergymen then in office should remain only on condition of receiving fresh presentation from the lawful patron, and institution from the bishop. From 1649 to 1660 patronage had been in abeyance, and ministers had been elected by kirk-sessions.

Privy Council at Glasgow, 1662. — On 1st October 1662 a Privy Council held at Glasgow declared all parishes would be vacant whose ministers had not submitted to the bishops before 1st November.

300 Ministers outed.—Nearly 300 left their benefices rather than go against their consciences. This was the origin of the subsequent field-preachings or conventicles. The Glasgow Privy Council was presided over by the Earl of Middleton as Lord High Commissioner; and he and his Council, both at Glasgow and Ayr, in daily and nightly drunkenness, more resembled heathen Bacchanals than anything even remotely kindred to Christianity. The 300 outed ministers were replaced by the poorest creatures ever known as clergy in Scotland — illiterate, juvenile, drunken, unchaste. This evil of unfitness in character and training was increased by their subserviency and cruelty in generally acting as spies and informers on their own parishioners who were Presbyterian, guiding the savages who marched about the country under the name of soldiers.[1]

[1] It would be very wrong to employ language so condemnatory of a large body of clergy unless the evidence were specially clear. One of the leading authorities is Bishop Burnet. In his 'History of his Own Time' (i. 260), he says: "They were generally very mean and despicable in all respects, the worst preachers I ever heard, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who were above

Military Commanders during the Persecution of Covenanters.—During this long persecution the soldiery were successively under three commanders—viz., Sir James Turner, General Sir Thomas Dalziel, and John Graham of Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee). Dalziel had served as a soldier of fortune in Russia, and it was he who introduced the Russian barbarity of the thumb-screw into Scotland. Claverhouse was a man of a much higher type than Dalziel, who joined refinement and a certain kind of chivalry to ability and diligence, but who reserved his good qualities for those who stood on one side of the line that separated Presbytery from Episcopacy. Measured by unsophisticated popular feeling, the number of executions, and the cold-bloodedness of the circumstances, Claverhouse was the most hateful of the three tools of tyranny.

In January 1664 the king erected a Court of High Commission to deal with ecclesiastical affairs; but it proved so violent and provocative, even in the estimate of Charles, that he suppressed it in a year.

Affairs of Dalry and Rullion Green, 1665.—On 12th November 1665, at Dalry in Galloway, a few men overpowered some soldiers, marched to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir J. Turner, then marched with increasing numbers to Lanark, Bathgate, Colinton, Pentland, and Rullion Green, where, 28th November, an engagement took place, the king's troops being led by Sir T. Dalziel. The insurgents, a mere mob of 900, were easily defeated and dispersed with 45 slain and 100 captured.

Torture of Neilson and M'Kail.—John Neilson, Laird of Corsack, and Hugh M'Kail, preachers, were put to the

contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy in Scotland, of which few of the bishops seemed to have any sense."

torture of the "boot," in presence of Lord Rothes, successor of the drunken Middleton. The execution of Neilson and M'Kail was a special barbarity, allowed to go on by the Archbishop of Glasgow even after a letter received from Charles directing the severities to cease for the present. The captives were hanged in groups of 10 and 7 and 16.

The Assertory Act, 1669: the King's absolute Supremacy.—On 10th November 1669 was passed the Assertory Act, declaring the king inherently supreme over all persons and in all causes, the aim of the Act being to shorten the road of Covenanters to execution. The severities of special legislation, however, only had the effect of making field-meetings more frequent, bolder, and larger.

Conventicle Act.—This was resented by a fresh Act in July 1670 against conventicles, whereby any man might be forced to reveal about them on oath, and every preacher at them was to be punished with death and confiscation. Another Act construed into crime every baptism performed by an outed minister.

Compulsory Church-attendance.—Still another Act made criminal simple absence from church (*i.e.*, from the Episcopal service) on three successive Sundays. These Acts were enforced in part by means of fines; and the spoliation that went on may be judged from the single specimen of the small county of Renfrew, where in a few years fines amounted to £368,000 Scots—a sum then so ruinous and impossible that the Government, with all its ferocity and rapacity, was forced to compound.

Letters of Intercommuning, 1675.—In 1675 letters of intercommuning (*i.e.*, of civil excommunication) were issued against about 100 persons, whose fault lay in their Presbyterianism when the king had ordered all to be Episcopalian. This intensely personal form of

vindictiveness recalls heathen Rome in the proscriptions under Marius and Sulla. Christian men on whose heads a price was thus put, and whose lives were in daily peril from informers, could hardly fail to become reckless. Moreover, men in office who were themselves only legalised murderers and assassins, were hardly entitled to expect consideration from a populace whom they had made desperate.

Case of Mitchell: Perjury of his Judges.—A glimpse of the depraved character of the highest councillors of the kingdom is seen in the case of Mitchell, a small Edinburgh shopkeeper, who had fired a pistol at Archbishop Sharpe when entering his carriage. On mere suspicion, Mitchell was arrested, tried, and tortured. There was no proof but his own confession. A solemn promise of indemnity was made to the man, yet he was tried over again through the urgency of the Archbishop, and condemned and executed—the four judges (Lauderdale, Rothes, Hatton, and Sharpe) all joining in an express and public act of *perjury* in order to clear the way to the scaffold. They denied on oath a promise which stands to this day in the Records of the Scottish Privy Council.

Ravages of the Highland Host, 1678.—In 1678 the west of Scotland had 10,000 soldiers let loose on it, of whom 6000 were Highlanders. Their work was intended to be one of desolation, and was so pitiably sweeping that the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Athole and Perth went to London at the risk of their lives to remonstrate with the king. They succeeded, and the Highland host was recalled.

Murder of Archbishop Sharpe.—On 3d May 1679 a small party of outlawed Covenanters committed a great crime and blunder in assassinating Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Moor. They did unspeakable damage to their cause, by confounding base murder with

noble resistance to tyranny. Above all, they raised sympathy with the murdered Archbishop, who, had he been allowed to die in natural course, would have come down to posterity as one of the most mercenary, cruel, perjured, and unpatriotic of all Scotsmen.

Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, 1679.—On 29th May 1679 (anniversary of the king's restoration) a declaration amounting to rebellion was made at Rutherglen by certain of the more desperate of the Presbyterian party, after which they proceeded to Hamilton, and then to Drumclog, while Graham of Claverhouse was marching from Glasgow in pursuit. They met on 1st June, when Claverhouse was worsted, and above 20 of his troopers were left dead on Drumclog Moor. The victorious rebels marched to Glasgow, and after a useless skirmish with the military there, returned to Hamilton, being from 4000 to 5000 strong. There they lay till, on 22d June, the Duke of Monmouth (one of the king's natural sons), coming from England with fresh troops, attacked them at Bothwell Bridge and utterly defeated them. The only real fighting was on the bridge itself, which was defended by Hackston with a picked guard of 300, who fought for some time with the butt-ends of their muskets after ammunition failed. It was a sore fight for the Covenanters, as 400 were killed in the flight and 1000 surrendered as prisoners. The place is still shown alongside the Hamilton and Bothwell road where the prisoners were forced to lie flat on the moor all night previous to their march to Edinburgh and confinement for months in the walled graveyard of Greyfriars', under the open sky, and with guards posted along the walls, ready to shoot down every fugitive.

The three Indulgences. — Fully a month after the battle an Act of Indemnity was passed, but to little purpose. This was the third indulgence of a somewhat

similar kind during the long-continued atrocities of Charles. The first was in 1669, after the Rullion Green affair, and the second was in 1672, when about eighty ejected ministers returned on humiliating conditions. These indulgences cannot be interpreted in favour of the good sense or moderation of the king, because the severities immediately preceding and especially following each, indicate too surely the same line of policy.

The Society-men.—After the date of Bothwell Bridge we trace the rise of the most extreme section of the Covenanters under the various names of Society-men, Cameronians, Hillmen, and Wild Whigs. It was they who, as stormy petrels, heralded the coming crisis of the great Revolution in 1688. While others contented themselves with murmurs or groans under the tyranny of Charles, the Society-men took the bold and headlong plan of publicly declaring the perjuries and oppressions of Charles to be so shameful that he could no longer be counted a sovereign worthy of obedience, and that the throne ought to be held as vacant. One of the earliest of these was an unsigned paper, rejecting the king, seized on 3d June 1680. It was known as the Queensferry declaration, being found on the person of Hall of Haughead, who was killed at Queensferry by the governor of Blackness Castle.

Sanquhar Declaration and Airds Moss, 1680.—On 22d June of the same year twenty-one men of Hall's stamp made a solemn declaration to the same effect, with drawn swords, at the market-cross of Sanquhar. For this daring anticipation of the Revolution some of them quickly suffered; for on the 23d July sixty-three of the party were surprised at Airds Moss, in the parish of Auchinleck, by the royal dragoons, when the preacher Cameron, from whom they took their name, was killed, and the furious Hackston, who com-

manded the three hundred on Bothwell Bridge, and had been present at the assassination of Sharpe, was captured, and afterwards executed. Even this did not daunt the Society-men; for in October of the same year, at a large open-air meeting at Torwood in Stirlingshire, Donald Cargill (for whose seizure, dead or alive, a reward was offered by the king), after sermon, excommunicated the chief persecutors of Scotland—viz., the king, his brother the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, General Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie.

The Test Act: 80 Ministers leave their Parishes.—In 1681 a fresh rigour was laid on the country in the Test Act, requiring every person in public office to swear that he owned the true Protestant religion as explained in the Confession of 1567; that he acknowledged the king to be supreme in all causes, and over all persons, both civil and ecclesiastical; that he would never consult about any matters of State without his Majesty's express licence or command; and never endeavour any alteration in the government of the country. Nearly eighty of the clergy left their parishes rather than thus wound their consciences. The same spiritless Parliament passed a Royal Succession Act, that put the divine right of kings so as to overrule all differences of creed in the heirs to the throne—an Act intended to smooth the way of the Duke of York (a professed Romanist) to succeed his brother. Both of these obnoxious Acts were boldly dealt with by the Cameronians in their own way, being publicly burnt by about fifty of them in the town of Lanark.

Things went on in systematised legal ruin and murder year by year, conducted by Claverhouse in the field, and by "bloody" Mackenzie in the capital. "It were endless," says a historian, "to chronicle every instance of oppression that occurred. The mind, in fact, turns away with loathing from the recital. Multitudes were

ruinously fined; others were sent to the West Indies as slaves; others were hanged. Many, succumbing to these terrors, gave a reluctant attendance at church; others turned their eyes toward America as a place of refuge from their manifold wrongs." At this point the discovery of the Rye-house Plot in England brought new horrors on poor Scottish Presbyterians.

New Roll of 2000 proscribed Men.—In May 1684, a new proscription-roll of nearly 2000 names was published, revealing a cruelty in the Government suggestive of absolute madness or demoniacal possession that dealt with Christian men as if they were wild beasts to be exterminated by fire and sword.

Need we wonder that this was replied to by the Society-men posting several notices at kirk and market that they had resolved to take law into their own hands and avenge their sufferings on their inhuman persecutors. This Apologetic Declaration was resented in turn by the monsters who acted in name of law: and it was in this mutual frenzy of parties that King Charles suddenly died in February 1685.

James II. succeeds to the Throne, 1685.—The Duke of York, a professed Romanist, succeeded Charles, under the name of James II. He published an Act of Indemnity; but it was not meant to include those who most needed it, and it was clogged by the condition of an oath of allegiance. Its hollow and superficial character was seen in the fact that the persecutions continued. Some of the most cruel and best known instances belong to this period—*e. g.*, those of John Sempill of Dailly, John Brown of Priesthill, with Margaret Wilson and Widow M'Lauchlan drowned in the Blednock by being tied to stakes within tide-mark. This was the period when Dunnottar Castle was used as a State prison, after the prisons of Edinburgh could hold no more. Two hundred were con-

fined in vaults, where they had to take turn of a mouthful of fresh air from a crack in the ground. One hundred of them, after being branded with a hot iron, were shipped to America as slaves, but sixty died on the passage.

The last of the Martyrs, 1688.—In April 1686 James began to propose to the servile Scots Parliament a plan for giving certain liberties to both Presbyterians and Papists; but they took alarm at the latter half of the plan, interpreting it as intended to lead to a counter-reformation back to Rome. Next year the king passed the Act without consent of Parliament, and even removed from office the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Galloway and Dunkeld, who had opposed his plan. The moderate Presbyterians made use of this toleration, and even wrote to the king a letter of gratitude; but the Cameronian party scorned all favours, and continued defiantly in the fields—suffering, however, in the person of their chief preacher, James Renwick, who was captured, and in February 1688 executed, being happily the last of our martyrs.

Landing of William of Orange at Torbay.—The same policy of tolerating Popery in England as well as Scotland alienated the English Church from the king, and led many to think of deposition. This party entered into correspondence with William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married Mary, eldest daughter of James, and who was a staunch Protestant. Misgovernment had gone so far, and distrust and hatred of James were so wide and deep, that William had only to show himself to be welcomed. He landed his troops at Torbay on the 5th of November 1688; and in a few weeks the Romanising tyrant and plotter was a fugitive suffering for his own sins and the sins of his brother and his dynasty.

Wonderful for suddenness and completeness was the change that came with the Revolution of 1688. The doctrine of divine right of kings, that had been so disastrous in results to Scotland since the days of James VI., was now cast to the winds. The principles both of Church and State contended for by the persecuted Presbyterians were absolutely the basis of the new system, so far as Scotland was concerned. The apparently wildest doctrine of the Cameronians as to forfeiture of the crown by both Charles and James for unfaithfulness, was practically ratified by the Parliaments of both nations, and is the basis of the British Constitution to this day.

Claim of Right of Scots Parliament.—William and Mary entered on the new system of royalty only after swearing to a Claim of Right, drawn up on behalf of the Scots Parliament and nation. One of William's noblest acts was his interposing to check our Parliament in the day of national triumph from going on to retaliate on the defeated Episcopalians or Romanists. He was the true founder of our modern principle of toleration, one of the best developments of modern Christendom—a development that is still unwelcome to the meaner sort of Christians. The sentiments of William were these: "We never could be of that mind, that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party."

"Rabbling" of Episcopal Clergy.—Though persecution was ended, it took some time before matters in Scotland could be settled in legal form. Meanwhile the people righted for themselves in a few days the wrongs of a terrible generation. William of Orange had landed at Torbay only on 5th November; and on Christmas-day the oppressed peasantry, especially the more violent but also ill-used Cameronian section

of the west of Scotland, began a system of local mobs, called "rabbling," whereby they got rid of above 200 of those subservient and alien Episcopal clergymen who had in so many cases brought fines, exile, and death on their own parishioners by playing the base part of spies and informers to the tyrant's dragoons. But there is another side to this picture no less true, for these curates and their distressed families for many years subsequently received very frequent help from Presbyterian ministers and Presbyterian Church courts.

Episcopacy abolished, 1689.—In July 1689 Episcopacy was formally abolished by Parliament, and in April 1690 Presbytery was similarly established, reviving the Act of 1592 and appointing a General Assembly to meet. On 16th October 1690 an Assembly, consisting of about 180 members, met, being the first for forty years.

Presbytery included in Articles of Union, 1707.—Presbytery was included in the Articles of the Union of the kingdoms in 1707. The nation having at last got its own will, and being left without serious arbitrary interference, those struggles that had been so frequent and disastrous, from the first forced Episcopacy in the regency of Morton, to the last forced Episcopacy under Charles and James, ceased. The fraudulent and violent introduction, time after time, of Episcopacy against the clear and strong wish of the Scottish nation, has only tended to make our system of Presbytery more sharply defined, and to prejudice us unduly, perhaps, against Episcopacy in its better and milder side, as represented by men like Leighton, Usher, and Burnet. The Presbytery of 1688 was narrowed by controversy and persecution, as compared with the Presbytery of 1596, of which Principal Lee says: "Till the year 1596 the prosperity and influ-

ence of the Church continued undiminished. To this period all true Presbyterians look back as the era of the greatest purity which this National Church ever attained."

Literary and Social Position of the Covenanters vindicated.—We are indebted to Principal Lee (Hist. of the Ch. of Scot., Lect. XXIII.) for one of the best vindications we possess of the *literary* character of the Covenanters—a vindication in which he has been followed by Lord Moncreiff in his Lecture on "Church and State from the Reformation," page 104. Two such witnesses may be set over against the depreciation of Sir Walter Scott in 'Old Mortality,' and of Dr Hill Burton in his 'History of Scotland,' generally so excellent, but with an evident Episcopalian bias in many places. Principal Lee says: "No tolerable account of the Scottish Covenanters has ever been published in an extended form, and our National Church ought to feel deeply indebted to any writer of ability who shall supply this vast desideratum in her history. With scarcely an exception the Covenanters had been trained to the habit of disputation from their tenderest years; and at every stage of their lives they were familiar with scenes of contention. After having completed the usual academical course, many of the ablest of their number acted as regents in colleges; and in this capacity they could scarcely fail to acquire a turn for wrangling, and to gain a facility of utterance by the practice of teaching the Aristotelian logic and presiding in the daily examination of the students. Thus Alexander Henderson, Robert Blair, David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, James Wood, David Forrest, Hugh Binning, James Guthrie, Robert M'Ward, and several others (of whom the small wits of the succeeding age were accustomed to speak so scornfully), had, at a very early age, signalised themselves as professors of

philosophy and the liberal arts, and had been universally acknowledged to be men of no ordinary talents and acquirements. . . . A distinction ought indeed to be made between the earlier Covenanters whose education had been completed before the constitution of their Church was overturned, and those who did not enter on their vocation till the time of trouble overtook them. But even of those who grew up under the shade of persecution, and whose minds were nurtured amidst alarms and strifes and perils, which rendered it impossible for them to pursue a regular train of study, it has been affirmed that they were men of no mean endowments, and that though their stock of learning was but scanty, they acquired an uncommon degree of shrewdness in the discernment of character and in tracing the connection of events (whence arose the popular belief of their prophetical gifts), while at the same time they became masters of a powerful and impassioned eloquence, to which, though it violated many of the established canons of criticism, it was not possible to listen without being deeply moved."

Lord Moncreiff works out the same idea in another direction: "They [the Covenanters] have generally been looked upon as a somewhat uneducated, rude, fanatical body of the lower orders, and people seem to contrast them with the better birth and better manners of the Royalists. I believe there is in all this a very great delusion. It is true that, in the latter part of this period of twenty years, most of the higher families had ostensibly, if not sincerely, conformed to the tyrannical Government which they could not resist. But the inception of the Covenanters embraced the largest portion of the upper ranks and the whole body of the people. Whatever of birth, of culture, of manners, and of learning or intellectual

power Scotland could boast, was at that time unquestionably to be found in the ranks of the Covenanters. The following list of the Scottish Peers who were, as ruling elders, included among the members of the Commission of the General Assembly in 1647, corroborates my statement: Archibald, Marquis of Argyll; John, Earl of Crawford; Alexander, Earl of Eglinton; William, Earl of Glencairne; John, Earl of Cassilis; James, Earl of Home; James, Earl of Tullibardine; Francis, Earl of Buccleugh; John, Earl of Lauderdaill; William, Earl of Lothian; James, Earl of Finlatour; William, Earl of Lanark; James, Earl of Callendar; Archibald, Lord Angus; George, Lord Birchen; John, Lord Yester; John, Lord Balmerino; James, Lord Cowper; John, Lord Bargany. . . . The subservient spirit which the Restoration produced—the reaction against Puritanism, and indeed against any earnest profession of personal or evangelical religion—has not been without its effect in leading historians of all parties to underrate and undervalue these men."

Vindication of Presbyterian Majority.—To these vindications another may be added relative to the proportion of Presbyterians in Scotland to Episcopalians at the date of the Revolution. Persistent attempts are being made to obscure and pervert the plainest facts of our history in the interests of the modern Scottish Episcopal Church:—

"It was indeed asserted by writers of that generation, and has been repeated by writers of our own generation, that the Presbyterians were not before the Revolution the majority of the people of Scotland. But in this assertion there is an obvious fallacy. The effective strength of sects is not to be ascertained merely by counting heads. . . . If, under the Kings of the House of Stuart, when a Presbyterian

was excluded from political power and from the learned professions, was daily annoyed by informers, by tyrannical magistrates, by licentious dragoons, and was in danger of being hanged if he heard a sermon in the open air, the population of Scotland was not very unequally divided between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the rational inference is that more than nineteen-twentieths of those Scotchmen whose conscience was interested in the matter were Presbyterian, and that not one Scotchman in twenty was decidedly and on conviction an Episcopalian." — Macaulay, History, ch. xiii.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF MODERATISM—1668-1805.

Principal Carstares.—In the new epoch that starts from the Revolution Settlement the most prominent ecclesiastical figure is that of William Carstares, minister of Greyfriars', and Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Four times within eleven years he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly. He died in 1715. His sagacity and practical piety, together with his intimate confidential terms with King William, were of immense value in helping the Church to recover itself after the ordeal of persecution, and to organise itself for the great work of peace now at last entered on. The name of Carstares is one that stands on the same high level with those of Knox, Buchanan, Melville, Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, and Robert Leighton.

There are few things in the first half of the eighteenth century that call for detailed narrative ; but this comparative poverty of interest covers much diligent labour of consolidation and regular discharge of sacred duties throughout the parishes of Scotland.

Restoration of Patronage, 1711.—In 1711 occurred an event that has ever since strongly influenced the history of the Church—the sudden restoration of pa-

tronage, done without the knowledge and against the wishes of the Church,—done for the express end of damaging the Church and promoting Jacobitism. These are facts beyond dispute.

Lord Macaulay gives the following account of the circumstances in which this Act was passed: "In 1712 the Whigs, who were the chief authors of the Union, had been driven from power. The prosecution of Sacheverell had made them odious to the nation. The general election of 1710 had gone against them. Tory statesmen were in office. Tory squires formed more than five-sixths of this House. The party which was uppermost thought that England had in 1707 made a bad bargain,—a bargain so bad that it could hardly be considered as binding. The guarantee so solemnly given to the Church of Scotland was a subject of loud and bitter complaint. The Ministers hated that Church much; and their chief supporters, the country gentlemen and country clergymen of England, hated it still more. Numerous petty insults were offered to the opinions, or, if you please, the prejudices of the Presbyterians. At length it was determined to go further, and to restore to the old patrons those rights which had been taken away in 1690. A bill was brought into this House, the history of which you may trace in our journals. Some of the entries are very significant. In spite of all remonstrances the Tory majority would not hear of delay. The Whig minority struggled hard, appealed to the Act of Union and the Act of Security, and insisted on having both those Acts read at the table. The bill passed this House, however, before the people of Scotland knew that it had been brought in. For there were then neither reporters nor railroads; and intelligence from Westminster was longer in travelling to Cambridge than it now is in travelling to Aber-

deen. The bill was in the House of Lords before the Church of Scotland could make her voice heard. Then came a petition from a committee appointed by the General Assembly to watch over the interests of religion while the General Assembly itself was not sitting. The first name attached to that petition is the name of Principal Carstairs, a man who had stood high in the esteem and favour of William the Third, and who had borne a chief part in establishing the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Carstairs and his colleagues appealed to the Act of Union, and implored the Peers not to violate that Act. But party spirit ran high; public faith was disregarded: patronage was restored. To that breach of the Treaty of Union are to be directly ascribed all the schisms that have since rent the Church of Scotland."—Speech in the House of Commons, 9th July 1845.

Foundation of distorted Histories.—For forty years the General Assembly year by year protested against the Act, and tried to procure its repeal. Yet this Act has been made the foundation of numberless reproaches against the Church by Dissenters, just as the Repeal of the Act in 1874 has been made the occasion of new slanders and assaults. Several volumes pretending to be histories of the Church of Scotland have been written, in which the whole history of the eighteenth century is distorted and envenomed and garbled for the purposes of ecclesiastical partisanship. Of this sort are Hetherington's 'History of the Church of Scotland,' written in the interest of the Free Church; 'The Scottish Kirk,' written from the United Presbyterian point of view, in the interests of the Liberation Society; and 'The Story of the Scottish Church,' by Dr Thomas M'Crie, 1875, an anecdotical narrative with marvellous accommodations to Free Church convenience.

"Marrow" Controversy — the Simson Case. — Besides

the Patronage Act of 1711, the only other things specially worthy of mention are the "Marrow controversy," from 1718 to 1722; and the "Simson controversy," 1728-29.

The Marrow controversy arose from the reprint in 1717 of a book originally published in 1646 by Edward Fisher, M.A. of Oxford, entitled 'Marrow of Modern Divinity.' The book was ultimately condemned by the Assembly as unsound, to the dissatisfaction of a party called the "Marrow-men."

The subject of the other controversy was Mr John Simson, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow, who was "processed" for Arminianism in 1714 by the Rev. James Webster of Edinburgh. He escaped gently after three years' prosecution. But a fresh assault was made in 1728, which had a like easy issue, to the great anger of his enemies. The escape of Simson is largely what is alluded to in charges of want of discipline in the Church at this period.

First Secession, 1733.—The first secession from the Church of Scotland took place in 1733. It originated in a sermon before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, in which Ebenezer Erskine, instead of simply preaching the Gospel, went off into denunciation of certain usages or abuses in the Church. He was censured by the Synod, and appealed to the Assembly, which agreed with the Synod. He and three others refused to appear before the Commission of Assembly as required. The four were pronounced to be "no longer ministers of the Church." There was much sympathy in the Assembly, notwithstanding the glaring disobedience, and it was not till seven years of patience on the part of the Church that they were finally deposed. This measure of sympathy and patience have been studiously concealed or misrepresented by Seceders.

The Seceders fast and pray against Whitfield.—While

the two Erskines, Ralph and Ebenezer, were really honest, devout men, their religious status has been vastly overrated by their friends. When Whitfield came to Scotland, they had the narrowness to desire that he should preach only in connection with them, and sign the Solemn League and Covenant. The latter he had never heard of, and the former he refused, so that the first welcome from the Erskines actually ended in the Seceders and Cameronians appointing the 4th of August 1741 throughout their body as a day of fasting and humiliation for the countenance given to Whitfield. Yet this was subsequent to the famous revival scenes at Cambuslang.

False Version by Liberation Society.—These are the real facts of the case. Here now is the canting and deliberately falsified version of the same issued by the Liberation Society: "As proof of remaining life, and a precious memory from which to fan it, it was about this period, in 1742, that the memorable revivals of Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and other places occurred; and that, too, within the pale of the Established Church. The same good work was statedly prosecuted by the Seceders, in whose fervid Gospel appeals we might fancy ourselves under the teachings of so many Whitfields. That great revivalist himself visited Scotland in those years, and lent an impetus to the good work."[1] A good work indeed!—but the Erskines and the Cameronians were fasting and humiliating themselves on the 4th of August 1741, to avert the sin of any share in the good work, and to protest against it!

The history of the second half of the eighteenth century resolves itself very much into a history of the struggle between two parties in the Church known respectively as Moderate and Popular.

Moderates and Populars.—The name Moderate was

[1] The Scottish Kirk, p. 47.

rather happily chosen to epitomise the general principles of the party to which it was applied. They were men of a calm and politic disposition, not ready to be carried away by fancies or declamation, or extreme views. Their weakness as well as their strength lay in this very temperateness and reasonableness, for they always tended toward coldness as well as calmness, and from first to last showed a want of enthusiasm.

The Popular party, again, had a no less appropriate name,—not so much that they had the people actually with them, as that rather they sought to have them, and shaped their policy accordingly. Here, then, the strength lay in numbers in one direction, and in narrowness in another.

The two parties represent two phases of human nature, to be found struggling more or less in all Churches and States, in all literature, and partly even in art. The two parties were the continuation of the Resolutioners and Protesters (or Remonstrants) who arose in the Church in 1651. They are also the precursors of the two parties that, after fighting furiously for ten years, separated in 1843.

Subject of Contention: Call and Presentation. — The great subject of contention between Moderates and Populars was the question, What is the primary and essential element in the original tie that joins pastor and parishioners?—ought it to come from a *call* by the people, or may it come from a patron issuing a *presentation?* In the popular view of the case, the word *call* will predominate; in the moderate view, the word *patronage* or *presentation.* There are sound arguments and principles on both sides, and it is utterly foolish for either to claim the support of Scripture. It is a matter outside of Scripture almost entirely. History and fitness, and law and usage, are the real guides to be followed in seeking to answer

the question. As regards Scotland itself, it is only fair to acknowledge that the view of the Popular party is that which is more amply justified by the facts and course of our National Church history.

History of Call and Presentation.—What can be said in favour of the *call* theory is shortly this: It has the sanction of both the First and Second Books of Discipline, but with the important difference, that the *call* in these cases was much narrower than the call contended for in the last and present centuries. The original idea of call did not extend to all members of the Church in a parish, nor even to all heads of families, but only to the chief men of the community —*e.g.*, heritors, elders, magistrates. Others came in only secondarily. "Judgment" is applied to the chief men; but only "consent" is applied to the congregation. At the Revolution Settlement there was no patronage, and so the call had the whole field to itself; but practically it was the leading men of the parish who represented the whole. In 1711 patronage was restored; we may add, precipitately and fraudulently, and with hostile intention to the Church—certainly also greatly against the wish of the Church. From 1712 to 1730 patrons did not venture to exercise their legal right where any congregational displeasure existed—*i.e.*, the call was still supreme as custom, even after presentations were legal.

The next twenty years, 1730-1750, were intermediate, part of both, sometimes call predominating, sometimes presentation.

Reason of Moderates' preference of Presentation.—Then comes a period of half a century, which, roundly speaking, forms the reign of Moderatism, during which it went very hard with the call, and during which, correspondingly, the force of a presentation increased. All this time the call was systematically lowered in

position. It is only fair to observe, however, that the call was not repressed by the Moderates from any dislike to the thing in itself, but only because they saw that it could not go on competing with the presentation. One of the two must go to the wall, and the Moderates made choice to stand by the presentation, mainly because it had the law on its side. To all appearance they would have been sincerely glad to have been able to leave to the call the ancient and honourable place that it had held nearly since the Reformation. This feeling seems to find expression in that instruction which was given to the Commission of Assembly annually from 1712 to 1781, "to make due application to the king and Parliament for redress of the grievance of patronage in case a favourable opportunity for doing so shall occur during the subsistence of this commission." This instruction was withdrawn only when the Moderates had gone so far in repressing the call that it came to be inconsistent in part with their long and successful efforts to vindicate the legality of presentations.

Happily at last this sore subject has been set at rest by the abolition of patronage in the Act of 1874; so that what may be regarded as the tradition of our Church in favour of the call is finally confirmed and triumphant.

There is no more melancholy catalogue in the history of our Church than that of the names and dates of the disputed settlements of this half century, when parish after parish was weakened and embittered by the successive victories of the Moderate party—the mischief being done by their persistent policy, hoping to suppress what they deemed fanatical resistance: Lanark 1749, Inverkeithing 1752, Nigg 1756, Jedburgh 1756, Shotts 1762, St Ninians 1766, Eaglesham 1767, Biggar 1780, Fenwick 1780. Yet these disputes,

extending over thirty years, bear, after all, a small proportion to a Church of 924 parishes, of which probably almost the whole would be vacant at some time during that generation. It was a sad anticipation of the heart-burnings felt in our own generation from the disputes under Lord Aberdeen's Act, although these also were really few in number compared with the multitude of peaceful settlements.

Leaders of the two Parties.—As regards the leadership of the Moderate party, Robertson's first appearance in the General Assembly was in 1751, while his voluntary withdrawal from it was in 1780, although he survived till 1793. Robertson was preceded by Dr Cumming, and was followed by Dr George Hill, Principal of St Andrews. The Popular party was led by Dr Dick, Dr M'Queen, Dr Erskine, Freebairn of Dumbarton, and Stevenson of St Madoes—all good names, but only second-rate as compared with the Moderate chiefs.

Literature of the Church.—The Church of Scotland never stood higher in literature than in its half century of the reign of Moderatism, partly because of the intellectual and essentially thoughtful and polished character of the system. Aberdeen had Reid, Campbell, Beattie, and Gerard. The South had Robertson, Home, Carlyle, Blair, Logan, Watson, Ferguson, Henry.

It was at the very end of this reign of Moderatism that the first symptoms of the modern missionary spirit began to appear in the Church. It is remarkable that for a whole generation very little progress was made, and eventually the work was taken up fully as much by the Moderates as by the Populars. On this point there has been great misrepresentation and slander of the Moderate party. They have been unfairly tested by the standard of a later generation.

The Leslie Case.—In 1805 began the Leslie controversy, in connection with which the Moderate party lost its long ascendancy, and the Popular party rose to the surface in the General Assembly. The Edinburgh Chair of Mathematics was vacant, and the candidature for it lay mainly between Mr (afterwards Sir) John Leslie and Mr Macknight, one of the Edinburgh ministers, son of the learned commentator on St Paul's Epistles. Leslie was a layman, and undoubtedly the best qualified candidate. Macknight, on the other hand, was a good man of the usual kind, for such chairs were then ordinarily held by clergymen, and he had accordingly the support of his friends and party. The Town Council were patrons, and appointed Leslie. Upon this the disappointed Macknight party brought a charge of heresy as to causation against Leslie, whose case was taken up eagerly by the Populars. Here the Moderates were altogether in a false position: they were acting in mortification, revenge, and bigotry; while the Populars, by a sort of happy accident, were on the side of science and toleration. The debate in the Assembly lasted for two days, and ended in a vote of 96 against 84, the Moderates being in a minority of 8. They never recovered this defeat.

True Method of estimating the Moderate Party.—It is impossible to deal justly with this half century of the history of the Church of Scotland unless we abstain from measuring it by nineteenth-century ideas. Nothing is more easy than to heap abuse on the Moderate party when we criticise it from the present position of Churches. Many things in their social habits, for example, are very inferior to what is now accepted as right. Moreover, not in Scotland only, but in other countries, the period in question was characterised by much spiritual coldness, doubt, atheism, and profanity. Reformation zeal had abated, and the modern spirit

of art, science, speculation, toleration, and missions was not yet. Missions specially were ridiculed as Utopian dreams by the vast majority of otherwise good men. It was 1824 before a Foreign Mission was proposed in the Assembly, and then only by the leader of the Moderates, Dr Inglis. In Scotland the Moderates had as their contemporary David Hume. In England there was the party of Deists. So low there was distinctive Christianity, that hundreds of English Dissenting meeting-houses, once orthodox in the extreme, became Unitarian. In France it was the atheistical age of the Encyclopædists, followed by the Revolution.

CHAPTER V.

DATES, CAUSES, AND COURSES OF SECESSION IN THE PRECEDING PERIOD, AND LATER.

ALREADY allusion has been made to the origin of secession or dissent from the Church of Scotland. Although it is no proper part of the history of the Church to trace this and other secessions minutely in their course, yet a short account of them is absolutely necessary to enable us to understand the present position of ecclesiastical parties in Scotland.

"The Four Brethren:" Associate Presbytery, 1733.—While the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in 1560, and the Church was established in its present form in 1690, it was not till 1733 that secession began, and then it consisted only of "the Four Brethren"—viz., Ebenezer Erskine, Stirling; William Wilson, Perth; Alexander Moncrieff, Abernethy; and James Fisher, Kinclaven. This *Associate* Presbytery first met December 6, 1733, at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross. In 1737 four others joined them, the chief of whom was Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, when "The First Act and Testimony" was issued, in which they gave account of themselves.

Their Original Principles strong for Church and State.—It is a remarkable fact, true of each of the various seceding parties, that not one of them at first held

what is since called the Voluntary principle, that connection of Church and State is unlawful or dangerous: on the contrary, each of them is found at first strongly testifying in favour of such connection. In the case of the Associate Presbytery, one of the original four (W. Wilson) thus writes: "We will readily agree that the countenance of civil authority is not necessary to the being of the Church, though it is very profitable and useful to her outward and peaceable being. As also, that the countenance and protection of the civil magistrate, given unto the judicatories of the Church in the faithful discharge of their duty, is a great outward blessing promised unto her in New Testament times—Isaiah xlix. 23, lx. 5-10; Romans xiii. 1-9." The Formula of Ordination used by the body clearly indicates in their own words the reason of their seceding: "Do you consider as still valid those reasons of secession from the judicatories of the Established Church which are stated in the Testimonies emitted by the Secession Church—namely, the sufferance of error without adequate censure, the infringement of the rights of the Christian people in the choice and settlement of their ministers under the law of patronage, the neglect or relaxation of discipline, the restraint of ministerial freedom in opposing maladministration, and the refusal of the prevailing party to be reclaimed? And do you through grace resolve to promote the design of the secession?" Thus purification of the Church, not its destruction, was the original policy of the Seceders. For many years after leaving, they entertained an honest, earnest hope of return, if only these stumbling-blocks were removed.

Associate Synod, 1742.—In 1742 met the first Associate *Synod*, having three Presbyteries, with 30 congregations, of which, however, thirteen were without ministers.

Burgher Schism.—The facility of schism indicated in their origin and progress became more evident by a rent within themselves in 1747, when they separated into Burghers and Antiburghers, on the lamentably petty matter of the lawfulness of the burgess-oath of allegiance to the king. Still, however, no Voluntaryism. The clause of the oath that divided the Seceders was this: "Here I protest before God and your lordships that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorised by the laws thereof; I shall abide therein, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." Meanwhile another small secession takes place. In 1752 the General Assembly deposed Thomas Gillespie of Carnock for refusing to take part in inducting a minister against the will of the parishioners of Inverkeithing. Gillespie was an amiable and conscientious man, for whom many ministers in the Church had a strong friendship, and great efforts were made in his favour, but unhappily in vain.

First Relief Presbytery, 1761.—In 1761 met the first Presbytery of *Relief* at Colinsburgh, in Fife, Gillespie being now joined by Thomas Boston of Oxnam and Thomas Colier from Westmoreland. These three, with three elders, constituted the Presbytery of Relief, the relief being to themselves from the evils of patronage. Here too, as yet, Voluntaryism is sought in vain. Simply abolish patronage, and they, like the first seceders, would gladly return to the Church of their fathers.

Liberality of their Views of the Lord's Supper.—A prominent and pleasing characteristic of the Relief body from the first was the wide and comprehensive terms of their communion. They welcomed to the Lord's Supper devout men of all denominations who chose to join them for the solemn occasion—Independents,

Episcopalians, and others—for which Christian liberality they then suffered much unjust reproach. How different was this from the narrow jealousy and resentment shown by the Erskines and their followers in fasting and praying against Whitfield because he associated with ministers of the Church of Scotland!

First Voluntaryism in "New Light" Burghers.—Not until 1795, and in the Original Secession body, did the evil spirit of Voluntaryism appear and constitute the "New Light" Burghers—the shape it took being a "Modified Formula."

One result of this was, that in 1799 these innovators were left by the "Old Light" Burghers, who still held fast by Establishment principles, but kept aloof from the Church of Scotland because of its real or supposed corruptions, as above quoted in their Ordination Formula. Thus this member (the Burgher Synod) suffered a sort of compound fracture, exhibiting a schism in a schism.

Turning next to the Antiburghers, the other limb of the original body, we find a similar compound fracture in it. The change, beginning in 1796, was consummated in 1804 by the adoption of a certain "Narrative and Testimony." But this failed to secure unanimous approval; and in 1806 those who were not lovers of change appeared as an Old-Light Antiburgher Presbytery of at first four members, who called themselves "The Constitutional Associate Presbytery." This body still adhered to the Establishment principle, and had within it no less a name than that of Thomas M'Crie, the biographer of Knox.

Five small Unions.—After this prolific development of schisms, diverging ceased and approaches began.

In 1820, after seventy-three years of separation, the Burghers and Antiburghers (especially the "New Lights" of each) coalesced as the United Secession.

In 1839 the Original Burghers Synod, or "Old Lights," returned to the Church of Scotland.

In 1847 the two prime offshoots from the Church of Scotland—viz., Secession of 1733 and Relief of 1761—amalgamated as the present United Presbyterian Church.

In 1852 the Original Seceders joined the Free Church.

In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterians or Cameronians (the majority of them) joined the Free Church also.

Of this curiously seceding and uniting family of Churches there still remains by itself in Scotland the "Synod of United Original Seceders," with about twenty-five places of worship. This last body, small as it is, is a living testimony to old unchanged opinions of early Seceders, for it is still firm in its adherence to Establishment principles. The like testimony is faithfully borne by the minority of the Cameronians that refused to join the Free Church.

Reformed Presbyterians: their History.—The Reformed Presbyterian Church, to which allusion has been made repeatedly, occupies or occupied a peculiar position. It may be said to be a dissenting Church without being a seceding one. It dissents not only from the Church of Scotland, but from the State itself—two of its chief articles of communion being, that it is a sin against God to take an oath of allegiance to the present Government, and that it is a sin also to exercise the elective franchise. The Reformed Presbyterians are descended from the sterner section of the Covenanters immediately preceding the legal establishment of the Church in 1690. Three of their ministers, named Lining, Shields, and Boyd, being all that they then had, joined themselves to the Church of Scotland at the Revolution Settlement; but the people

stood out and procured others. There is no denomination, perhaps, in Christendom, whose peculiar opinions were more definite and inflexible than those of the Reformed Presbyterians; yet by the influence of time and modern thought even they have been modified.

Change of their Fundamental Principle in 1863.—In 1863 their Synod practically agreed to abandon the two distinctive principles above mentioned. The change was glossed over "as a mere matter of discipline." Their own way of putting the matter is: "Synod . . . enacts that, while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the Church shall cease." Thus what was admittedly visited with the heaviest penalties which their Church could inflict is henceforth to be passed over without notice. Because the Government of Great Britain was not bound by Solemn League and Covenant to the Presbyterian Church, and to Jesus Christ its head, the Reformed Presbyterians from 1690 till 1863 persistently described our civil rule as "immoral and anti-Christian," and refused to take part in it. Now these strong words are eaten in, and the original *raison d'être* of the denomination is by a deliberate vote laid aside.

Schism in their Body in 1863.—The change was resisted by a minority. The majority had 44 places of worship and about 40 ministers; while the minority had 11 places of worship, but only five or six ministers to these. Those who have made this change are disowned by the R. P. Synods of Ireland, America, and Nova Scotia—all of which bodies, previous to 1863, were in communion with the R. P. Church in Scotland. No sooner was this revolution accomplished than it was put to the peculiar use of entering into negotiations for union with both the Free Church and the United

Presbyterian, whose position during negotiations was to leave the subject of the National Establishment an open question, but whose true position has since come to light after the union negotiations failed. Yet a direct union with the Free Church alone was entered into by the majority of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1876.

Expediency and Policy the True Reason of the Voluntary Principle.—Thus it is clear, as regards the Reformed Presbyterian Church, when and how its position became changed from being absolutely in excess as to the proper idea of Establishment, to being able to unite with the chief enemies of Establishment.

The list may be completed by alluding to the Free Church by anticipation. Within the memory of this generation, and before our very eyes, we see the Free Church (in a large majority of its ministers at least) yielding to the same temptation. The constant tendency of being aloof from a National Church in point of fact, is to drift into a position of direct antagonism, and elevate the separate state on the fictitious height of a *principle* and new discovery in Church government; while really the whole change is one of expediency and policy, based on some of the worst feelings of human nature—rivalry, hatred, revenge. And what is worst of all is, when these evil passions are covered over like whited sepulchres by sanctimonious phrases as to promoting the freedom of truth, and benefiting even those who are to be disestablished and disendowed, and preparing the way for union.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE LESLIE CASE TO THE FREE CHURCH SECESSION—1805-1843.

Returning to the main line of the Church's history in the present century, two great sources of impetus are marked in the coming of Dr Andrew Thomson to Edinburgh in 1810, and of Dr Chalmers to Glasgow in 1815. A similar indication is in the Assembly's acceptance in 1826 of Dr Inglis's advocacy of a Foreign Mission. These are signs of work and life. Unhappily, they were too soon followed by controversy and partisanship. Earnest work is good; but if earnestness is separated from prudence and law, it becomes the most dangerous of all powers.

The Voluntary Controversy, 1832.—In 1832 began, and for three or four years continued, a struggle, prosecuted in press, platform, and pulpit, between the Church of Scotland and the Voluntary Dissenters. It was the latter who threw down the gauntlet, especially Mr Marshall of Kirkintilloch, and Dr Ritchie of Potterrow, Edinburgh. When the Church took up the gage, it was in a remarkable degree the same persons who afterwards became leaders in the Free Church who were most prominent. In their arguments against Voluntaryism, many of the well-meaning champions of the Church took up too high ground, and overshot the

mark in their keenness to repel the charge that the Church was the mere creature of the State. What was for a while harmless as theory became impracticable when applied to actual cases in dispute, simultaneously prosecuted in civil and ecclesiastical courts, and which arose ere the war of principles between Churchman and Voluntary had well ceased. The temper and drift of these discussions may be gathered from the following samples of titles to pamphlets: "Apostasy and Perjury of Voluntary Leaders;" "The Principle of Voluntary Churches, and not the Principle of an Establishment, proved to be the Real Origin of Romish and Priestly Domination: an Historical Essay;" "The Principle of Establishments not essentially persecuting; that of Voluntaryism shown to be so."

Church Extension Scheme.—About this same time there was great and laudable activity in multiplying what were called Chapels of Ease. The Church Extension Scheme was mainly managed by Dr Chalmers, and its success may be judged from the fact that while in 1833 only 62 chapels had been erected since 1798 —when they were first sanctioned by the General Assembly—the number of chapels built or in progress of building in 1838 was 187. A natural result of this extension was the question of the status of the ministers of these chapels as regards the courts and business of the Church. Discussions on this subject took place in the Assemblies of 1832 and 1833.

Chapel Act, 1834.—In 1834 was passed a Chapel Act, declaring the ministers of *quoad sacra* chapels to be "constituent members of the Presbyteries and Synods within whose bounds the said chapels are or shall be respectively situated, and eligible to sit in the General Assembly; and shall enjoy every privilege as fully and freely, and with equal powers, with parish ministers of the Church." This was kindly and reasonable in it-

self; but it was clearly pointed out by the Moderate minority that it was incompetent for the Church by itself to alter the constituent elements of each of its courts, inasmuch as these had a civil as well as ecclesiastical sanction, and had to deal often with matters that had a civil bearing. Every decision of a court thus altered was liable to be called in question. This in point of fact was verified.

The Veto Act.—In the same Assembly the ruling majority of the Popular party (now pharisaically called the *evangelical*), on the motion of Lord Moncreiff, passed the *Veto* Act. By a majority of 184 to 138 it was made an interim Act, and confirmed next year "that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly." Far more directly did this second Act encroach on civil rights, especially those of patrons and presentees. Here was done by the Church, *brevi manu*, the very thing that the Assembly's instruction to its Commission from 1712 to 1781, to seek redress of the grievance of patronage from the *king* and *Parliament*, had acknowledged the incompetence of the Church of itself to do. The aim perhaps was good, but no excellence of a purpose can justify neglect of proper means for its attainment. It has always been the weakness of this well-meaning party to make its good intentions a justification for any amount of summariness in the means.

Its Trial in the Auchterarder Case.—Shortly after the Veto Act was passed, the parish of Auchterarder became vacant; and on 14th September 1834 the patron,

the Earl of Kinnoull, issued a presentation in favour of Mr R. Young. The presentee was vetoed, and the Presbytery refused to sustain the call, which bore only three signatures. Mr Young appealed to Synod and Assembly, both of which confirmed the decision of the Presbytery. The case was carried before the civil courts by the patron and presentee, to ascertain whether the Presbytery were not bound, on the strength of the presentation they had themselves sustained, to try Mr Young's qualifications, and if they were satisfactory, to ordain him.

The Veto declared *ultra vires*.—It was pleaded that the Presbytery had acted *ultra vires* in delegating to third parties (the congregation) the trial of the presentee's qualifications; that this duty and its sequents devolved by law on the Presbytery themselves; and that the veto was illegal, and invaded the rights of patrons, presentees, and presbyterial courts. The case was heard before the whole court of thirteen judges; counsel took seventeen days to plead, and the judges seven days to state their opinions,—the result being that, on 8th March 1838, they decided for the pursuers by a majority of eight to five. The next General Assembly authorised the Presbytery to appeal to the House of Lords, which on 3d May 1839, after long discussion, confirmed the decision of the Court of Session.

How it might then have been dealt with.—There were various ways in which this serious collision between Church law and State law might have been righted. The simplest would have been for the General Assembly to rescind its own Act and return to the position occupied in 1833, before the Veto was passed. In point of fact, this was virtually what was done in 1843, after the Free Church Secession had taken place. Or an effort might have been made to get

the Veto Act confirmed by Parliament, so that it might have been *made* constitutional, although not so at first. It was an approach to this which was effected in 1843, when Lord Aberdeen's Act was passed, giving to congregations greater freedom in the settlement of ministers than had been before under patronage. By Lord Aberdeen's Act a presentee could be rejected on grounds *additional* to the old three of life, literature, and doctrine. A complete solution of the difficulty of the Veto Act has been given (but, alas, a generation too late!) in the Patronage Abolition Act of 1874.

Extravagant Language used in the Veto Controversy.—It is proper to state that almost all narratives (especially contemporary ones) of the events of these years, from the Veto to the Secession, that represent the Seceders' views of the controversy, are characterised by a marvellous fury of strong and offensive words. The State is described (especially the law courts) as if it were some heathen persecutor glorying in harassing the Church. Correspondingly, those who remained in the Church after the Secession were spoken of as if they were not Christians at all, but were State slaves and police. A frightful desecration of Scripture was constantly made in order to convey and insinuate and illustrate these perversions.

The whole matter, reduced to its elements, was simply the question as to the competency of the Veto Act of 1834. All along the Moderate party had warned the Populars that it was *ultra vires* of the Assembly, and amounted to an attempt by the Church to abrogate or evade the Patronage Act of 1712. The warning was unheeded; and when trial of the point came to be made in the proper way in the ordinary civil courts of the country, clear and repeated decisions were given in conformity with the

views of the Moderates. The Populars, elated by their voting majority and their excessive belief in their own virtue, seem to have counted on coercing the Government. As matters approached the crisis, the Popular majority melted away, so that neither in numbers nor in anything else were they able to appear otherwise than simply a large secession.

Real Extent of the Secession of 1843 in the Assembly and over the whole Clergy.—The entire General Assembly of 1843 consisted of 456 members, of whom the Free Church had only 193. Of these 193 only 120 were ministers, the remainder being elders. But of the 120 ministers only 89 were parish ministers, the other 31 being *chapel* ministers who had no legal right to sit or vote in the Assembly at all.

Over the Church at large, matters were even worse for the Free Church party than in the Assembly itself, as the following extract from Dr Turner's 'Scottish Secession of 1843' (p. 359) very clearly establishes; and here, also, the figures are beyond dispute: "In 1844 was published 'a list of the clergy of the Kirk of Scotland, as on the 18th of May 1843, showing those who adhered to, and those who have since seceded from, the Establishment.'

"I. From that list the following facts are apparent:—

1. The number of the clergy in the Kirk of Scotland, including the *quoad sacra* ministers, was . .		1203
2. The number which adhered to the Church was (including 23 assistants and successors)	752	
3. The number which seceded was . . (including 17 assistants and successors)	451	
4. Thus showing a majority remaining of .	301	

"II. An analysis of this list further shows that—

1.	Among the outgoers were included a great number of *quoad sacra* ministers, amounting to . .		162
2.	The *quoad sacra* ministers remaining were . .		71
3.	So that of parish ministers remained .	681	
4.	While of parish ministers seceded only .	289	
5.	Thus showing a majority remaining of .	392."	

Extravagant Self-praise of the Seceders, and Calumny of the Brethren of the Majority.—A persistent series of attempts has been made to show that this outgoing minority was something wonderful for every excellence as compared with the majority from which they separated. Here, again, it is right to point out how far the Seceders are deficient in the spirit of charity. While they eagerly represented themselves as martyrs, the real truth is, that they were guilty of persecuting and slandering a far larger body of peaceful, meek, industrious Christian ministers, whose true character has since appeared in their not returning railing for railing, but settling down to every kind of good word and good work, without even blowing their own trumpet.

What an amount of silly self-praise on the one hand, and slander on the other, is contained in the two sentences following, that present respectively Dr Hetherington's [1] and Dr Buchanan's [2] estimates of the Secession!—"Dr Welsh, on leaving St Andrew's Church, was closely followed by all the men of distinguished genius and talent and learning, and piety and faithfulness, and energy and zeal,—by all whose lives and labours had shed fresh grace and glory on the Church of Scotland as honoured servants of her Head and King." "The life departed from the Establishment, and those who remained gazed upon the empty space, as if they had been looking into an empty grave."

Contemporary Journal of the Secession by Norman

[1] History, vol. ii. p. 524.

[2] Ten Years' Conflict, vol. ii. p. 442.

Macleod.—The following extract from the journal of Dr Norman Macleod gives a lively and also critical contemporary account of the great Secession :—

"*June* 2, 1843.—I have returned from the Assembly of 1843, one which will be famous in the annals of the Church of Scotland. Yet who will ever know its real history? The great movements, the grand results, will certainly be known, and everything has been done in the way most calculated to tell on posterity (for how many have been acting before its eyes!); but who in the next century will know or understand the ten thousand secret influences, the vanity and pride of some, the love of applause, the fear and terror, of others, and, above all, the seceding mania, the revolutionary mesmerism, which I have witnessed within these few days?

"It was impossible to watch the progress of this schism without seeing that it was inevitable.

"To pass and to maintain at all hazards laws which by the highest authorities were declared to be inconsistent with and subversive of civil statutes, could end only in breaking up the Establishment. So Dr Cook said. So Dr M'Crie said in his evidence before the House of Commons. The Procurator told me that when the Veto Law was first proposed, Lord Moncrieff gave it as his opinion that the Church had power to pass it; that he was unwilling to go to Parliament for its approval until it was certain that its approval was necessary, but that should this become apparent, then unquestionably the Church ought to apply for a legislative enactment. This advice was not taken, and all the subsequent difficulties have arisen out of the determination to force that law.

"The event which made a disruption necessary was the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers for obeying the interpretation of statute law given by the civil

court, instead of that given by the Church court. The moment one part of the Church solemnly deposed them, and another as solemnly determined to treat them as not deposed, the Church became virtually two Churches, and their separation became inevitable.

"Thursday the 18th was a beautiful day, but a general sense of oppression was over the town. Among many of the seceding party, upon that and on the successive days of the Assembly, there was an assumed levity of manner—a smiling tone of countenance, which seemed to say, 'Look what calm, cool, brave martyrs we are!' There were two incidents which convinced me that the old and soberer part of the Seceders had a very different feeling from the younger and more violent regarding the magnitude and consequence of this movement. I was in St Giles's half an hour before Welsh began his sermon. Two or three benches before me, —— and ——, with a few of this *hot* genus omne, were chattering and laughing. During the singing of the Paraphrase, old Brown (dear, good man), of St John's, Glasgow, was weeping; but —— was idly staring round the church. So in the procession, some were smiling and appeared heedless, but the old men were sad and cast down. Welsh's sermon was in exquisite taste, and very calm and dignified; but its sentiments, I thought, were a century ahead of many of his Convocation friends. His prayer at the opening of the Assembly was also beautiful. The Assembly presented a stirring sight. But still I was struck by the smiling of several on the seceding side, as if to show how light their hearts were when, methinks, they had no cause to be so at the beginning of such a great revolution. The subsequent movements of the two Assemblies are matters of history. The hissing and cheering in the galleries and along the line of procession were tremendous.

"Never did I pass such a fortnight of care and anxiety. Never did men engage in a task with more oppression of spirit than we did, as we tried to preserve this Church for the benefit of our children's children.

"The Assembly was called upon to perform a work full of difficulty, and to do such unpopular things as restoring the Strathbogie ministers, rescinding the Veto, &c. We were hissed by the mob in the galleries, looked coldly on by many Christians, ridiculed as enemies to the true Church, as lovers of ourselves, seeking the fleece; and yet what was nearest my own heart and that of my friends was the wish to preserve this Establishment for the wellbeing of Britain. While 'the persecuted martyrs of the Covenant' met amid the huzzas and applauses of the multitude, with thousands of pounds daily pouring in upon them, and nothing to do but what was in the highest degree popular — nothing but self-denial, and a desire to sacrifice name and fame, and all but honour, to my country, could have kept me in the Assembly. There was one feature of the Assembly which I shall never forget, and that was the *fever* of secession, the restless, nervous desire to fly to the Free Church. No new truth had come to light, no new event had been developed, but there was a species of frenzy which seized men, and away they went. One man (—— of ——) said to me, 'I must go: I am a lover of the Establishment, but last autumn I signed the Convocation resolutions. All my people will leave me. I never will take a church left vacant by my seceding brethren. If I do not, I am a beggar. If I stay, I lose all character. I must go.' And away he went, sick at heart; and many I know have been unconsciously led step by step, by meetings, by pledges, by rash statements, into a position which they sincerely

lament but cannot help. There are many unwilling Latimers in that body. This I know right well. It amuses me, who have been much behind the scenes, to read the lithographed names of some as hollow-hearted fellows as ever ruined a country from love of glory and applause. But there are also many others there who would do honour to any cause."

CHAPTER VII.

GRADUAL RECOVERY AND EXTENSION OF THE CHURCH SINCE THE SECESSION OF 1843.

It was undoubtedly a great injury that the Church of Scotland sustained in the Secession of 1843. The best friends of the Church were saddened and anxious at the state of matters. The enemies and traducers of the Church (any milder names would fail to indicate the temper of the Seceders at that period) had done their utmost beforehand to secure the success of their own experiment, and on the other hand to thwart and discredit the cause they had left. When one looks back calmly on the real figures that measure numerically the proportion of the Secession to the old Church, it is evident that frantic efforts must have been made when so decided a minority managed to make so great a noise. Over the whole Church only 289 parish ministers seceded, while 681 remained, so that not nearly 1 in 3 went out. It is a curious token of how the new Free Church was swelled out, to find that an entirely different ratio prevailed among younger ministers in chapels, who, having less to lose, cast in their lot more readily; so that while 162 of these joined the Free Church, only 71 remained. Thus the Free Church got more than 2 to 1 of chapel ministers, while she got less than 1 to 2 of parish ministers. Doubt-

less one reason of this different ratio is, that it was the Popular party that was most prominent for some years past in promoting chapel-building and the Chapel Act of 1834.

Systematic Abuse and Persecution of the Clergy by the Seceders.—The position occupied by the clergy of the National Church at this period was a peculiarly trying one. They had to fight their way, in every public association or corporation, against an organised system of reproach. In one case that found its way into newspapers and pamphlets, a Free Church majority in a Bible society refused to sit at the same table with some of the best clergymen and laymen of the Church, simply on the ground of their belonging to the Church. In whole districts, at funerals, the company would walk out of the house or refuse to enter if a parish minister were invited to pray. In few towns or villages would the Seceders buy any commodity from a shopkeeper who was a Churchman. The common representation, plausible and superficial, was as to there being sacrifices and difficulties on the side of the Seceders. But there never was a more unjust mistake. Those who stayed in, whether ministers, elders, or people, were daily and weekly loaded with every abusive epithet that could be applied to the basest of men. At that period there were in Scotland several newspapers entirely in the interests of the Free Church party, whose regular and chief work was to call all men and things on the one side black and foul, while all on the other side was pure, sweet, and noble.

Christian Spirit of Patience and Speaking by Good Works.—This systematic and sanctimonious abuse is alluded to, not for the purpose of reviving the memory of evil days and evil tongues, but for the purpose of helping to explain how it was that the ministers of the Church

of Scotland managed to change a period so disastrous and bitter into the commencement of a new period of prosperity and of steady progress in every direction. In their inmost soul they knew that neither they nor their Church deserved this storm of reviling that was let loose upon them. They knew that the old Church of Scotland was the same in its constitution and the same in its Divine Head as before. They knew that they themselves officially had a conscience void of offence, that they were wishful and able to preach the Gospel to the poor, and that the Gospel preached by them was as pure and free as that of any branch of the Church in all Christendom. It was as if by a universal resolve of our ministers a silent vow had been registered—We will not return railing for railing; we will let controversy alone; we will try by steady work and unceasing prayer to serve our God and our parishioners. Let our persecutors make distortions or forge lies, or hurl threats, or spurn our society, we will turn neither to the right hand nor to the left: enduring all reproach, and prosecuting our own straightforward course, we will leave God to judge between us, having confidence that a series of years of this Christian endurance and diligence and devotion will cause the tide to turn, so that the meek shall yet in Scotland inherit the earth. For a number of years past the blessed fruits of this most Christian method have become so plain and plentiful that the Church of Scotland is generally recognised as being clearly ahead of all others, both in good work and right spirit. It is towards her that many in the changing and political sects around are turning as the centre and germ of the Church of the future. Not that we expect others to accept our entire system, or that we expect our framework to remain without change in details and externals, but that as we have lived down a great

controversy and slander by patience and tolerance, and sober, intelligent piety, and gradual consolidation since 1843—so by simple continuance in well-doing, the old historic Church of Scotland, the bush that burned but was not consumed, may gradually commend itself to the more quiet and devout portion of the presently outside community. This is a basis of enlargement entirely lawful and charitable, free from the baser alloys of proselytism, politics, revivalism, sacerdotalism, or controversy. Such is the spirit and method whereby the Church has achieved her gradual but sure recovery from the disaster of the Secession of 1843. She has been sadder and wiser; she has been moved by a godly sorrow and a godly zeal; sowing in tears, she is now reaping in joy.

To set forth briefly the career of the Church in the way of recovery and extension since 1843, the plan may be adopted of enumerating certain things that have taken place, sometimes little connected one with another, but all tokens of progress.

Recovery of the Glasgow New Churches, and their subsequent Endowment.—Previous to the Secession, and in no small degree through the zeal of Dr Chalmers, there was a special church-building society in Glasgow that did a great work in that city. In many of these new churches, where the minister with a following of people sided with the Free Church, a claim was made to hold on in spite of the change of Church government. This usurpation of buildings was believed to be contrary to the title-deeds of the property, and accordingly was tried at law, and ultimately decided by the House of Lords in favour of the Church of Scotland. There were 13 Glasgow churches so situated. The question evidently was a pure matter of lawful ownership, and ought to have been discussed apart from sectarian controversy; but from first to last the main part of

the Free Church argument, through their counsel, turned not on the trustees and the terms of the trust, but on an abusive picture of the Church of Scotland as so poor in members that it could not use the churches although it had them. Every conceivable taunt was made the more readily, as relevant argument was unavailable. Look now at these recovered churches. Year by year, steadily, has proven our capacity to use them for the original purpose of the subscribers. These 13 churches, gotten empty or nearly empty, are now among the best filled churches in Glasgow; and moreover, by endowment (costing £3000 each), have been raised permanently to the full status of parish churches. Surely that is a practical and Christian answer to all the irrelevant and malignant abuse once heaped on us in the Court of Session and House of Lords, for simply claiming our own public property.

The same vigour of growth is to be seen in every considerable town in Scotland in refilling parish churches, especially those in which the desolation in 1843 was worst.

Growth of the Church in Paisley.—The minister who left the High Church of Paisley spoke of it abusively in his farewell sermon as a place thenceforth to be occupied by owls and bats. That very church, for a number of years past, has had above 1100, and at present 1206 communicants, besides which the congregation has recently spent £4000 in improving their place of worship. The Middle Church has gradually risen to a communion-roll of 704. St George's, in nine years past, has increased from 300 to 928 communicants, and £2000 have been expended by them in improving the building. Martyrs' Church, which for some years was altogether disused, has now a crowded congregation, 630 communicants, and has been en-

dowed as a parish church. The South Church has similarly been endowed in 1877, has 429 communicants, and 450 seats let. Within the last six years this is the fourth new parish in Paisley. Meanwhile the glorious old Abbey enjoys a green old age, for besides the beautiful restoration (largely at the expense of the congregation), it has a communion-roll of 1011.

In Greenock.—On the first Sunday after the West Parish Church had been left by the excellent Dr Patrick M'Farlan, one of the ablest of the seceding ministers, a congregation of only a few dozens assembled. Not only has the communion-roll steadily increased, till now it reaches 850, but the same congregation has been the nucleus for other congregations and parish churches. The Middle Church, also nearly emptied at the Secession, has for a number of years been filled to overflowing, and voluntarily doubles the minister's stipend—the communicants being 1096. The Gaelic Chapel, which was closed for a few years after 1843, gradually prospered on being reopened, till now it is an endowed parish church with 622 communicants. The old West Kirk, which in 1865 had been a deserted ruin for 23 years, was restored at a cost of above £3000, besides a complete series of painted windows scarcely surpassed in Scotland, and has since been endowed. Starting with nothing, it has now 536 communicants. Only a year ago a large new church was opened, and is already filled. Since then a new iron (temporary) church has been opened at a cost of £1500, and is well attended. As regards the whole town, whereas in 1843 it had only the 3 old parishes, now it has 7 parish churches, all prosperous, besides 3 thriving chapels and several mission stations. The total of communicants for Greenock is 5089, to which Well-

park Church contributes no fewer than 595, although three years ago it was founded under a storm of Dissenting opposition and slander which seaport people will understand by the index of "the inverted cone."

In Aberdeen. — The Free Church leaning there in 1843 was so marked that it was made the seat of a Free Church College. But the following simple list of parish churches, with the number of communicants belonging to each, tells its own tale of recovery of lost ground. East Church, 1629; Gilcomston, 1456; Holborn, 972; North, 2346; Old Machar, 1106; Rubislaw, 385; South, 1597; St Clement's, 1893; Trinity, 213; West, 928; Woodside, 1367; Greyfriars', 1185; besides which are 3 unendowed churches —John Knox's, 850; Ferryhill, 242; Rosemount, 322. So strong is the current of success in Aberdeen, that a few years ago a great scheme was started for adding five new churches, all of which are now in operation, and some of them completely filled. Thus is Aberdeen now a Church of Scotland stronghold.

In Edinburgh.—The same thing holds good of Edinburgh. Nowhere save in Rosshire was the Free Church so successful at first as in Edinburgh; but now the once thin parish churches are refilled. Eight of its churches have each above 1000 communicants. Edinburgh has been peculiarly fortunate in judicious selection of ministers to its vacant churches for many years past. Witness such instances as St Bernard's, St Stephen's, St Mary's, Greenside, St Andrew's, St Cuthbert's, in the new town; and on the south-side and old town the instances of the Tron, Lady Yester's, St Giles's, Newington, Morningside, and Robertson Memorial. All of these are in a manner pattern churches as regards energetic ministers and earnest congregations.

The towns thus singled out are not exceptional in rallying round the old Church once more. It is only

consideration of space and avoidance of repetition that prevents Glasgow, Dundee, Stirling, Dumfries, Perth, from being dealt with in like manner. Nor is there any real omission, for we have to deal with these and all else—country as well as town, Highlands as well as Lowlands—when we come to statistics. By anticipation, these instances of detail serve to indicate the distribution and genuineness of the subsequent statistics.

Specimens of recovery in two Country Parishes.—To illustrate the recovery of a like kind that has taken place in country parishes of the class that suffered most severely in 1843, may be named Comrie, which had a mere skeleton of a congregation left at the Secession, the parish minister having gone out and taken most of his flock with him. A minister of the right sort, alike in talent, temper, piety, and diligence, began the hard work. Scowled at, jeered at, undermined and countermined, he held on the even tenor of his way, until prejudice and bigotry were comparatively overcome, and there was a communion-roll of 400 members (in a total population of less than 2000); and the memory of the good Dr M'Donald is a tower of strength in his parish and Presbytery. Auchterarder has a like story of recovery, although the very name seems to have a pugnacious Church-militant ring about it. At first the name of Mr Young was accidentally associated with bitter papers and bitter speeches, and days of desolation and mourning. Now, and for many years past, his name commands the respect of the whole district. He suffered and conquered; he laboured as a quiet and holy man, the very type of one fitted to retrieve a great disaster, more fruitful in deeds than words, building up the waste place until he had something like 600 communicants in a total population of 3795.

Lord Aberdeen's Act, 17th August 1843.—In the history of the Church of Scotland from 1843 to 1874—*i.e.*, for

the long period of 30 years—a place of great importance was filled by Act 6 & 7 Vict. c. 61, commonly known as Lord Aberdeen's Act: "An Act to remove doubts respecting the admission of ministers to benefices in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland." The object of this Act (most kindly meant for the relief of the Church) was to give to parishioners greater freedom in opposing an unwelcome presentee. For this purpose it was ordained that the presentee should preach in the church of the vacant parish, and that afterwards, if written objections were made by one or more parishioners, being members of the congregation, these should be considered by the Presbytery, and if proven to their satisfaction, should be given effect to in declaring the presentee unsuitable for the parish. No mere dissent or dislike was to be valid, but only "some just cause of exception;" and the Presbytery were to "have regard only to such objections and reasons as are personal to the presentee in regard to his ministerial gifts and qualities, either in general or with respect to that particular parish, but shall be entitled to have regard to the whole circumstances and condition of the parish, to the spiritual welfare and edification of the people, and to the character and number of the persons by whom the said objections or reasons shall be preferred." This so well-meant Act proved unworkable, or at all events caused great irritation year by year as long as it existed. While it did, perhaps, considerable good in leading patrons to try to satisfy the people with a presentee, yet when collision did take place the Church suffered greatly (1) by the disappointed party in the parish being more or less alienated, but especially (2) by the publication of the objections and the evidence in support of them. Many objectors seemed to think of nothing but how to damage a presentee whom they disliked. Ridicule and

buffoonery and exposure of the character of adverse witnesses led to gross personality and scandal, which was eagerly circulated and turned to the disadvantage of the Church, and even of religion itself. The following is a summary of the melancholy proceedings under the Benefices Act of 1843 for the 30 years of its operation: There were 64 cases of disputed settlement, of which 29 were settled, 14 rejected, 15 withdrew, 1 died; in 5 cases the issue is not known. 4 cases came up to two successive Assemblies before decision—viz., Hoy and Græmsay, Banff, Rhynd, Girvan. One parish, Kilmalcolm, had 3 disputed settlements ere a minister was inducted; and another parish, Scoonie, had 2. In 31 cases the patron was private, of which 15 were cases of settlement and 7 withdrawals. In 17 cases the patron was the Crown, of which 8 were settlements and 4 withdrawals. In 6 cases the patron was a municipal body, of which 5 were settlements. Taking the expense of each disputed settlement at £500 for both parties, the sum expended on the Act has probably been about £32,000 in 30 years.

The Patronage Abolition Act, 1874.—These most recent hardships for the Church, extending over 30 years; the immediately preceding hardships, from the passing of the Veto Act on to 1843; the earlier hardships that embittered nearly the whole of the eighteenth century—were the terrible experience of the Church which laid the basis of the Patronage Abolition Act of 1874, 37 & 38 Vict. c. 82, intituled, "An Act to alter and amend the laws relating to the appointment of ministers to parishes in Scotland," which received the Royal assent on 7th August, and took effect from 1st January 1875. After abrogating and repealing the Acts of Queen Anne (1712) and Lord Aberdeen (1843), it declares that "the right of electing and appointing ministers to vacant churches and parishes in Scotland is to be

vested in the congregations of such vacant churches and parishes respectively, subject to such regulations in regard to the mode of naming and proposing such ministers by means of a committee chosen by the congregation, and of conducting the election and of making the appointment by the congregation, as may from time to time be framed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. . . . Provided always, that with respect to the admission and settlement of ministers appointed in terms of this Act, nothing herein contained shall affect or prejudice the right of the said Church, in the exercise of its undoubted powers, to try the qualifications of persons appointed to vacant parishes; and the courts of the said Church are hereby declared to have the right to decide finally and conclusively upon the appointment, admission, and settlement in any church or parish of any person as minister thereof." Under the provisions of the Act private patrons who claimed compensation are, on the occasion of the first vacancy, to receive a sum equal to one year's value of the living. This is to be paid by way of deduction of one-fourth of the stipend otherwise payable to the minister for each of the first four years of his incumbency. The Crown patronages, and those held by corporations and other bodies, amounted to 373. For these, as well as *quoad sacra* churches, no compensation is payable. The private patronages in the Church amounted in number to 626. Of these, compensation has been claimed in 242 cases. For 384 livings no compensation was claimed. The exact amount of compensation required has now been ascertained to amount to £59,200—only payable, however, as vacancies occur. In 1876 the amount paid as compensation was £503; in 1877 it was £1544, 11s. 4d.; in 1878 it was £875, 10s. 5d. This Act, as has been so conclusively shown by the Duke of Argyll, is a just satisfaction

to a historical claim of the Church, replacing the Church on its best and earliest basis, which is essentially popular. At the same time, this full measure of popularity has its own difficulties, which it will require some effort to avoid or overcome—the chief danger being the temptation for ministers to cultivate disproportionately those arts that are best fitted to procure promotion and applause, as contrasted with those more solid and unobtrusive qualities that secure true and durable efficiency. Moreover, it has already been found that even this Act, with all its freedom, does not abolish that painful branch of the work of Church courts that consists in adjudicating upon disputes connected with settlement of ministers. The tendency to local faction or prejudice is common to all branches of the Church, and can be diminished only by the gradual leavening of communities by the principles of Christian forbearance and intelligence.

The Endowment Scheme.—The greatest single work which the Church has done since 1843 is that which is known under the name of the Endowment Scheme—one of a series of six principal branches of ecclesiastical and missionary enterprise directed by the General Assembly through the agency of separate committees of 30 or 40 or 50 members, who meet six or eight times a-year and render an annual report to the Assembly.

Basis of the Scheme in Sir James Grahame's Act, 19th July 1844.—The basis of the Endowment Scheme is an excellent Act of Parliament passed in 1844, and known as Sir James Grahame's Act, 7 & 8 Vict. c. 44. This Act provides that when an income of £120 per annum is secured, the church and district may be erected into a parish *quoad sacra* on application to the Court of Teinds (a branch of the Court of Session), which investigates the security of the endowment, and adjusts the boundaries with due regard to the in-

terests of neighbouring parishes. To provide £120 per annum, £3000 must be invested for each *quoad sacra* parish. The old parishes in contradistinction are *quoad civilia.*

There are three names connected with the vitality and expansion of the Church of Scotland whose several contributions have been thus distinguished (Charteris's Life of Professor Robertson, p. 227): "The attempt to prevail upon the State to come to the rescue was the first form of the movement for Church Extension, directed by a Committee of which Dr Brunton was convener. When it was found that the State would not build new churches, the Assembly resolved to build them by voluntary effort, hoping to obtain endowment from the State. This was the second period of Church Extension, and is linked with the name of Dr Chalmers. But when all hope of obtaining even endowments from the State was abandoned, the Church endeavoured to provide them by voluntary contribution, and it is this period which is associated with Dr Robertson."

Dr Robertson first Convener.—Thus the third and most difficult part of this work is that which the Church boldly entered on within three years of the Secession, for in 1846 appeared the "Committee of Endowment," with Dr Robertson as convener. He was then Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, and had previously earned a high reputation as minister of Ellon, near Aberdeen. At the Assembly of 1847 subscriptions amounting to £8000 were reported, of which commencement no less than £5000 was given by the clergy. Large public meetings were held in the chief towns of Scotland, as in Aberdeen in November 1851, when the Earl of Aberdeen was chairman, and in Glasgow in January 1852. Up to 1854, besides extinction of debt of

£30,000 on the recovered Glasgow churches, thirty new parishes were endowed and £130,000 had been collected.

In 1854 the work assumed a new form under the name of the Provincial Endowment Scheme. Scotland was divided into five provinces (afterwards six), each with a group of about thirty chapels. The principle was, that £40,000 was to be raised locally in each, and that the Central Committee should give £2000 to each of the first twenty chapels in each province. In 1855 the subscriptions were £30,000. In 1856 meetings were held at Dumfries and Elgin, the latter producing £12,000. In 1857 a great meeting was held in Edinburgh, and £61,000 were reported to the Assembly as the year's contribution. In 1858 the province of Lothians had completed its share of £40,000. In 1860 the south-western province was in the same position.

At Dr Robertson's death in 1860 upwards of sixty new parishes had been added to the Church, and the whole sum subscribed fell little short of £400,000.

Present Position of the Scheme.—For sixteen years this great enterprise was superintended by the late Dr William Smith of North Leith, whose zeal undoubtedly hastened his end in 1877, at the early age of fifty-seven. The noblest monument to his memory is to note in these few but precious figures the position to which the Scheme has attained at the present date: 274 new parishes have been endowed, 12 more are in the Court of Teinds in process of endowment, while still other 35 have their local contribution of £1500 ready awaiting the like amount to be supplied from the Central Fund. Meantime that fund is all but exhausted, owing to the unexpectedly rapid calls made on it year by year. For several years past new parishes have been endowed at the rate of

from 18 to 20 or more each year. The endowment of these 274 parishes has cost about £950,000; while the total value, including buildings (churches and manses), is at least £1,700,000.

No disendowing of the Church can ever touch these new parishes, which now form fully one-fourth of the strength of the Church, and show that the Church is not idly enjoying State benefits without liberally repaying spiritual benefits to the country. This kind of endowment does not provide a full income for a minister, but it provides such an aid as secures permanency and comfort better than hand-to-mouth and year-to-year Voluntaryism.

The only regret in connection with the Act of Parliament regulating the erection of these new parishes is, that it had not been in operation at least two generations earlier. In that case it would have averted most of the struggles connected with chapels and chapel ministers—struggles which had a melancholy share in preparing for the calamity of the Secession of 1843.

Home Mission Scheme.—Next in importance to the permanent establishment of new parishes is the planting and fostering of chapels, which the General Assembly prosecutes by the agency of another of its leading committees, under the convenership since 1870 of Dr Phin, who then resigned his parish of Galashiels, and without any public income devotes himself exclusively to this onerous office. It is not quite correct to put the Endowment Scheme and the Home Mission in comparison one with the other in point of importance, as they are really one Scheme at an earlier and later stage. The aim of the Home Mission is to start and foster places of worship with a view to their ultimately being matured into parishes. There may be a few cases in which this idea may not be applicable,

but these are rare exceptions. The Scheme originated in 1828.

Position after Secession.—For some years after the Secession of 1843, there was no necessity for new places of worship, but simply to attend to those that were in an enfeebled condition. Gradually, as these got into order and were endowed, and the Church generally began to rally and population to increase, and especially to settle in new localities in connection with mines and manufactures and health-resorts, a wider sphere opened before the Committee, which the zeal and liberality of the members of the Church enabled it to face. In 1843 the revenue of the Scheme was only £2289; in 1857 it was £11,356; in 1876, £11,925.

Present Position.—Of late years an important element of the Scheme is a system of grants toward the erection of new chapels in many cases at the rate of 15s. per sitting. In 1876 alone a special sum of £15,247 was thus voted toward erection or enlargement of 33 churches, to cost over £95,000, and to contain 21,638 sittings. In 1877 a sum of £5663 was similarly granted to 18 churches with 8272 sittings,—total cost, over £35,000.

In 1876 there were 93 mission churches under the care of this Committee, each church having an ordained minister—the communicants for the whole being 11,714, and the certified attendance Sunday by Sunday 21,955. Besides these there were 77 mission stations occupied by licentiates unordained, these stations having 2740 communicants and 9000 worshippers. The group of 93 received Home Mission grants in one year toward stipend amounting to £4035, while the group of 77 received similarly £2390.

Every year chapels are passing by endowment out of the charge of this Committee, while others

start into existence to occupy their place. All along it has been a special aim to plant new stations in overgrown parishes, and in the more destitute and degraded districts of large towns; for with a Church claiming to be national, and having a history to maintain and anticipate, it is more to the purpose to meet pressing spiritual wants than to search for sunny spots in suburbs where a new church may prove a profitable mercantile speculation.

The Home Mission list for July 1878 contains 83 mission churches, receiving £3405 in grants, with 9716 communicants and 17,012 of certified attendance. The mission stations supplied by licentiates at same date are 39 in number, receiving £1460, with 1459 communicants and 4580 worshippers. Mission stations supplied by non-licentiates are 25, with grant of £600; communicants 257, and worshippers 2392. Thus in all, at present, the Home Mission has in charge 147 mission churches and chapels, with grant of £5465, communicants 11,432, and certified attendance of 23,984.

Augmentation of Smaller Livings.—So recently as December 1866, at a meeting held in Glasgow under the presidency of the late Lord Belhaven, a new Association was formed—principally by laymen, under the sanction of the General Assembly—for the further strengthening of the Church by providing, through voluntary contribution, for the increase of the stipends of such parishes as fall below £200 a-year. It is called the "Association for Augmenting the Smaller Livings of the Clergy," or shortly, "The Small Livings Fund."

Capital Fund and Annual Collection.—The aim of the Association was to raise a Capital Fund of £100,000, the interest of which, along with annual subscriptions, might reach £15,000 a-year, which was estimated as necessary for the augmentations proposed. From

inquiries carefully made, it was ascertained that about 356 parishes were in the unfortunate position of having less than £200 of stipend. The number of small livings parishes cannot be quite exactly set down, for two reasons—(1) that stipends vary from year to year according to the price of grain or "fiars prices," so that the same parish will sometimes be on one side of £200 and sometimes on the other; while (2) yearly additions of *quoad sacra* parishes take place, sometimes as many as twenty, most of which have only £120, as required for endowment.

This most needful fund has made fair progress in its twelve years of existence, yet not in proportion to its merits. The Capital Fund has now reached the sum of £51,000. Last year the sum available for distribution was £7851, which was apportioned in 305 grants varying from £8 to £32.

Up to 1877 the fund was dependent on local or special subscriptions, superintended by the Association; but at the General Assembly of 1877 it was resolved to give the fund the status of one of the principal Schemes, and to enjoin on all parishes an annual collection on its behalf. This change has had a material influence for good, increasing the amount divisible in one year from £5556 to £7851; and there is reason to anticipate that ere long the Church will fully recognise the value of a Scheme that involves the social status of hundreds of its clergy and the future of ministerial supply.

Rationale of the Fund.—"While other professions, giving many opportunities of Christian usefulness, offer prospects of comfort and competence, it is not to be expected, in the nature of things, that the young men most to be desired in the ranks of the clergy — those who, besides being men of earnest personal piety, are also men of liberal education, high

culture, and respectable social standing — should be attracted by a profession which, noble though it be, demands in too many cases a life of grievous self-sacrifice and heart-breaking penury."

To do justice to this subject, it is necessary to remember that only a part of the new *quoad sacra* churches can be considered as "small livings." All such churches have a special freedom as regards funds from seat-rents and church-door collections; so that in scores of cases, although the fixed stipend is only £120, the actual stipend ranges from £200 or £300 up to, in some cases, as much as £900. And this feature in these churches is almost certain to go on growing in importance.

A well-known passage on this subject, quoted by Dean Stanley in Lecture III. on "The Church of Scotland," deserves to be re-quoted here:—

"'I must confess,' said Dr Alexander Carlyle in 1747, on the question of the augmentation of poor livings, 'that I do not love to hear this Church called a poor Church, or the poorest Church in Christendom. . . . I dislike the language of whining and complaint. We are rich in the best goods a Church can have—the learning, the manners, and the character of its members. There are few branches of literature in which the ministers of this Church have not excelled. There are few subjects of fine writing in which they do not stand foremost in the ranks of authors, which is a prouder boast than all the pomp of the hierarchy. . . Who have written the best histories, ancient and modern? It has been clergymen of the Church of Scotland. Who has written the clearest delineation of the human understanding and all its powers? A clergyman of this Church. Who has written the best system of rhetoric, and exemplified it by his own writing? A clergyman of this

Church. Who wrote a tragedy that has been deemed perfect? A clergyman of this Church. Who was the most perfect mathematician of the age in which he lived? A clergyman of this Church. Let us not complain of poverty. It is a splendid poverty indeed. It is *paupertas fecunda virorum*."'

Education Scheme.—One of the most useful and successful and patriotic things that the Church of Scotland laboured in during this period was in supplementing the old system of parish schools. The General Assembly's Committee on Education, with the late Dr Cook of Haddington as its convener, did a work which, although now superseded by the School Act of 1872, ought not to be forgotten. This was one of the best organised and administered of all our Schemes in its day, its aim being chiefly to supply teaching in destitute places in the Highlands and Islands. The Scheme was originated by Principal Baird, of the University of Edinburgh, and Dr Norman M'Leod, of St Columba's, Glasgow (father of the late Dr Norman of Barony Church), about 1825. From then till 1873 this Committee had been quietly and progressively working, not for mere Church purposes, but to supply a good general education in the most remote and neglected districts. In its last year, under the old system, it had 302 schools, besides 130 sewing-mistresses, the scholars numbering 25,000, and the revenue for 1873 being £6831. Although the main original work has ceased, the Committee still labours in kindred duties, especially in superintending three Normal Schools, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, for the training of teachers, and in providing inspection in religious knowledge for such public schools as are willing to accept their inspector. For year ending 31st December 1877 the Education Scheme revenue was £3082,

of which £1788 came from the collection ordered by the General Assembly.

The other great Schemes conducted by the General Assembly have more or less of a foreign sphere and missionary character. They are called respectively Colonial, Foreign, and Jewish—the first of the three being, as it were, intermediate between the strictly home and strictly foreign work of the Church, being directed to our own countrymen scattered abroad.

Colonial Scheme. — "About 1817 the Church first seems to have directed attention to the desirability of direct intercourse with its members in the colonies; and in 1819, at the request of the Scotch settlers in Jamaica, the Presbytery of Edinburgh selected and sent out a clergyman there, for whom the Scotch settlers built a church at the cost of £15,000. No step was taken, however, towards any organisation till 1833; and it was not till 1836 that the Colonial Committee as it now exists was constituted, and the Colonial Mission adopted as one of the Schemes of the Church. Since then it has afforded assistance by which congregations have been formed and ministers settled in districts where, but for the aid of the parent country, given through this Scheme, no such could have been.

"Its operations are always extending, and at present aid is given to six or seven congregations of Scotchmen in Canada, also in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, New Zealand, West Indies, &c. Most of these churches will no doubt in time become self-supporting, but in the meantime they depend to some extent upon aid from the mother-country; and so long as Scotchmen are enterprising, energetic, courageous, as they are, so long will they continue to make new homes for themselves in the Colonies, and so long will they look, and not vainly, for help from their fathers,

brothers, and kinsmen in the old country to aid them in erecting their tabernacles and worshipping the God of their fathers, as these had done before them."—The Schemes of the Church, p. 30.

The income of the Colonial Scheme for year ending 31st December 1877 was £4413, of which £3647 was the result of the collection ordered by the General Assembly. The chief outlays were as follows: Canada, £1240; British Columbia, £832; Ceylon, £386; New Zealand, £187; West Indies, £766; Mauritius, £200; Dresden, £237; Paris, £291. These for missionaries and catechists. Outfits and passage-money, &c., of same, £612; Queen's College, Canada, £550. Other charges are: Additional Clergy Society, Calcutta, £100; Church at Taranaki, New Plymouth, £75; Presbyterian Church at New Zealand, £625; Bursary Fund at Halifax, £25; Building Fund, Nicola Valley, £50; French Mission in Canada, £200; supplementing stipends in Pictou, £200; Home Mission aid in Ontario and Quebec, £3000; rebuilding 3 churches at Berbice, £361.

Some years ago, unions entered into in certain colonies (Australia, New Zealand, Canada) between different branches of Presbyterians, gave such concentration and strength that they no longer required help or were not in a position to ally themselves specially with any one branch of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. This happy change left our Colonial Committee more free for new work.

At the same time, a desire arose at home to amalgamate some of our smaller Schemes with the larger ones most nearly related. The result of this was, as regards the Colonial Scheme, that at the Assembly of 1878 the Army and Navy Chaplains Committee and the Committee on Continental and Foreign Churches were annexed as branches.

Army and Navy Chaplains.—"With the view of providing for the wants of Presbyterian soldiers, Government appoints and pays 4 Church of Scotland chaplains and 2 Irish Presbyterians. Their work lies at the larger military stations; but at many other places there are Presbyterian soldiers and sailors where there is no Government chaplain. In these cases it is the practice that Government gives a small sum, according to the number of men at each place; and the Church, by means of this fund, supplements the sum, so as to enable them to have a resident Presbyterian chaplain. By changes of regiments the numbers vary, but recently at Dover the Presbyterian chaplain had 558 men, besides women and children, under his charge. The chaplain for Portsmouth, Gosport, and Haslar Hospital had, in 1875, 404 men, besides women and children; and so on at other places."—The Schemes of the Church, p. 53.

For year ending December 1877 the income of this Committee, received from collections, &c., was £1007. Payments to officiating chaplains over and above Government allowances were £456.

Continental Committee.—The Continental branch of the Colonial Committee maintains, in a number of places on the Continent specially frequented by tourists or invalids or scholars, services according to the form of the Church of Scotland. In Paris and in Dresden the service is permanent, under a fixed chaplain. At Rome, Geneva, Homburg, and Heidelberg, the service is conducted during about four months, according to the season. In the case of Rome there is joint action with a chaplain sent by the Free Church. These Continental stations are too few in number for the interests of our Church, but there are other stations occupied by the Free Church and by American Presbyterians which, looked at from a wider

point of view, give a better representation to Presbyterianism as a whole.

Another part of the duties of the Continental Committee is to keep up occasional correspondence with other Reformed Churches, especially the Waldensian Church of Italy and the Protestant Church of France. For a number of years it has been customary to send a gift of £200 to each of these to help their endeavours to extend themselves.

Foreign Mission.—The chief field of our Foreign Mission is India. "It was not until 1813 that, in a new charter granted to the East India Company, a clause was introduced (by the influence of Mr Wilberforce) securing permission for Christian missionaries to land and carry on their work in India; but with the exception of this permission, Government gave no aid or countenance to the missionaries. The first interest shown by the Church of Scotland in the cause of Indian mission-work was in 1818, by Dr Inglis pleading its claims before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Dr Bryce, then an East Indian chaplain, wrote from Calcutta pleading the same cause; but no steps were taken in the matter till 1825, when the subject was brought before the Assembly by Dr Inglis."

India undertaken in 1829.—"Four more years passed before the members of the Church had subscribed a sufficient sum to enable the Committee to commence their enterprise, and then they were fortunate enough to be able to send out one whose name will ever stand in the front rank of Christian missionaries to the heathen — Dr Duff. For thirteen years, aided by others who followed, he carried on his self-denying labours; but in 1843, he and every other Scotch missionary in India, with one exception, having joined the Free Church, the Church of Scotland had to begin anew—had to find new missionaries and teachers, los-

ing the benefit of all the experience which had been acquired. But though those at work in India joined the Free Church, most of the keen promoters of the Mission Scheme in the Assembly were to be found among those who remained in the National Church, and they were able to secure that there should be as little delay as possible in appointing other agents to fill the vacancies abroad."

Allahabad Conference in 1872.—"Before stating details relative to the Church of Scotland section of Indian mission-work, it will tend to show the general position of the combined action of all branches of Christians in India, and the hopeful nature of their labours, if we take the statistics of the Allahabad conference in 1872, which bear that at that date there were in India 225 ordained native ministers, 1985 catechists, 2278 native congregations, nearly 53,000 communicants, and about 225,000 native Christians. But besides these mission schools, there are the Government schools, which are attended by upwards of 3,000,000 Hindoos and 90,000 Mohammedans; and though there they receive only what is termed secular education, still the change is clearly seen that this education (which they owe solely to European wisdom and energy), combined with all the forces of Western civilisation, is producing on their intellectual and moral condition. In truth, the whole intelligent and informed mind of India is convinced, and multitudes within a wider circle more than suspect, that idolatry is doomed."—Schemes of the Church, p. 33.

Present Stations and Staff in India.—The stations and staff of our India Mission are at present:—

I. *Calcutta.*—Two ordained missionaries, officiating Principal of Institution, pastor of native Church, licentiate, three licensed catechists, three Christian teachers, Scripture-reader.

II. *Madras* (Vellore, Arconum, Secunderabad).—Two ordained missionaries, Superintendent of Educational Institution, three native pastors.

III. *Bombay.* — Ordained missionary, Superintendent of Institution, two native catechists.

IV. *Poona.*—Chaplain, catechist.

V. *Punjab.* — (1) Sealkote: European missionary, Head-master of City Schools, three subordinate Christian teachers, seven other subordinate teachers, two monitors, Head-master of Cantonment School, five assistant teachers, two catechists, Duska district catechist. (2) Goojrat: European missionary, catechist, five teachers, three teachers in lower school. (3) Wazirabad: four teachers, three teachers in lower school, two teachers branch school, catechist.

VI. *Darjeeling.*—European missionary, Lady Superintendent of Orphanage, five catechists, manager of printing-press, many school teachers.

VII. *Chumba.*—Medical missionary, evangelist, two native assistants.

VIII. The *Zenana Mission*, prosecuted by the Scottish Ladies' Association, partly with separate funds; on an average, £1800 a-year. There are three European ladies missionaries.

The total revenue of the India Mission for 1877 was £10,313, of which £6363 came directly from the annual collection ordered by the General Assembly. At six centres (above named) 15 European missionaries are engaged,—preaching the word of life to adults; teaching the young (3766 pupils at 30 Anglo-vernacular institutions and schools); preparing and printing Christian literature; superintending native congregations; training converts for the ministry; in the absence of a stated pastor, ministering to our own countrymen; in charge of orphanages male and female; conducting a medical mission, and relieving poor lepers.

For the purpose of facilitating the work of this great Mission there are eight special correspondents or sub-committees at home for the several branches, besides the Ladies' Association for the Zenana Mission.

East African Mission.—In 1875 a mission at once evangelistic and industrial was originated for *South East Africa*, in the neighbourhood of the river Shiré and Lake Nyassa. The station is named Blantyre, after Livingstone's birthplace, and is in latitude 15° 45′, longitude 35° 30′. The site is in a high degree salubrious, and the native tribes friendly. Dwelling-houses and workshops have been erected, roads made, water introduced, several acres of land brought under cultivation, and a Christian school opened. The staff consists of a clergyman (married), a medical missionary, two gardeners, two carpenters, a blacksmith (married), and a lady teacher. Recently a new agent has gone out to found a second station about 40 miles distant from Blantyre, and to superintend the development of trading in the district.

China Mission.—In 1877 a mission party started for China, consisting of a clergyman and three colporteurs (of whom two were married): a medical missionary has since proceeded to join them. Ichang is to be the seat of the mission. They have settled under singularly favourable circumstances, and are making rapid progress in acquiring the language. Part of the salary of two of these colporteurs is borne by the National Bible Society of Scotland.

Mission to the Jews.—Our Church maintains a special Mission for the conversion of the Jews. In 1838 the Assembly first turned its attention to the subject, appointed a committee to report, and despatched a deputation to inquire into the condition of the Jews in Europe and Palestine. Their report led the Assembly to adopt a Jewish Mission as one of their Schemes,

and two missionaries were established at Jassy and Pesth. In this, as in other cases, a check was given by those missionaries joining the Free Church in 1843; but the Mission was soon reconstructed under the convenership of Dr Hunter, Edinburgh, and has since been carried on unremittingly. Various stations have been occupied, though occasionally changed for others which promised greater opportunities for usefulness.

"Those now occupied are—Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Beyrout, and Salonica. In each of those places are schools largely attended by Jewish children. Though the conversion of adult Jews is not lost sight of, and prosecuted where possible, yet the principal means relied on is the education of the young. These schools are of course not reserved solely for Jews, but do good work among the children of the British residents (who are numerous in Constantinople), and among Greek and Armenian children.

"At Smyrna we hear of 407 attending school in one year; of the missionary receiving 591 visits from Jews, many of these no doubt from mere curiosity, but some prompted by the desire to ask questions on serious subjects. 239 copies of the Bible and portions of it in Hebrew dialects were sold; and including those in other languages, there were 2818 altogether sold through the Smyrna Mission alone.

"At Alexandria we hear of 231 attending school, of whom about 90 are Jews, the rest Mohammedans, Greeks, and other nationalities. These schools, besides general education, embrace Bible lessons, and are opened by prayer. The report from the other stations is to much the same effect."

The revenue of the Jewish Scheme for the year ending December 1877 was £4239, of which £3322 came from the collection ordered by the General Assembly. The expenditure was thus subdivided: Salonica, £789;

Smyrna, £860; Alexandria, £1552; Constantinople, £802; Beyrout, £768; life insurances, travelling and outfits of missionaries, £285. The staff at the various stations is as follows:—

Constantinople. — Ordained missionary, missionary teacher, two lady assistants, lay agent.

Smyrna. — Ordained missionary, two missionary teachers, superintendent of girls' school, two lady assistants, lay agent.

Alexandria.—Two ordained missionaries, two missionary teachers.

Beyrout. — Ordained missionary, two teachers for boys' and girls' school, several native teachers.

Salonica.—Two ordained missionaries, two teachers of girls' schools. Each of the five Jewish stations is under the special charge of a sub-committee of two or three members at home for correspondence.

"The grievous wrongs heaped upon the Jews for so long by Christians may well explain the difficulty which is met with in overcoming their prejudices against Christianity; and yet it is believed that important direct results have been accomplished by missions to them, and that indirectly much has been done to shake old prejudices and to leaven the minds of Jews with Christian ideas. It is no real objection to such missions, but rather an additional argument in their favour, that those who take part in them have the opportunity, in the great cities of Turkey, of doing good among a very mixed population, including many of our own countrymen—merchants, artisans, and sailors —who might otherwise be deprived of Christian ordinances, at least in the form to which they have been accustomed."—Schemes of the Church, p. 44.

The Baird Trust.—An account of the several Schemes of the Church of Scotland would be incomplete and ungrateful without some details of the "Baird Trust,"

the most handsome donation on record by any private person to any branch of the Christian Church. The deed of trust bears date 24th July 1873. It is by James Baird of Auchmeddan, residing at Cambusdoon House, in the county of Ayr. He was chief partner in the Gartsherrie Ironworks, and died in 1876. By the deed of trust £500,000 is made over to a body of trustees, not less than seven nor more than nine, only one of whom is to be a clergyman. Nothing is to be assisted save what is "based and carried on upon sound religious and constitutional principles," which are very specifically described with reference to the Standards of the Church of Scotland. The duties of the trustees are—(1) to assist in building and endowing new churches and parishes where required; (2) to augment stipends of active and evangelical ministers; (3) to ascertain religious condition of special districts, and help in arranging constitution and boundaries of new churches and parishes; (4) to assist in the production and dissemination of sound literature in connection with the principles, purposes, and institutions of the Church of Scotland; (5) to assist Divinity students preparing for that ministry; (6) to assist in raising religious teaching and the use of Christian books in schools according to the use and wont of the schools of Scotland; (7) to establish relations with the Central Home Mission, Education, and Endowment Schemes of the Church of Scotland; (8) to found a lectureship to be called "The Baird Lecture," with £220 of annual revenue.

The Baird Lecture.—The course is to be of not less than six lectures, on some subject of theology, Christian evidences, Christian work, Christian missions, Church government, and Church organisations, delivered publicly in January and February in Glasgow, and also, if required, in one other Scottish univer-

sity town. Lectures to be published not later than six months after delivery. Glasgow to be the place of meeting of the trustees and to have their main office. All trustees to be members in full communion with the Church of Scotland.

Thus this great Trust, while so heartily for the Church, is to be quite distinct from all Church courts and committees. It is constructed so as rather to watch over the Church in what are called evangelical interests than to be itself watched and influenced. It even goes so far as to erect its own creed, to which no objection can be taken so far as it goes. Yet it is not the full and free doctrine of our Standards, but these tied down to one line of interpretation. Even with these two restrictions, it is a most noble and practical gift—all the more practical perhaps for the donor's purpose because thus limited.

No annual report of the Trust is published, but the benefits of it are distributed on principles so just and prudent that we scarcely hear of a new church or endowment where a Baird Trust grant does not form an element as large, or nearly as large, as the contribution from one of the great Schemes of the Church itself.

An idea of the extent and manner of the operations of the Trust may be formed from the following facts, applicable to the year 1877: Eight grants were paid towards endowment, nine towards church-building, and six towards both combined, amounting in all to £20,000. Besides this, £1100 were expended under the three heads of augmenting stipend, assisting students, and promoting religious instruction. This was exclusive of the expenditure under the lectureship, and for working expenses of the Trust. In the same year a number of other grants were made for building and endowing of churches, but as the payment of

these falls on subsequent years they need not be included under 1877. The preceding is a fair specimen of one year's work of the Baird Trust since its commencement. There was one year even more liberal.

The Croall Lecture.—Another lectureship was founded by John Croall, Esq. of Southfield, who died in 1872. £5000 are vested in trustees, not to exceed twelve in number, among whom are the following and their successors in office—viz., the ministers of Tron, High, St George's, and St Cuthbert's (1st charge), Edinburgh; Moderator and senior Clerk of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Procurator of the Church; Professors of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Lecturers selected to be licentiates of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, or a clergyman occasionally of any Reformed Church other than Presbyterian—in the latter case agreed to by two-thirds of trustees accepting and acting. Lectures to be delivered biennially in Edinburgh during winter, not less than six in number, and confined to the following subjects: Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion; Person, Work, Atonement, Divinity, and Resurrection of Christ; Person and Work of the Holy Spirit; Doctrine of the Trinity. The same lecturer not to be appointed twice in succession. Lecturer to publish not less than 1000 copies at his own risk.

The Church's Position in Taste, Tolerance, and Literature.—It is not merely in flourishing congregations, in new parishes, in missionary zeal, that the vitality and progress of the Church of Scotland are to be traced. Fanaticism might accomplish or explain a large portion of such prosperity if the prosperity was one of mere popularity and arithmetic. Interpenetrating all the religious activity of the Church is to be found another kind of activity, intellectual and æsthetic, that shows

the Church, especially in its clergy, to be in unison with the best culture of the age. In church architecture, for example, Scotland, especially in its Established Church, has made great advances in the last generation. The merits of our older pre-Reformation architecture are far more widely and heartily appreciated, one result of which has been considerable expenditure in delivering our old churches from the galleries and obstructions of last century. Many of the churches so restored have been adorned with painted windows of high artistic character. Of churches so treated may be specified Glasgow Cathedral; Paisley Abbey; St Giles' and Greyfriars', Edinburgh; the High Church, Stirling; the old West Kirk, Greenock; Dunblane Cathedral; the Old Church, Ayr. In the case of scores of ordinary parish churches large sums have been spent by congregations in tasteful renewal of pews and of windows, and in arrangements conducive to comfort.

Nowhere has progress been more marked than in church music. Since 1870 the Scottish Hymnal, with 200 carefully-selected pieces, has been in use with the sanction of the General Assembly; and since 1874 a children's Hymnal, with 100 pieces. The characteristic of both of these is the maintenance of a high standard of devotional poetry. The music published for these, including chant, anthem, and sanctus, is of a similar type, genuinely ecclesiastical.

In the same period a corresponding attention has been paid to the literature of prayer. The General Assembly has issued a series of small books of devotion, that have had an immense circulation among Presbyterians at home and abroad. The titles are: Family Prayers, Prayers for Social Worship, Prayers for Soldiers and Sailors. Besides this, since 1864 there is a special Church Service Society, at present consisting of 331 members (of whom 288 are clergy-

men), whose efforts have been directed toward a compilation of prayers from sources ancient and modern, with a view towards the improvement of the public prayers of the Church.

In the province of literature, as distinguished from the mere printing or preaching of sermons, the Church of Scotland has taken a position of no small honour, not only in solidity of matter, but in variety of subject and grace of style. Without going back even a single generation, we find among the recently departed such names as those of Dr Chalmers,[1] Principal Lee, Nathaniel Morren, Dr Memes, Dr Robert Lee, Professor M'Gill, Professor Crawford, Dr Norman Macleod, Dr John Cook, Principal Campbell. Besides these, a very considerable list can be presented of living clerical authors, not a few of whom are familiarly known far beyond Scotland itself. Such are the names of Tulloch, Caird, Flint, Story, Boyd, Cunningham, M'Culloch, Donald Macleod, Lee, Charteris, Mitchell, Lees, Milligan, M'Vicar, Jamieson, Macduff, Gloag, Matheson, Service. In point of broad sense and tolerant views, whether in historical, philosophical, social, or theological subjects, the writers just named will compare favourably with modern English Churchmen.

[1] Although he died as a Free Church Professor, his whole training, work, and character were those of a minister of the Church of Scotland. He went out really against his will, clerical guards being planted beside him in his summer quarters at Burntisland to secure him for the Seceders by isolating him. All his family have since abandoned the Free Church. Recent conjuring with the honest and noble name of Chalmers for the later dissenting devices is downright forgery.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONSTITUTION AND COURTS OF THE CHURCH.

To understand the Church of Scotland as regards government and constitution, there are three points that require attention: 1. The equality of ministers; 2. An essential and influential place for popular representatives under the name of ruling elders; 3. The gradation of Church courts.

The principle of Equality of Ministers.—As regards ministers or pastors, no sacrificial or priestly character is claimed. The word clergy is only used in connection with custom or convenience; its strict meaning as denoting an official order essentially distinct from the great company of Christian people is entirely alien to Presbytery, as it is also to Protestantism. As there is no clergy technically so called, so also there is no laity. When we speak of laymen, it is only in the vague sense of unofficial. The minister or pastor is the presbyter or bishop of the New Testament. It is a simple matter of fact that in the New Testament these two names are used interchangeably. The position held by the Church of Scotland on this point is the *general* position of the Reformed Churches agreeing with Holland, Geneva, France, Germany, Switzerland. England in its Episcopal system is an *exceptional* Reformed Church. But just as the Church of England in

its Articles and Prayer-book recognises true branches of the Church beyond Episcopacy, so the Church of Scotland heartily acknowledges true branches of the Church alike in Episcopacy and Independency. The key to our position is a rejection of the supposed doctrine of apostolical succession as necessary for orders, and a rejection of the doctrine that any one form of the Church as it exists now has an *exclusive* claim to be considered of divine institution. This is a system much easier to defend from Scripture than Romanism, Prelacy, or Independency, each of which has special details that require not a little special pleading, most of which rest not on Scripture, but on certain portions of Church history. It would be out of place in this Handbook to enter into this point controversially, or even in self-defence. By far the best representation of the Presbyterian view in recent times, both in point of learning, reasoning, and liberality, is given in a little unpretending book in two parts, by the late Professor Crawford of the University of Edinburgh, entitled "Presbyterianism defended against the exclusive claims of Prelacy as urged by Romanists and Tractarians," and "Presbytery or Prelacy, which is the more conformable to the pattern of the Apostolic Churches" (Blackwood, Edinburgh).

Representation of the People by Ruling Elders.—The ruling elders (ruling as distinguished from *teaching*, in 1 Tim. v. 17) are the formal representatives of the body of the people, and in all things save preaching and administration of the sacraments are joined with the ministers. Their position numerically in the different Church courts is this: Beginning with the kirk-session, the elders are to the minister at least as two to one. A quorum of session requires two elders besides the minister of the parish; but the session may have, and often has, a dozen or even a

score of elders, if the parish be large and populous. In the Presbytery each parish is entitled to be represented by one minister and one elder. In point of fact, however, elders do not generally here exercise their right which the constitution confers. In the Synod the representation and proportion are exactly the same as in the Presbytery; but here, again, as in the Presbytery, the right is practically used only to a small extent. In the General Assembly each Presbytery is represented by about one elder to three ministers; but in addition to this, each royal burgh has a representative elder. The same applies to each of the four universities. The proportion for the whole Assembly is 185 elders to 252 ministers. Here the full quota of elders is maintained, and their influence is very great in every Assembly, because they are more seldom changed than is the case with ministers, who generally have only a rotation once in three or four or five years, whereas many elders hold on continuously for ten or twenty or forty years, and become thus intimately acquainted with the forms of business and the leading ecclesiastical questions. Most of these elders are landed gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, or bankers, and in general education are equal to the best of the clergy; yet they form no class or clique. All elders have in the General Assembly exactly the same freedom of speech and vote as ministers, even in libel cases for doctrine. Thus in the lowest and highest Church court alike there is direct and extensive representation of the whole body of the Christian people—so that Presbytery has the wholesome safeguard of a popular eldership against the danger of narrowness, intolerance, sacerdotalism, to which every exclusively clerical court is specially exposed.

The gradation of Church Courts.—The gradation of courts in the Church of Scotland is fourfold—viz.,

Kirk-Session, Presbytery, Provincial Synod, and General Assembly. There is one kirk-session for each parish, whether the parish be *quoad civilia* or *quoad sacra*. There are 84 Presbyteries and 16 Synods.

The Kirk-Session.—The kirk-session is the lowest judicatory, and is composed of the minister of the parish, together with a certain number of lay elders. It is the business of the session to exercise a general superintendence over the religious state of the parish and the morals of the people; to settle the time for dispensing the ordinances of religion; to judge of the fitness of those who desire to partake of them; to exercise discipline on those accused or guilty of scandalous offences; and to grant certificates of character to parties removing from the parish. With a view to the efficient discharge of these duties, it is common, especially in large parishes, to assign special districts to the several elders, with the state and condition of which they are expected to make themselves acquainted; and it is usual to meet together at stated times—not unfrequently on a Lord's Day, after the conclusion of the service. The session has its moderator, which the minister is *ex officio;* its clerk, who holds his appointment during pleasure, unless specially appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*, by whom a regular record of its proceedings is kept; and its officer, who carries out its orders and executes its summonses. Two elders and the minister constitute a quorum of the session. When there are not two elders, the Presbytery appoints, at the request of the minister, one or more of the neighbouring ministers to act as assessor along with him in cases of discipline. During a vacancy a neighbouring minister is appointed *interim* moderator. The meetings are opened and closed with prayer. The session is represented in the Presbytery and Synod of the bounds by one of the

elders elected for that purpose. Elders may be appointed either by nomination by the session, or by election by the congregation. They are set apart to their office by prayer, accompanied with an exhortation to them, and address to the people. Previous to this ceremony, an edict intimating the intention must be read from the pulpit, giving ten free days to the people for stating objections. Previous to ordination, elders are required to answer three questions as to accepting the Confession of Faith, Presbyterian Church government, and uniformity of worship.

The Presbytery.—A Presbytery consists of the ministers of all the parishes within the bounds of the district; of the Professors of Divinity of any university that may be situated within the bounds, provided they be ministers; and of an elder from each of the kirk-sessions in the district. One of the ministers is chosen to act as moderator, and it is the general practice that the moderator elected continues in office for six months. The business of Presbyteries is to examine students of Divinity, and license them to preach the Gospel; to take trial of presentees to parishes, and if they find them qualified, to ordain them to the ministry and grant them induction; to see that the Word is preached, divine ordinances regularly dispensed, and the various duties of the ministry discharged within the bounds; to take cognisance of the conduct of each minister, and in the event of any charge being made involving censure, suspension, or deposition from his office, to libel the person accused, to take evidence, to judge of the same, and pronounce sentence accordingly. It is their duty to judge of all complaints, appeals, and references which may come from an inferior court. And as a civil court, it belongs to them to judge and determine in the first instance all matters connected with glebes, and the erection or repair

of churches and manses. A Presbytery, besides its moderator, has a clerk and officer. All its meetings must be opened and closed with prayer, to which allusion is necessary in the minute. The time and place of next meeting are appointed at the last. But the moderator, on a requisition from two or more of the brethren, may call a *pro re natâ* meeting. Presbyteries vary greatly in the number of parishes they contain—*e.g.*, Glasgow has 71; Edinburgh, 44; Hamilton, 30; Ellon, 9; Langholm, 7; Forres, 6; Burravoe, 4. Each Presbytery annually elects commissioners or representatives to the General Assembly—the number being proportioned to the size of the Presbytery, as follows: For 12 parishes or less, 2 ministers and 1 ruling elder; for 18 parishes or under, 3 ministers and 1 elder; 24 parishes and under, 4 ministers and 2 elders; 24 parishes, 5 ministers and 2 elders. Above 30 parishes, 6 ministers and 3 elders. Above 36 parishes, 7 ministers and 3 elders. Above 42 parishes, 8 ministers and 4 elders. Above 48 parishes, 9 ministers and 4 elders. Above 54 parishes, 10 ministers and 5 elders. Elections require to be made at least 40 days before the meeting of Assembly, except in the Presbyteries of the Northern and Western Isles.

The Provincial Synod.—Provincial Synods are composed of the members of the several Presbyteries within the bounds prescribed to them by the General Assembly; and neighbouring Synods have the power of sending each a minister and ruling elder as corresponding members. The Synod is the intermediate court between the Presbytery and General Assembly; and unless express instructions to that effect be given in any case by the Assembly, or it should so happen that there be no intervening meeting of Synod, no business can be brought from the Presbytery direct to the General Assembly. It belongs to Synods to hear and judge

of all overtures, references, complaints, and appeals brought up from the inferior court, and generally to review the conduct of that court by examining the minutes of its proceedings and otherwise. The Synod has no legislative power. As it is competent for a Presbytery, so also is it for a Synod, to transmit an overture on any subject to the supreme court. The Synod is opened by sermon by the last moderator, and after being constituted by prayer, a new moderator is elected. All meetings of Synod are held on fixed days —ten meeting twice a-year, and six only once. Usually all the business is concluded in one day.

The General Assembly.—The General Assembly is the highest ecclesiastical court in Scotland. It meets annually in Edinburgh, in the month of May, on the first Thursday after the 15th, and continues to sit from Thursday to the Monday se'night. It is composed of representatives from presbyteries, royal burghs, universities, and the Scottish Church in India.

In 1879 the Church was thus constituted—

Parishes, old and new,	1247
Unendowed churches,	157
Preaching-stations,	129
Total,	1533

The court in 1878 was composed of—

Ministers,	251
Presbytery Elders,	109
Burgh Elders,	71
Representatives of universities,	4
Church in India,	2
Total,	437

By erection of new parishes and increase of members of Presbyteries, additional members come from

year to year to the Assembly under the regulations which proportion the representation of a Presbytery to the number of its members.

Commissions of members are submitted by the agent for the Church to a special committee, who report to the Assembly at their first diet. It is competent to produce commissions at any period during the sitting of the Assembly.

On the day appointed for the meeting of the Assembly a sermon is preached by the moderator of the last Assembly, who intimates at the conclusion of public worship that the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory is about to sit, and afterwards opens its meeting by prayer. The clerks read the roll of members which they have prepared, and one of the ministers upon that roll is chosen moderator. The Lord High Commissioner, appointed to represent the Royal Person in the General Assembly, then presents his commission and the letter from the Sovereign, which, after permission is obtained, are read by the clerk of the Assembly, and ordered to be recorded. The Commissioner next addresses the Assembly from the throne; and the moderator, in their name, replies to the speech of his Grace. Six committees are thereafter appointed —viz., on Disputed Commissions—on Overtures—on Bills—for Arranging the Order of Business—for Classing Returns to Overtures—for Revising the Record of the Commission. The Assembly generally meets twice daily—from noon till 6 P.M., and from 8.30 P.M. to 12 P.M., or later. On the first Friday there is a diet of prayer. On the Fridays and Saturdays there is usually no evening sederunt. The Assembly appoints two ministers for each Sunday to preach before the Commissioner in St Giles's, and another minister for each Sunday evening to preach in St George's on Home and Foreign Missions respectively. An im-

portant part of the proceedings is the series of reports on the great Schemes of the Church, each being spoken to by at least the convener and a mover and seconder. All business is conducted in conformity with "the Standing Orders of the Church," printed at the end of the roll of members.

The minutes of the last sederunt are read before the close of the Assembly, that they may receive its sanction, in the same way as the minutes of former sederunts, which are always read at the opening of the meetings subsequent thereto. A committee is appointed to revise the minutes of Assembly, and to select from its Acts such as are of general concern, that they may be printed.

When the business is concluded the moderator addresses first the Assembly, and then his Grace the Commissioner, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Head of His Church, appoints another Assembly to be held on a certain day in the month of May in the following year. The Lord High Commissioner then addresses the Assembly, and in the name of the Sovereign appoints another Assembly to be held upon the day mentioned by the moderator. Intimation of this appointment is publicly given, and the Assembly is concluded with prayer, singing of psalms, and pronouncing the blessing. The closing psalm is always cxxii. 6-9, to the tune St Paul's—the whole Assembly standing.

The General Assembly annually grants a Commission to some ministers and ruling elders for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, and for managing her Majesty's royal bounty—viz., the annual sum of £2000 granted by the Crown for that object.

The Commission of the Assembly was in former times composed of a certain number of individuals selected for the purpose; but for many years it has

been the practice to include in it all the members of the Assembly. A quorum of the Commission requires thirty-one members, whereof twenty-one are ministers. It meets the day after the Assembly is dissolved—second Wednesday of August, third Wednesday of November, first Wednesday of March, and oftener, when and where the Assembly may appoint. It is also competent for the moderator to call a special meeting of the Commission on any emergency.

The *instructions* to the Commission have been the same every year for upwards of half a century. They are ordered "to advert to the interests of the Church on every occasion, that the Church, and the present establishment thereof, do not suffer or sustain any prejudice which they can prevent."[1]

[1] The materials of this chapter are condensed mainly from Cook's 'Styles.'

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROPERTY AND REVENUE OF THE CHURCH.

Antiquity of Church Property.—The chief difficulty in describing the property and revenue of the Church arises from its antiquity, and the long series of laws by which it has been regulated in different ages. Tithes, teinds, tenths, *decimæ*, constitute a servitude or burden on land. The owner of an estate is not a complete owner. The Church is joint-owner with each, but this joint-ownership does not consist in separating a certain percentage of acres, but only a certain percentage of crop or rent. The Church's possession of this claim is more ancient and less interrupted than any private titles now existing.

History of Tithes.—The credit of introducing tithes under the Christian dispensation is assigned to St Augustine, who is said to have suggested them in imitation of the tithes payable to the Levites under the Jewish law. They were not established, however, for some centuries later, although the Church had been using its utmost influence to that end. About the sixth century payment of tithes was made chiefly to monasteries, and but few to the secular clergy. The Popes about the ninth century expressed opinions favourable to teinds, but no regular pontifical decrees were issued before 1059 A.D. The first temporal power

which established teinds was Charlemagne, who introduced them into his dominions in France and Germany about the year 778. In Scotland they were acknowledged and confirmed in the reign of David I., who founded the abbeys of Holyrood, Dryburgh, Newbattle, Cambuskenneth, Melrose, and Kelso. At that date nearly the whole land in the kingdom belonged to the Crown; and it follows from this that the teinds never belonged to the heritors, who subsequently acquired their lands subject to teinds. David I. made two grants of land with the tithes (*cum decimis inclusis*) to particular churches, and David II. in express statute inflicted excommunication for refusal of tithes. Between the time of David I., who died in 1153 A.D., and the Reformation in 1560, abundant time was afforded for the teind system taking deep root. Indeed, it had by that time become very complicated.

Tithes after the Reformation.—After the Reformation the first step towards establishing a legal maintenance for the clergy was an Act of Privy Council dated February 15, 1562, declaring that the third of all the popish benefices should be set apart for the service of the Government, and the support of preachers and readers; and that the old beneficiaries who had exhibited rent-rolls of their benefices, in compliance with a former Act of Council, should enjoy the remaining two-thirds during their lives. To rectify abuses as to these thirds, next came an Act 1567, c. 10, directing the whole thirds, without exception, to be paid to the collectors of the ministers' stipends; and for the more sure payment of them, particular localities were assigned in every benefice to the extent of a third, which were called *the assumption of thirds*. That this fund might be more justly distributed among the clergy, a commission passed the Great Seal, styled *the commission of plat*, authorising commissioners to modify stipends out

of it. But this fund proved also ineffectual, having been rendered quite precarious by 1606, c. 2, restoring bishops to the whole of their benefices; and though the bishops were, by that Act, laid under an obligation to maintain the ministers within their several dioceses out of the thirds, they made shift to elude that obligation.

Benefices of the Regular or Monastic Clergy.—As for the benefices of abbacies, priories, &c., proper to the regular (*i.e.*, monastic) clergy, James VI. accounted himself in a particular manner absolute proprietor of them, not only in consequence of the resignations which he had obtained from the greatest part of the beneficiaries, but because the purpose for which they had been granted —viz., the maintenance of the regular clergy—having been declared superstitious, the benefices themselves fell, as *bona vacantia*, to the Crown. First his Majesty appointed, on death of abbot or prior, a lay commendator for life to the vacant benefice. The most of these commendators got the king to change their liferent into a heritable right by erecting the benefice into a temporal lordship, the grantees of which were called *lords of erection* or *titulars of the tithes*. Some of these lords or titulars came to present ministers to vacant churches associated with their holdings.

To put a stop to such erections injurious to the Crown, all Church lands (tithes not interfered with), whether belonging to bishops, abbots, or other beneficiaries, were annexed to the Crown by 1587, c. 29, to remain for ever with it inalienably. There were three classes of subjects, however, excepted from this statute —(1) the erections already made; (2) lands of hospitals, schools, and universities which had been so previous to the Reformation; (3) benefices which had lay patrons previous to the Reformation. Besides these, the manses and glebes which belonged to the

popish Churchmen were excepted from the annexation of 1587; because every minister was accounted to have, if not a divine, at least a natural right to a manse and glebe—which were therefore to be considered as part of the spirituality of benefices, and so not to be annexed to the Crown more than the tithes themselves.

Commission of 1617.—The system of thirds, dating from 1562, improved in 1567 and damaged in 1606, struggled on to 1617. At that date a commission was issued by Parliament for settling ministers' stipends on a principle proposed to the General Assembly of 1596. A mixed commission of prelates, nobles, barons, and burgesses was named, with power "out of the teinds of every parish to appoint and assign at their discretion a perpetual local stipend to the ministers present and to come." By this Act, stipend was to be paid, not out of a general fund as before, but out of the tithes of the parish where each minister laboured. The minimum stipend was fixed at 5 chalders of victual, or 500 merks; the maximum at 8 chalders, or 800 merks. (1 chalder = 16 bolls of 8 stones each.)[1]

Valuation of Teinds under Charles I.—The next change was at the accession of Charles I. in 1625. He executed a revocation of all grants of Church lands or tithes made by his father to the Crown's prejudice. In January 1627 his Majesty appointed commissioners to confer with those interested in the revocation. Ultimately the differences were submitted to the king as arbiter; and four submissions were signed, the first and fourth by the lords of erection and their tacksmen, the second by the bishops and clergy, the third by the commissioners of several royal burghs in connection with their interest in certain churches, schools, hospitals, and colleges. On each of these four the king

[1] The minimum of stipend is now fixed at £150 by 50 Geo. III. c. 84, 5 Geo. IV. c. 72.

pronounced a separate award or decree arbitral, all dated 2d September 1629.

With regard to the superiorities of Church lands, 1000 merks Scots were to be paid by the Crown for each chalder of victual feu-duty, and for each 100 merks of money feu-duty. With regard to teinds, the decreet declares "that it is necessary and expedient for the public welfare and peace of this our ancient kingdom, and for the better providing of kirks and ministers' stipends, and for the establishing of schools and other pious uses, that each heritor have and enjoy his own teinds;" and in order to this, it is provided that all teinds should be valued and sold to those heritors who should choose to purchase them. The fifth of the rental of the land was declared to be the value of the teind; and the price of teinds thus valued was fixed at nine years' purchase. It was further provided, that in calculating the price of teinds, heritors were to pay for no more than what should remain after the ministers' stipends were deducted; and also that a certain portion of the rent or price, to be fixed by commissioners, should be set apart for the king in name of annuity.

These arrangements were sanctioned in 1633 by Parliament; and a considerable portion of the teinds were soon valued by sub-commissioners, but few proprietors used their right of purchase. "By this mode," says Sir John Connel, "the clergy of Scotland, on the one hand, were in general secured in competent provisions; and on the other, there were preserved to landholders the quiet possession of their property, the full benefits of their improvements, and the exclusive right to all future rises of rent."

For carrying the decrees arbitral in all their branches into full execution under the authority of a proper court, a commission was appointed by 1633, c. 19—

viz., the Court of Session. But unfortunately, much of the benefit that might have arisen from these arrangements has been hindered by two accidents—(1) the carrying off of the whole records to England during Cromwell's usurpation, of which the greatest part perished in the vessel that was bringing them back to Scotland after the Restoration; (2) the great fire in the Parliament Close in 1700, which consumed the records of the tithe office.

Erskine on the Nature of Tithes, and on Augmentation of Stipend. — Erskine (Institutes, II. x. § 40) says: "Tithes were, by their original constitution, a subject quite distinct from lands; for they did not belong to the owners of the lands, but to the Church. The rights of the two were also constituted differently. The lands themselves passed by seisin, but Churchmen enjoyed their tithes *ex lege*, both before and since the Reformation; their right was a necessary consequence of their being invested with their several Church offices; and so no form of law was required to the perfecting of it. . . . Lands and tithes are to this day accounted separate tenements, and pass by different titles; insomuch that a right to lands, though granted by one who has also right to the tithes, will not carry the tithes, unless it shall be presumed, from special circumstances, that a sale of both was intended by the parties."

At the time when the Church of Scotland claimed a right to the old Church property, the claim was distinctly allowed by the Scottish Legislature; for by Act 1567, c. 10, the thirds of all benefices were directed to be paid to the ministers of the Gospel, "aye and until the Kirk came to the full possession of their proper patrimony, which is the teinds."

"Neither the Act of 1633, c. 8, nor any subsequent commission of tithes, were limited as to their powers of

altering the old *maximum* of stipend fixed by the Act 1617. And therefore, now that the expense of living is so much heightened, the commission court exercise a discretionary power of augmenting stipends considerably above that *maximum*, where there is enough of free tithes in the parish. The reasons which chiefly move the court to grant augmentations are—that the parish is a place of more than ordinary resort, or that the cure is burdensome, or that the necessaries of life give a high price in that part of the country, or that the scanty allowance in that parish bears too small a proportion to the weight of the charge."—Erskine, II. x. § 46.

Reasonableness of the Principle of Grain Stipends, and their Augmentation periodically.—Augmentations of stipend, even where free teind is available, can be made only once in twenty years; and the augmentation is given not in money, but grain, the price of which is annually fixed by the fiars prices ascertained in each county by a jury acting under the sheriff, who ascertain the market prices of grain during a certain period of the year. By a decree of modification and locality, the Teind Court fixes how much augmentation is to take place, and in what proportions it is to be subdivided on the different lands where there is free teind. The advantage of grain over money is twofold as regards stipend. (1) The value of a given quantity of grain is more steady in the course of centuries than the value of a given number of pieces of money. (2) The original claim was mainly in grain, a certain proportion of sheaves drawn from the crop after it was cut, or a certain proportion of other produce or stock. Closely associated with stipend in each parish is a separate allowance for communion elements, averaging perhaps about £10, and regulated also by the Teind Court.

Exposure of the Weakness of three common Objections.—Some have thought fit to characterise the forms of the Teind Court as clumsy and "barbarous." They are no more so than ordinary forms of law, or than the technical terms used in any well-organised calling. Nautical terms are barbarous to a landsman, and railway terms are barbarous to one who is only a carter.

Another large branch of objections that have been made to the Teind system comes from selecting a few exceptional cases out of our 924 old parishes, and holding up these to look at as if they were fair specimens. There is one case (the Barony parish of Glasgow) where the list of names and properties occupies two large volumes, and one single blunder might cause these two volumes to be all done over again for correction. That expansion arises in a needless way from entering in detail the name of every proprietor, however small, in a parish that happens to contain a large part of Glasgow and its eastern suburbs. The original list of properties would not be at all formidable, and that was all that the law required.

This suggests another branch of objection that has cunningly been employed to foster discontent with Church stipends. Several burghs and towns (Edinburgh, Montrose, Dundee, Paisley, &c.) had ancient arrangements whereby Church property got mixed up with burgh property. Objectors looked only to the present liability of the burgh, without going back to the early arrangement wherein the Church revenue perhaps made the burgh; and in this way of looking at only one side of the account, it was very easy to raise a clamour against the Church. Such cases, in so far as they are a real grievance to any one, may be soon overcome by means of a historical and financial statement of facts and figures on both sides, and thereon a reasonable payment once for all to the Church, deter-

mined on the ordinary principles of capital and interest. This was done in the case of the annuity-tax in Edinburgh. The Church is pleased, although it sacrificed somewhat; the only discontents are those who have lost a stock-in-trade grievance. Any similar remaining cases of unfair pressure or grievance the representatives of the Church will be very glad to arrange on the terms applicable to any friendly compromise in ordinary business matters.

Besides the relation of stipend to teind, there is another branch of the same subject in connection with churches, manses, and glebes, the rebuilding and repair of which are a part of the liability of heritors. Civil procedure in connection with these is part of the duty of Presbyteries, with appeal to the Court of Session, according to certain ancient statutes. This undesirable jurisdiction has been recently simplified by the Act 31 & 32 Vict. c. 96, entitled "An Act to amend the procedure in regard to ecclesiastical buildings and glebes in Scotland," whereby, in case of dissatisfaction, the procedure may be easily transferred to the sheriff of the county, subject to a certain right of appeal to the Lord Ordinary.

Manse and Glebe.—By the Act 1663, c. 21, the burden of upholding manses once "built and repaired" at the expense of the heritors, is laid upon each minister during his incumbency. But before the minister's liability begins, the manse must formally have been inspected and declared *free*.

Every minister who is entitled to a manse has also a right to a glebe of arable land not less than four acres, lying as near and contiguous to the manse as can conveniently be obtained. By 1606, c. 7, there is an alternative of four soums of grass in lieu of each acre of arable land. A soum of grass is as much land as will pasture one cow or ten sheep.

Total Value of Church Endowments.—According to a return made to the House of Commons in 1874, the Church had from teinds, £235,700; Exchequer grants, £16,300; local sources, chiefly rates in towns, £23,500 —making in all £275,000. With the exception of a small sum, this revenue is derived not from anything honestly nameable as a tax, but from the patrimony of the Church. Even the Exchequer grant above named is pure Church money, being a sum paid out of the old *bishops' rents* for the purpose of raising certain small livings up to £150 each, these being known in the Church as Exchequer livings. For the actual work of the Church of Scotland this revenue is supplemented by her members year by year to the extent of £373,000 in 1877, and £408,000 in 1878. To withdraw such revenues from their ancient and beneficial usage would be simply to diminish the means of spiritual culture, especially as regards that section of our countrymen who from poverty, or sparseness of population, or recklessness, are least able or least disposed to attend to such culture.

There is no class or interest in the kingdom that has so little cause to fear a full historical inquiry into Church property as the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland. The more accurately the subject is understood, both in its past and present, the better for all friends of our own and other national Churches. Simple truth and honesty here, as in the matter of a religious census, is what above all things we desire.

This only a Remnant of the old Endowments.—The present revenue of the Church from teinds is only a remnant of what was once the Church's patrimony. This remnant never was dissociated from the land of Scotland within historic times; it was, however, always a separate estate. It has been controlled and regulated by King and Parliament, but not conferred. It may

be regulated anew, but to be entirely changed in its destination would be greater violence than any seizure of private estates; because here the tenure is more ancient, and the public benefit greater, than of any other property in the realm. Why but because revolutionary projects are united with sectarian animosity, do certain bodies of men assail this Church patrimony, which is but a fragment of its old self, and the most lineal in descent, while, *in the meantime*, they do not dare to seek rectification of that far larger part of the very same property that has been alienated to lay noblemen, and who have given no service in return? Practically, it is not landed proprietors who are looking covetously on teind property. They know teinds never were theirs, and are never likely to be. They are willing, like sensible men of business, to go on in company with the teind system: it costs them nothing —it is no hindrance to them in tilling or selling their own land; rather, it is a source of gain to many—*i. e.*, in all cases where there is unexhausted teinds. The opposition to the system really comes from only one section of the community that practically holds no land at all. Their whole case rests on distortions as to exceptional cases of Church property and revenue in burghs. It is not the Church that is profiting from the burghs, but it is the burghs that have enriched themselves from the Church; and in some cases when the property is squandered, or has disappeared, the members of the Church are illegally made to pay seat-rents to make up the burgh defalcations or mismanagement. It is an absurd idea that Dissenters have, that a burgh church is not paying if its seat-rents do not suffice to pay stipend and repairs of building. Many people avoid paying seat-rent because they know it is a sort of imposition—why should they pay for what is their own hereditarily? Every account in which *only* seat-

rents appear on one side, and stipend and repairs on the other, is a garbled account. Let the *teind* appear *along with* the seat-rents, and it will be a very different balance. This is shown in detail, as applicable both to Edinburgh and Glasgow, in "An Historical Lecture on Teinds or Tithes," by Rev. A. Fleming of Neilston, published in Glasgow in 1835, during the first Voluntary controversy.

The following is the conclusion of Mr Fleming's very clear and able pamphlet:—

"From this history of tithes the following facts are proven to demonstration: 1. That no person, be he *Seceder* or not, pays in Scotland one penny for the support of the National Church out of his *own* private property. 2. That what he pays to the Established clergyman out of his lands is the clergyman's own property, as much as the estate is his. 3. That the payment of stipend to the Established clergy has nothing to do with the landholder's religious, moral, or political creed. 4. That stipend is a mortgage in his land for which he pays nothing; and on the condition of paying it to the minister of his parish, he acquired and still holds his estate. 5. That to withhold stipend from his clergyman would be an act of *dishonesty*, if he could; or if retained by violence, would be *robbery* and *plunder*. 6. That as no heritor ever bought or sold the tithe, it cannot belong to him, belong to whom it will. 7. That so far from the system of tithes in Scotland being a burden on the landholder, and impoverishing him, it enriches him! as seen above. *Finally*, if all this be true, as it unquestionably is, then it is impossible to look upon the Voluntaries, and those who with them oppose the Scottish Church, with any other feeling than *pity;* for their opposition is *based* on falsehood and deceit—it has not a leg to stand on, either in law, in reason, or in the Word of God."

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS.

Principal Tulloch's Statement of the Membership of the three Presbyterian Churches.—Incomparably the most clear, honest, and official statement of the statistics of the membership of the Church of Scotland, along with that of the other two Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, is one furnished by Principal Tulloch, in a letter in the 'Times' of 6th July 1878. It is honest and impartial, because each of the three Churches concerned is taken at its own word; and if there be any disadvantage, it is in the case of the Church of Scotland, where the statistics belong to 1874, while those of the other two belong to 1877. Principal Tulloch says:—

"It is very important that mistakes should not prevail in England as to the relative numbers of the Church of Scotland and the two Presbyterian Nonconformist Churches which exist alongside of it. Notwithstanding the repeated assertions made in the course of the recent debate in the House of Commons, that the Established Church is the 'Church of a minority'—assertions for which, as your correspondent of last Wednesday, 'A Scottish Peer,' truly says, there was 'in no case any authority given'—I believe that

the Church of Scotland at this date really represents a considerable majority of the Scottish people. It may be true that the number of its places of worship is not quite so large as those of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches combined. But the following statement, which has been carefully prepared, and which is self-authenticating, is sufficient to prove the statement which I have made as to its relative membership :—

"Note of the numbers of communicants belonging to the three leading Churches in Scotland :—

I. Church of Scotland.

"Number of communicants per return ordered by the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr Edward Ellice, dated June 9, 1874, as also per further returns dated July 5, 1874—460,566. These returns have been so far verified by a return to the House of Lords, on the motion of the Earl of Minto, dated April 7, 1876, which showed that at 76 elections which had taken place since the Patronage Act came into force, and the regulations for which require the communion roll to be carefully purged and made up, 40 parishes had 1972 communicants less than in Mr Ellice's return, and 36 parishes showed an increase of 2775, making a net increase of 803, and a total of 461,369.

II. Free Church.

"1. Lowland or non-Gaelic charges. Number of communicants per statement by Treasurer of the Sustentation Fund, given in to the Assembly of 1877, which numbers are taken from the Presbyterial returns for year to May 31, 1876—208,748. Add congregations blank in above statement, but whose mem-

bership appears in previous years—say 3252—total, 212,000. 2. Highland or Gaelic charges. In the statement above referred to, instead of giving the membership in this class—which in almost every case is very low compared with the congregation—a proportion of adherents is only given, and the only way in which an estimate of the members in these charges can be made is by using the report of the Committee on Religion and Morals, which from year to year lays before the Free Assembly the statistics of certain Presbyteries visited by deputies during the year. Skye, Lochcarron, Abertarff, Lorn, and Mull have in this way been reported on, and they fairly represent different parts of the Highlands. If it be assumed, as it is thought it may fairly be, that the proportion of the membership to the adherents in the Presbyteries so visited and reported on is very much the same as the proportion between the two classes in other parts of the Highlands, we find that the number of members in the Highlands is therefore somewhere about 10,411—making the total for the Free Church 222,411.

III. United Presbyterian Church.

"Number of communicants as reported to the Synod of 1877—172,170.

"The total number of communicants in the Free and United Presbyterian Churches is thus 394,581; showing the Church of Scotland to have 67,896 more communicants than both these Churches put together."

Ecclesiastical Column in the Census resisted by Nonconformists.—In regard of statistics of membership of different Churches, it is to be observed that, in the case of Dissenting Churches, owing to the heat of politics

and high-pressure bigotry, they are able to count to their last man; whereas in almost every national Church there are many adherents and friends, in addition to actual members, who cannot be paraded in any muster of statistics, unless the statistics be conducted in the complete form of a separate column in our decennial census. Keenly alive to this, it has been the persistent policy of Nonconformists, both in England and Scotland, to resist to the utmost this full and decisive test; while both the Church of Scotland and the Church of England are not only willing to submit to, but anxious to have this test, whereby every inhabitant of Britain deliberately, in his own house, sets down his Church connection.

In the absence of this only complete exhibition, we are compelled to resort to a variety of other methods, the next best being membership of churches, the result of which, as just seen, is that the Church of Scotland has 461,369, while the Free Church and United Presbyterian together have 394,581, thus showing a majority of 67,896 for the Church of Scotland over both put together.

In the worst possible spirit towards the Church, a fresh Parliamentary Return of Communicants was moved for by Mr Duncan M'Laren; but instead of exposing decline or inconsistency and falsehood, it only corroborates and improves what had been previously reported—bringing out an increase between 1873 and 1878 of 55,161 communicants alone. The following is the published abstract of this latest Parliamentary return, showing at once the distribution of the Church's membership and its increase according to the counties of Scotland:—

ABSTRACT OF COUNTIES.

Name of County.	Population in 1871.	Communicants upon the Roll.			
		Male.	Female.	Total 1878.	Total 1873.
Aberdeen,	244,603	28,636	36,672	65,312	61,261
Ayr,	200,809	14,736	18,932	33,668	29,844
Argyll,	75,679	3,463	4,533	7,996	7,231
Banff,	62,023	5,483	7,218	12,701	11,244
Berwick,	36,486	3,751	4,787	8,538	8,207
Bute,	16,977	722	1,090	1,812	1,644
Caithness,	39,992	236	455	691	614
Clackmannan,	23,747	1,807	2,480	4,287	3,546
Dumbarton,	58,857	3,802	5,273	9,075	7,780
Dumfries,	74,808	5,830	8,543	14,373	12,368
Edinburgh,	328,379	19,321	28,648	47,969	40,633
Elgin,	43,612	2,195	3,249	5,444	4,162
Fife,	160,735	14,348	20,723	35,071	33,416
Forfar,	237,567	18,967	27,390	46,357	42,384
Haddington,	37,771	3,828	4,487	8,315	8,493
Inverness,	87,531	1,041	1,544	2,585	2,923
Kincardine,	34,630	4,911	5,674	10,585	9,673
Kinross,	7,198	684	896	1,580	1,617
Kirkcudbright,	41,859	3,715	5,395	9,110	8,412
Lanark,	765,339	33,623	43,731	77,354	64,792
Linlithgow,	40,965	2,751	3,411	6,162	6,487
Nairn,	10,225	135	259	394	352
Orkney and Shetland,	62,882	4,422	7,187	11,609	12,208
Peebles,	12,330	1,512	2,043	3,555	3,379
Perth,	127,768	12,050	16,246	28,296	25,876
Renfrew,	216,947	10,014	14,588	24,602	17,906
Ross,	80,955	476	748	1,224	1,168
Roxburgh,	53,974	5,034	6,913	11,947	9,773
Selkirk,	14,005	1,237	1,662	2,899	3,625
Stirling,	98,218	6,269	8,154	14,423	12,332
Sutherland,	24,317	178	205	383	378
Wigton,	38,830	3,234	4,235	7,469	6,897
Total,	3,360,018	218,411	297,375	515,786	460,625

Relative Number of Places of Worship.—Another test, good and useful in its way when taken in connection

with others, is that of the number of places of worship or number of clergymen. This may prove very misleading unless we know something of the general character of ecclesiastical buildings as to size and cost, and something as to the congregational finance in the respective denominations dealt with. There are churches and churches. Advantage was taken of this sliding scale most cunningly in the debate on religious denominations in Scotland on Mr Holms's motion in the House of Commons on June 1878. But Mr Holms's figures for the Church of Scotland were not up to date. He gave credit only for 1406 places of worship, whereas the number reported to the Pan-Presbyterian Council the previous year was 1493, and is now 1533. To the same Council the Free Church congregations were (self) returned as 1009, United Presbyterians as 526, Original Secession as 41, and Reformed Presbyterian as 12 — so that as far as *Presbyterianism* is concerned, the Church of Scotland had only 95 congregations fewer than all the others put together—*i. e.*, 1588 − 1493 = 95. Yet Mr Holms represented the Church of Scotland 1406 in contrast with 2594 belonging to other denominations. To make up this 2594 it is necessary to include Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, and all who have no sympathy with Presbyterianism. But to do this is totally inconsistent with his main argument relative to the proportion of the several branches of Presbyterianism. How erroneous in point of fact he was even there, is demonstrable from his reference to Edinburgh, where he said that the Established Church people were under 24 per cent of the population, the Free Church itself being *more*, though then only by a little. This is simply a gross misstatement. The Parliamentary return obtained by Mr Ellice gives the membership of 15 Established

Churches in Edinburgh as 17,064, while the same number of Free Churches (their own return) is 7430 for the same year for churches bearing the same name and occupying the same district, and in most cases close to each other. The details are so striking (as exhibited in 'The National Church,' p. 124, published by Nimmo. Edinburgh: 1878) that they are worthy of quotation.

A Parallel of 15 Edinburgh Churches.—Membership in 1874:—

	Established.	Free Church.
Buccleuch, ...	390	272
Lady Glenorchy's, . . .	687	558
Morningside, ...	542	193
Newington, ...	1,396	740
St Andrew's, ...	901	522
St Bernard's, ...	1,300	523
St Cuthbert's, ...	1,403	421
St George's, ...	870	821
St John's, ...	242	378
St Luke's, ...	397	482
St Mary's, ...	1,110	520
St Stephen's, ...	2,040	460
Tron, ...	1,224	313
Leith, North, ...	2,056	956
Leith, South, ...	2,506	271
Total, . .	17,064	7430

If these so favourable circumstances as regards Edinburgh can be so frightfully misrepresented to the House of Commons as to be construed into *more* members for the Free Church than for the Church of Scotland, what perversions may we not expect as regards places less conspicuous?

Old partial Census of 1851.—A religious census (of a very restricted sort) was made in 1851, when there

were 3395 places of worship in Scotland, and 944,000 persons attending church. Of these, 1183 places of worship and 351,000 persons belonged to the Church of Scotland, 889 places of worship and 292,300 to the Free Church, 465 places of worship and 159,000 to the United Presbyterian Church, and 858 places of worship and 141,000 persons to all other churches. Whatever value this census may have as to 1851, it is totally misleading now in 1878, for in the interval the Church of Scotland has been making marvellously rapid recovery and extension, while both Free Church and United Presbyterian have been nearly stationary, and as regards the increase of total population have been actually losing ground.

Fallaciousness of the Test of Church Attendance.—The church-attendance idea is a favourite one with Dissenting manufacturers and cooks of statistics. On several occasions the newspaper organs of Dissent in Edinburgh and Glasgow have betaken themselves to this species of romance, with results exactly similar to Mr Holms's Edinburgh performance, above corrected. It is currently believed that when these enumerations were made, a secret notice was given beforehand for Dissenting congregations to be sure to attend on a certain day to be counted. This alone would vitiate the result. But the openings for manœuvring are endless: *e. g.*, in dealing with the small town of Falkirk, the United Presbyterian Church got credit for members who come in from miles of country round about, whereas parish churches essentially belonging to Falkirk were cut off from the town they belong to by taking an arbitrary boundary-line that served the Nonconformist purpose. In this way anything may be proved, and with real facts too, but the facts are garbled. Why should any one dream of resorting to

church attendance as a test of denominational strength, when without trouble or expense we have the means of knowing from the sources so fairly used by Principal Tulloch the real numerical strength of every Presbyterian congregation in Scotland,—their own strength on their own individual and official showing? If these attendance statistics, which cost much special labour to the enumerators (not to speak of Sunday desecration), were honest and sincere, why should the very persons who take this trouble and lay so much apparent stress on numerical majorities, and claim such for themselves, be so eager in their resistance to a fair national census, that would be complete for all Churches alike, and beyond reach of tampering?

Statistics of Marriage for all Denominations.—Another of the approximate tests of ecclesiastical proportion in Scotland is the distribution of marriages among the clergy of the different denominations. This is a much more reliable test than that as to churches and church attendance; still it is liable to considerable bias, as when either bride or bridegroom belongs to a Dissenting community, the sectarian vehemence is very likely to determine the choice of the officiating clergyman when arranging with the other party whose membership in the Church of Scotland will imply some share of calmness and tolerance. This branch of statistics has been very well exhibited by Professor Charteris in part of a letter to the 'Courant' of July 19, 1878. He quotes and comments on part of the nineteenth report of the Registrar-General. It is for 1873, and was printed in the end of 1877.

"Proportion of marriages contracted in Scotland and its five groups of districts, according to the rites of the several religious denominations (in 1873):—

PROPORTION OF MARRIAGES.

	All Scotland.	Principal towns.	Large towns.	Small towns.	Mainland rural.	Insular rural.
Established Church, . .	45.56	35.18	42·99	50.47	59.39	47.05
Free Church, ...	21.71	22.15	18·86	16.93	25.31	40.00
United Presbyterian, .	13.44	13.73	14·04	17.18	9.68	6.41
Roman Catholic, . . .	9.16	12.87	13·82	7.93	2.32	4.05
Episcopal Church, . .	2.42	4.02	2·42	1.35	1.00	0.00
Other denominations, .	6.93	10.26	7.77	6.07	2.16	2.36
Denomination not stated,	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.14	0.00
Irregular marriages, . .	0.74	1.79	0.10	0.05	0.00	0.13

It is easy to see that although all over Scotland less than half—indeed only 45½ per cent—of the marriages are performed in connection with the Established Church, the reason of that is, that we are brought down in the principal towns to 35 per cent, and in the large towns to 43 per cent; while in the small towns we have more than half of all the marriages, and in the 'mainland rural' districts very much more. It is right to add that the Established Church during the nineteen years for which reports have been published has maintained pretty much the same proportion, but gaining on the whole: its highest (1857) being 47.71 per cent of the whole, and its lowest (1865) 43.10 per cent. Its proportion was 45.12 in 1855, and is 45.56 in 1873, as seen above.

"Meanwhile the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church have been decreasing pretty steadily, and especially during the five or six years previous to 1873. The Free Church had 23.70 per cent in 1855, and the U.P. Church 15.00 per cent. The Free Church had 21.71 per cent in 1873, and the United Presbyterians 13.44. That is to say, each of them has decreased about 2 per cent. The Episcopal Church (including both Scotch and English Episcopal Church) has increased, but is only a fraction of the population

still. It had 1.78 in 1855, as against 2.42 in 1873. 'Other denominations' have increased by 2 per cent, and irregular marriages about $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent."

Finance: Specimen of unreliableness of Totals.—A fourth test applicable to Churches is finance. But in the use of finance for this purpose we require to take care not to be carried away by slump sums unaudited in detail, nor to award the prize to the highest competitor simply as such. An illustration of the former danger is given in the 'Edinburgh Courant' of 9th July 1878, where £5901, 6s. 3d. is detected as doing duty for £19,000. In the F.C. returns for 1877-78 occurs "General abstract showing the sums *raised* for the various objects of the Free Church of Scotland," missions and education, £91,895, 17s. 11d. In the condensed abstract there is given for education, £19,000—but this is made up of balances from preceding years, Government grants, and Normal School fees; the pure outcome of congregational liberality being not £19,000, but £5901, 6s. 3d. If this kind of misleading of £13,000 on one branch of work be carried over the thirty years of F.C. history, and if a few similar cases of exaggeration be similarly traced, a wonderful collapse will take place in those totals that have been so industriously advertised.

The Unchristian Character of Competition in giving.—As regards awarding the prize to the highest competitor, we require to remember the Gospel widow's mite, and that it is not a principal but only a concomitant aim of the Christian Church to raise money at all. The real glory of the Church is to preach the Gospel to the poor as well as to the rich. And if the poor are largely associated with any Church, it is impossible for such a Church to compete with another branch of the Church that leans mainly on the rich or on the middle classes as to giving so much per head of membership.

The U.P. Church for 1878 claims a liberality in money at the rate of £1, 18s. 8d. per member. This is their own estimate; but they seem entitled to even more,—viz., £2, 3s. 11d., if, as alleged, their total revenue for 1878 was £378,000, and their membership —as in 1877—172,170.

The F.C. revenue for 1878 was £552,500, and their membership for 1877 (I have not the figures for 1878, but the difference will be slight) 222,411, which gives an average of £2, 5s. 2d. per member.

The Church of Scotland revenue (from voluntary contributions) in 1878 was £408,500, and the membership for 1874 partly on to 1876 (as in Principal Tulloch's letter to the 'Times') was 461,369, which gives only 17s. 8d. average per member.

Explanation of different Ratios of giving in the three Presbyterian Denominations. — The true explanation of this discrepancy between the liberality of Dissent—£2, 3s. 11d., or £2, 5s. 2d. per member—and that of the Church of Scotland—17s. 8d.—is that in the former case there are very few poor members at all, while as a general principle every member pays for his Church privileges in the way of a tax.

The Church of Scotland undoubtedly has the largest share of struggling peasants and workmen who can afford little, and of the very poor who can afford nothing at all, but rather require help themselves; so it never can compete in the race as to liberality estimated per head. In fact, the race is essentially unchristian, as success is based on being quit of the poor just as much as on getting hold of the rich. Another consideration is, that there are some parts of Dissenting revenue which do not apply to the old parish churches,—*e. g.*, seat-rents, stipends, buildings.

Abstract of Contributions of Church of Scotland for 1878. —As the Church of Scotland has been systematically

slandered for extreme deficiency in liberality, it may be well to give here an abstract of its finance for 1877, as collected by a special "Committee on Statistics of the Christian Liberality of the Church:"—

1. Ordinary church-door collections, including collections at communions, . . .	£65,827	18	4
2. Seat-rents (reported from 429 churches), .	53,094	3	9
3. Parish or local mission, ...	16,812	11	9
4. Week-day and Sabbath schools, exclusive of school-rate, ...	10,094	5	4
5. Church or manse building or repairs, or Church extension, exclusive of heritors' assessment, ...	69,800	12	8
6. Six missionary and educational Schemes of the Church, ...	32,976	6	9
7. Legacies for the Schemes, ...	3,857	15	2
8. Other objects recommended by the General Assembly (*e. g.*, Army and Navy Chaplains, Patronage Compensation, Continental Churches, &c.), ...	3,284	6	2
9. Collections in Sabbath-schools for Missions, &c., ...	2,069	3	8
10. Endowment of chapels—			
(1) Towards new Scheme, . . .	11,245	11	6
(2) Towards local funds, . . .	26,978	16	5
11. Association for Augmenting the Smaller Livings of the Clergy, ...	7,745	2	2
12. Supplementary stipends not contributed through the Association, . . .	10,894	3	10
13. Associations for female education in India, education of Jewish females, &c., . .	4,512	9	9
14. Other objects connected with Church and charitable work (including collections for infirmaries, &c.), and legacies therefor, .	54,522	2	1
	£373,715	9	4

The total reported by the same committee for 1878 is £382,334.

In the first and last items (both large) in the above list it will be observed that a large part of each is not so much the Church for itself as the Church for the poor and the sick—for in the case of the old parishes a main use of the church-door collections is for the poor.

A Pecuniary Calumny refuted but not withdrawn.—One of the most unprincipled of the slanders diffused against the Church was made in Manchester, 29th Jan. 1878, by a professional agitator with an American degree, to the effect that the entire liberality of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation till now was within two millions sterling. In the one branch of Home work, from 1872 to 1876, the Church has received and spent close on £2,000,000. In the same four years for Foreign Missions its revenue was £138,277. This and much more was officially detailed in a formal reply to the professional agitator with the American degree, yet he had not the honour either to withdraw or apologise for the slander. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

Sustentation Fund of Free Church analysed.—In the case of Free Church finance, although it has been a wonderful success upon the whole, yet it will not stand careful analysis and closer acquaintance. Much of it is as far as possible from voluntary. Giving is too often preached about. Legacies are often got to the glaring neglect by testators of their own near kindred. One Dissenting minister has been twice in the Court of Session in will-making cases where his Church profited.

In the first twenty years of the F.C. the highest sum received as stipend from the "equal dividend" was £140. In 1867 it rose to £143. In 1878 it was £157. But a good number of stipends are increased by direct congregational gifts. There is progress in this, but we

can scarcely add soundness and stability when we proceed to trace how the fund for this amount is made up over town and country, Highlands and Lowlands. In 1863, when the F.C. had in all 831 "ordained charges," 179 of these gave under £60 a-year for the "Sustentation Fund," while 457 gave under £100 a-year. Thus *more than one half* of the congregations then composing the F.C. were pensioners on the other and smaller half. This is a mild statement of the proportion, for it was not £100 but £137 that was needed for self-support. Only 102 congregations out of the whole 831 contributed above £200, so that mainly on these 102 fell the burden of the denomination.

In 1867, out of a total of 923 (including churches and *stations*), 227 (of which 167 were "ordained charges") gave less than £60; and only 232 of all the 923 were self-supporting—*i.e.*, gave £144.

In 1878, out of a total of 1032 (churches and *stations*, of which 43 are unordained charges), 118 give less than £60; 425 give below £100; only 192 give above £200; while 320 are self-sustaining = £157 each.

Like a top, this system of finance needs constant whipping to keep it up, and such whipping is not a very spiritual concomitant to the Gospel, especially when to this again is added another element of politics, of late years more and more prominent.

Membership of Free Church retrograde compared with Population.—These two, and some other causes, especially in connection with Union negotiations after 1863, and the passing of the Patronage Act in 1874, have for a number of years past almost entirely checked real progress in the F.C. In fact, its position relative to the population of Scotland is actually retrograde, as has been shown in the 'Edinburgh Courant' of July 9 and Aug. 2, 1878, in two articles, the substance of which

is as follows, the figures being entirely those of the F.C. itself in official papers :[1]—

In 1867 the membership of the F.C. (exclusive of the Highlands) was 201,725. In 1878 it is 219,086, showing an increase of 17,361. But in this is included the membership of the Reformed Presbyterian Church (6034), which amalgamated with the F.C. in 1876. The proper increase, then, during these eleven years, is 11,327, while the population of Scotland has increased by 192,000. The increase in the F.C. Presbytery of Edinburgh in the same eleven years is only 3367, while the population of Edinburgh city alone rose from 198,433 to 217,166. So in the entire Presbytery of Glasgow there has been an increase of only 6614, while in the city of Glasgow alone the population has risen from 471,478 to 559,000. The increase, wherever it has taken place, has generally been in charges instituted since 1867. In churches planted before 1867 the Edinburgh increase is only 1599 in eleven years. In Glasgow, in the same class of churches, there has been a decrease of 96. In each of the following Presbyteries there has been decrease—Haddington and Dunbar, 209 ; Kelso, 196 ; Stranraer, 153 ; Dunkeld, 231 ; Perth, 298 ; Auchterarder, 432 ; Forfar, 415 ; Brechin, 358 ; Aberdeen, 258 ; Garioch, 286.

Even in the Highlands the F.C. has not the hold it once had. Here, instead of giving communicants (owing to local superstitions against communion), the F.C. very reasonably gives a certain proportion of adherents as an equivalent. In 1875 they gave 35,129, but in 1878 only 32,378, a decrease of 2751 in three years, which represents a decrease of 4718 persons

[1] In May 1879 these articles have been revised and extended in a pamphlet, 'Plain Words and Simple Facts about the Church of Scotland and her Assailants.' Blackwood : Edinburgh.

above fourteen years of age. The details are as follows :—

Presbyteries.	Churches.	1875.	1878	Decrease.
Kintyre, . .	11	2307	2134	173
Lorn, . . .	7	935	854	81
Breadalbane, . .	10	1400	1382	18
Abernethy, . .	7	1233	1170	63
Forres, . .	6	1248	1087	161
Inverness, . .	7 of 13	2060	1868	192
Chanonry, . .	6	1470	1100	370
Dingwall, . .	9	3006	2410	596
Tain, . . .	10	3450	3036	414
Dornoch, . .	4 of 11	1097	880	217
Caithness, . .	18	6492	6034	461
Tongue, . .	3 of 8	927	918	9
Lochcarron, . .	4 of 12	1222	985	237
Skye and Uist, .	7 of 16	1817	1665	152
		Total, . .		3144

The Presbyteries with increase are as follows :—

	Increase.
Dunoon and Inverary, ...	131
Islay, ...	105
Mull (3 of 11), ...	25
Nairn, ...	89
Abertarff, ...	43
Total, . .	393

United Presbyterian Statistics.—In order to have the elements of comparison for the third great branch of Scottish Presbyterianism, it is necessary to give a summary of the statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, on the same principle of drawing only from their own reports that has been followed in the case of the Free Church.

The Secession (more strictly so called) which began

in 1733 with 4 "meeting-houses," had attained to 32 in 1747 at the date of the division into Burghers and Antiburghers. In 1766 the number was 120; in 1773 it had risen to 190; and in 1820, at the date of the conjunction of "New Lights," to 262. Again, the Relief Church (the other branch), starting with 3 "meeting-houses" in 1761, had risen to 115 in 1839.

At the formation of the United Presbyterian Church in 1847 the number of congregations was 518, of which 402 belonged to the Secession share, and 116 to the Relief; but omitting congregations in England and Ireland (as we are here dealing with Scotland only), the numbers were respectively 342 and 111—in all, 453. In 1853 it had 446 (several small congregations having been incorporated), in 1863 it had 457, and in 1867 it had 493 (with 103 more in England and Ireland).

The membership of the whole United Presbyterian Church (the 103 in England and Ireland *included*), as reported at Synod 1867, was 174,947, to which it had risen from 163,554 in 1860. Of the 596 congregations 150 then received aid, which was of two kinds—(1) pastoral supplements, 50, averaging £21, 16s. 9d.; and (2) missionary supplements, 100, averaging £42, 17s. Of the 596 churches there were 247 (including the 150 just specified) where the stipend was under £150, and the average stipend over the whole denomination then was £182, 2s. 7d.

Nine years' Gains and Losses.—In 1868 the total number of U.P. members in Scotland was 155,878, and in 1877 they were 168,802, thus showing only an increase of 12,653 in nine years,—surely not an increase proportionate to the increase of the population of Scotland during the same period. The details of the position of the U.P. Church during the period in question are worthy of study, as presented in the following table (Courant, 22d August 1878):—

GAINS AND LOSSES OF THE U.P. CHURCH DURING NINE YEARS.

Presbyteries.	No. of churches.	Communicants in 1868.	Communicants in 1877.	Increase.	Decrease.
Edinburgh, . .	65	26,400	27,481	1081	...
Glasgow, . . .	91	35,922	45,880	9958	...
Aberdeen, . .	14	2,824	3,133	309	...
Arbroath, . .	13	3,703	3,785	82	...
Banffshire, . .	10	1,283	1,314	31	...
Dundee, . . .	20	6,183	7,486	1303	...
Dunfermline, .	11	4,285	4,476	191	...
Hamilton, . .	17	5,668	6,416	748	...
Kilmarnock, .	29	7,796	7,964	168	...
Kirkcaldy, . .	17	4,602	4,687	85	...
Melrose, . . .	15	4,994	5,359	365	...
Paisley & Greenock, . . .	38	10,741	12,275	1534	...
Stirling, . . .	17	4,321	4,707	386	...
Annandale, . .	12	2,129	2,111	...	18
Buchan, . . .	8	1,119	1,068	...	51
Cupar, . . .	12	3,156	2,809	...	347
Dumfries, . .	15	3,114	2,887	...	227
Elgin & Inverness,	12	2,108	1,912	...	196
Falkirk, . . .	13	3,508	3,380	...	128
Galloway, . .	11	1,811	1,739	...	72
Kelso, . . .	10	3,606	3,227	...	379
Kinross, . . .	7	1,639	1,397	...	242
Lanark, . . .	12	3,783	3,239	...	544
Orkney, . . .	14	4,845	4,661	...	184
Perth, ...	24	6,338	5,409	...	929
Berwick (Scottish part), . .	10	...	...	...	271

Statistics for 1877.—In 1877 the baptisms in the U.P. Church were 11,171, being 227 less than in 1876, and 3 less than in 1875. The average membership per

congregation in 1875 was 326, in 1876 was 327, in 1877 was 325. In 1877 the average contribution per member for congregational, missionary, and benevolent purposes was £1, 18s. 8d.

In 1877 the average stipend was £262, 1s. 9d., to which it has risen from £198, 4s. 8d. in 1868. To make up stipend alone, the average contribution per member in each of these years was 16s. 2d. and 13s. 4d. respectively. A curious illustration of how essentially the U.P. Church is a Church for towns with concentrated population and means, comes out in the very high proportion of the contributions of 3 Presbyteries to the whole denomination. While the entire contributions for congregational, missionary, and benevolent purposes are set down at £335,633 for 1877, of this sum the 3 Presbyteries referred to contribute £202,225, the details being — Edinburgh, £53,968; Glasgow, £119,133; Paisley and Greenock, £29,126. So that, while 3 Presbyteries contribute £202,225, the other 23 contribute only £133,408. Or, to represent it more fairly as regards congregations, while 3 Presbyteries, with 194 congregations, contribute £202,225, 23 Presbyteries, with 340 congregations, contribute only £133,408.

CHAPTER XI.

ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED AGAINST NATIONAL CHURCHES IN GENERAL, OR AGAINST THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN PARTICULAR.

Said to violate the Rights of Conscience.—It is alleged that a State Church violates the rights of conscience. It is said that "citizens have a right in equity to demand that no [religious] institution shall be either set up or maintained by public authority and public funds which is offensive to their religious convictions." Here is a plausible principle which will not stand the test of universal application in public life. To satisfy the atheist, are we prepared to abolish all oaths in courts of justice? To satisfy the Jew, are we prepared to obliterate the Christian Sabbath, in so far as laws are concerned against Sunday traffic? To satisfy the Mohammedan, are we prepared to do away with our laws against bigamy? To satisfy the secularist, must we abstain from Bible lessons in our schools? To satisfy Quakers, are we prepared to abolish the army and navy? To satisfy Romanists, are we prepared to alter the coronation oath of our sovereign? There is no more reason to abolish a State Church to please political Voluntaries than there is to abolish oaths, Sabbath laws, marriage laws, Bible-teaching in public schools, standing armies, or Protes-

tant succession to the throne, because each of these is offensive to some consciences among us. The advantages of civilised life are not to be had except on the condition of accepting *some* regulations that may be unpalatable or restrictive to *some* persons. A Government absolutely perfect and free is not a thing of the present world at all. It is enough if the advantages overbalance the disadvantages, and if the disadvantages or restrictions be reduced to a minimum. Quite abolished they cannot be without return to anarchy. No man is entitled to have so narrow and selfish a conscience as cannot put up with institutions that commend themselves to the vast majority of consciences of contemporaries, and have in the whole course of human history commended themselves to the consciences of countless generations of all lands. A peculiarity and novelty of conscience, dating only from 1793, and almost exclusively possessed in Scotland by one section of one sect, may well raise a question whether it is called by its proper name—whether bigotry, selfishness, jealousy, intolerance, would not be nearer the truth than liberty of conscience. It is only religious equality down to their own level that the other two branches of the Presbyterian Church think of. There is, however, a second or third descent of exactly the same sort down to religious equality with atheists, which they do not agree to. The meaning of this is, that the principle of religious equality is a sophistical principle.

Said to disturb Religious Equality.—Another of these sophistical arguments advanced against national acknowledgment of Christianity is, that there ought to be absolute religious equality in a well-governed State, no branch of the Church preferred to any other, and privileged. All privileges and monopolies (it is said) are more or less unjust to those outside of the privilege. This argument is not quite distinct from that

which rests on the rights of conscience—it carries the same idea down into more material application.

There are privileges and privileges. A privilege becomes a real grievance and injustice when it is in principle limited to one class or district, and when, although thus limited, all are bound to contribute towards it, or honour or obey it. Neither of these is true of the Church of Scotland. All are welcome to share its benefits who choose to come into it. Those who are outside of it are so of their own free will, because they think they have advantages outside that preponderate over those to be enjoyed within. For preferring to be outside they are no way interfered with or persecuted. As to the second particular, the Church of Scotland is equally clear in its constitution. It is no way a burden pecuniarily to the members of any other Church. Not one sixpence of the legal revenues of the Church of Scotland comes from any source or on any principle, save what is common to all the property of the kingdom. It is true that the money received by the Church comes through the hands of many who do not belong to the Church, and who, it may be, are hostile to it; but this money is neither gift nor tax. It falls to be paid in virtue of old arrangements as to Church property mixed up with other property, on exactly the same principle as the owner of a property has sometimes an annual charge to pay for feu-duty, or any such permanent claim. It does not matter in the rent of a house or farm, or freight of a ship, what Church or Churches the two parties concerned may belong to. The bond between the two for the occasion is simply one of property. To decline payment on the irrelevant ground of Church difference is simply to attempt gain or fraud, under pretext of religion. Business and society would come to an end if obligations could be repudiated because the money had to be paid by an

atheist to a believer, by a Dissenter to a Churchman, or by an Evangelical to a Ritualist.

An Established Church is simply one specimen of a large class of public arrangements or institutions that, so far from being reprehensible, are tokens of national wisdom and progress and security. In one line we find for a variety of social purposes such things as schools, colleges, libraries, museums, parks, poorhouses, reformatories, hospitals. It is not every citizen that requires each of these, or cares for each of them; yet within certain limits these are matters of legitimate concern and expenditure in every well-ordered city or State. So also in another line, such matters as the conferring of titles of nobility, adjusting order of precedence, conferring of academic degrees, providing of bursaries and prizes, regulating different apprenticeships, appointing terms of licence in certain callings and professions — all these are elements of a higher social, intellectual, and artistic life. And most of these have a civic or national sanction. Each has its own circle and province; but that that province in each case should be well regulated is matter of general benefit and interest. The only real objectors to such matters are a few extreme democrats and socialists of the type of the Paris Commune, that attacked the public monuments because to *them* they were irritating tokens of superiority. No better really, in point of principle, is the objection to an Established Church on the part of political Voluntaries. Political Voluntaries feel that they are new, and have antipathy to what is older than themselves. Their system is a brisk shareholding, shopkeeping sort of Christianity, where the rule is for every one to pay his own score: what need do they see for the nation, as such, to have a paternal care of those who cannot pay their score? Crumbs of cheap missions are good enough for such. No, says a Chris-

tian nation; it is as needful (and far more important) to provide free religious ordinances and comely churches for the poor and struggling part of the community, and for sparsely-populated districts, as it is for us to provide an industrial museum to help the diligent artisan with specimens, or a national gallery of pictures to promote taste, or a standard of degrees to enable the common people to know what medical man to trust with their health, or what lawyer to trust with their case.

Said to be Unscriptural.—Sometimes the enemies of national religion go the length of calling Established Churches unscriptural. Generally this charge is made without condescending on special passages to support it, or if actual Scripture is quoted, it is mainly the text, "My kingdom is not of this world,"—a text which simply asserts the distinctively spiritual nature of Christianity, a doctrine which no branch of the Church denies. It would be much more reasonable to claim Scripture on the other side. The whole Old Testament rests on the historical basis of an earlier Church, the theory of which not only implied alliance with the State, but control over the State, in the form of a directly divine, or at least a hierarchical government. The Old Testament contains several prophecies of the Gospel wherein direct allusion is made to kings and nations as friends and allies. Psalm lxxii. says—"The kings of Tarshish and of the isles . . . the kings of Sheba and Seba . . . all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him." Isaiah (xlix. lx.) is no less specific: "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." "Their kings shall minister unto thee;" "thou shalt suck the breast of kings." In the New Testament the Lord directs His followers to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," illustrating the precept by teaching the lawfulness of pay-

ing tribute in opposition to the Pharisee's theory of a rebellious Church with a false independence as against the actual State. St Paul (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2) counsels Timothy to give prayer for kings and rulers a prominent place in Christian worship—a counsel rather inconsistent with the modern thin-skinnedness of some as to the relation of the Church to the State.

It is mainly in obscure sectarian productions of the tract order, and especially in platform harangues, that an appeal is made to Scripture as unfavourable to the friendly relation of ecclesiastical and civil government. The idea will not stand the test of the production of specific passages, and the interpretation of these by calm and sound scholarship. Really it is a shame to embitter a controversy like this by importing Scripture into it at all, abusing the Word of God by absolutely false applications, useless except in misleading ignorant and already prejudiced hearers.

Said to be Injurious to Religion itself.—Still another objection made to an Established Church is, that it is injurious to religion. In a formal document issued by a committee of the Synod of the U.P. Church in 1873, stating the grounds which justify and demand the disestablishment and disendowment of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, the following fearful language is employed: "The State Church system makes religion geographical, without the power of affecting individual faith or practice, and engenders by the surest process the worst forms and manifestations of irreligion and infidelity." This language is used by the representatives of a small and new branch of the Christian Church against two other branches, each far larger, older, and better trained. As to making religion geographical, a State Church no more does so than good laws and good government make patriotism geographical. The most geographical of all Churches

was one founded by God in Palestine, and more locally still on Mount Zion. The parochial system glories in being geographical, bringing religion to every group of streets in a town, and every group of farms in the country; it *organises* religious ordinances evenly and universally, instead of leaving them to chance or charity, or the shopkeeping principle, wherein the poor and the scattered are neglected.

It would be a waste of effort formally to refute the other half of the objection, in which the State Church system is described as powerless to affect individual faith and practice, and accused of engendering by the surest process the worst forms and manifestations of irreligion and infidelity. Here is simply a wholesale calumny unsupported by fact—a case of bearing false witness against a neighbour. There is no more melancholy phase of modern sectarianism than when we see thus such a total absence of fairness and charity, the eyes deliberately shut to all the Christian life and work of great religious communities, and an assertion made that they are abettors of wickedness—all this in order to commend to the world and to Parliament the interests of political Voluntaryism. "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!" May God forbid that with all our divergence of opinion from many religious neighbours the Church of Scotland should ever become so degraded and bigoted as to use language like that above quoted regarding the very worst of them all.

Church of Scotland said to be in a Minority.—It is contended that the continuance of Church Establishments should be conditioned by their retaining a majority of the population in their favour. This is a condition

that requires some discrimination, for few persons will be rash enough to submit *everything* to the test of a vote. There never was an age in which Christianity might not have been expelled from the world had its place among other religions depended on a plebiscite of mankind. At first either majority, or force, or management must secure the establishment of a Church. Our enemies will admit that the Church of Scotland started with a majority of Scotsmen in its favour, and retained this majority down to 1843. Suppose the majority lost for a little; is the Church so situated to have no patience or mercy shown to it, even in case there should be a fair prospect of recovering its majority? What we assert on behalf of the Church is, that it never really lost its majority; at least, this never has been proven. We further assert, that since 1843 the Church has entered on a career of steady and rapid recovery, especially during the last twenty or twenty-five years. Our chief rivals, even by their own official returns, are nearly stationary, and when compared with the increase of population, are actually retrograde. We are willing and anxious to have an ecclesiastical census to prove our own position, whereas our rivals have again and again thwarted this only reliable test of numbers.

But what is it that we are to call a majority in the matter of Church Establishments? (1) Is it a majority of the whole population voting on the general question of the expediency of national acknowledgment of religion? or (2) a majority voting on the specific question of the expediency of retaining the Church of Scotland in its present position? or (3) is it a majority of only the Presbyterian part of the community? Each of these three forms of majority has its own claim for consideration, and there is no one of the three which the Church of Scotland need fear or avoid.

The third of these forms of majority has been already exhibited (p. 132), each Church making its own return; and the result is that the Church of Scotland had in 1874 a majority of 67,000 members more than both F.C. and U.P. Church together. In 1878 the majority had risen to above 120,000. The majority is not only a matter of fact, but a yearly *growing* majority.

For the first kind of majority, where the real question is of State Churches against the new theory of the incompatibility or inexpediency of connection between Church and State, we would have added to the vote of the membership of the Church of Scotland that of (1) about one-half of the F.C. (especially the laity and the Highlands); (2) perhaps one-fourth of the U.P. laity; (3) the whole R.C. Church; (4) that part (perhaps three-fourths) of the Scottish Episcopal Church which has not gone to the extreme views of Messrs Mackonochie, Tooth, and Canon Liddon. In short, here is only a question between three-fourths of the U.P. Church, *plus* the renegade half of the F.C., and the whole of the rest of the population of Scotland.

The second kind of majority is really the main one of the three, whether in practical relation to politics or to Church government. Here we would have added to the vote of the membership of the Church of Scotland—(1) the vote of some (in one respect, alas, too many!) poor careless Scotsmen only nominally Protestant, who still regard the National Church as their friend; (2) about half of the F.C., especially the laity and the Highlands; (3) perhaps one-fourth of the U.P. laity; (4) perhaps three-fourths of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Here, in fact, the question would be one that would put the Disestablishment party in the F.C. and in the U.P. Church in alliance with the Roman Church and the Extreme Ritualist, and the declared enemies of all Churches whatever.

It only remains to be pointed out that there is no single branch of the Church which in Scotland can come nearer to the National Church than in the proportion of one half; and in the case of the F.C., which is thus favourably situated, its membership is not available really for being placed in rivalry to the Church of Scotland, because among the laity and in the Highlands the F.C., to the extent probably of one half of itself, is at one with the Church of Scotland in maintaining the lawfulness of union of Church and State.

Is it fair, in talking of majorities, always to place the Church of Scotland on one side by itself alone, and to look at all else, good, bad, and indifferent, as to be united against it on the other side? Does the diversity on that side count for nothing, especially where unquestionably the large body of the Roman Church (perhaps ten per cent of our population) is simply watching its own opportunity to re-in*state* itself as it was previous to 1560?

Church of Scotland said to be more objectionable since the Patronage Act of 1874.—Since the passing of the Patronage Abolition Act in 1874 a new objection has been vehemently urged against the Church of Scotland by her Dissenting neighbours. It takes the curious form of declaring the Church to be since then only a sect, because less national by the transference of the appointment of ministers from the old patrons to the communicants and adherents of each congregation. An answer of remarkable clearness and force has been given to this objection by the Duke of Argyle in his article on "Disestablishment," already referred to. He shows that patronage was no proper part of the constitution of the Church, but an excrescence and fraud forced on it in 1711, and the source of great annoyance ever since. By abolishing patronage the Church be-

comes its original and proper self. Moreover, the new basis for appointment of ministers is much wider than under the old patrons—hundreds now act where one acted previously—so that it is the reverse of narrowing, as in a sect. The superseded patrons were not representatives of the nation: they were possessors of a marketable privilege, and in many cases were not even the chief landlords in the parish. To the best of them (like the Crown or the Duke of Buccleuch) their privilege was a burden, especially for a generation past, under the Aberdeen Act. A direct presentation without regard to the satisfaction of the congregation endangered the good name alike of the patron and his nominee. Some contend that the right of appointment should have been extended to all parishioners, and not merely to communicants and adherents of the parish church. To have done this would have been absolute ruin to the Church as a spiritual institution. It would then have been less than even a sect, for there is no sect in Scotland so secular and degraded as to have or be capable of having such an admixture.

Not only is the Church now in its original position, with the fulness and freedom of its Revolution Settlement, but that position is identical as regards the matter in question with the position occupied by the Free Church and the U.P. Church. In fact, had the Church of Scotland always been as she now is, without patronage, there would never have been either of these Churches. Their sole, or at least main, *raison d'être* was irritation caused by patronage. For them, therefore, to object to another Church getting what they count a blessing for themselves, is a most unchristian course. The wish of many seems to have been to see the Church still vexed with patronage, so that her prosperity and stability might thereby be hindered or destroyed. Here, then, is a policy avowed by one

Church, or rather by two Churches, against another Church, and that Church their own mother, that has been severely, but in the circumstances not too severely, characterised as "immoral" and "disgraceful." When the Church was under patronage it was reviled as under State bondage: when the Church is free from patronage it is deserving of overthrow! How can we argue with such critics, whose principle is passion or prejudice, but not fairness or consistency?

Church of Scotland's Disestablishment said to be the first Condition of Presbyterian Union.—A final reason urged by our Dissenting neighbours for the disestablishment of the Church is, that thereby the foundation may be laid for a union with the Church—a union of the three leading Presbyterian bodies in Scotland. Could anything be more preposterous than to expect the Church to embrace its bitterest enemies after such humiliation? Disestablishment can only be the greatest possible obstacle to union. This is the unanimous voice of the Church, already strongly expressed by representative men of different sides like Principal Tulloch and Dr Phin. It needs no prophetic gift to foresee what line the Church would take in the event of disestablishment. Old names and old boundaries would be preserved unaltered. Our first effort would be to re-endow partially and as far as possible all the old parishes, for which a glorious commencement would be found in our present *quoad sacra* parishes. The spirit of our people would be aroused afresh by suffering on behalf of the old historic Church of the land. As regards union or direction of union, instead of being downward toward Dissent, it would be almost certainly in another direction toward that original shape of our Reformed Church when it had only its first Book of Discipline, its Book of Common Order, and the Confession of 1560—not toward these in their letter and

fulness, but toward these in their liberality and spirit, as showing what the Church aimed at before it was called to struggle with the Stuarts. This is no prophecy, for it is already in that direction that the hearts of the best men in our Church are turning. Episcopacy we have no wish for, and no belief in as a theory of Church government; but were a choice necessary between *that* and shaking hands with political Voluntaryism, doubtless the former would be the choice of the great majority of Churchmen.

The five Classes of Persons who chiefly use these Arguments.—In dealing with the arguments employed in decrying the Church of Scotland, or in disparaging the whole system of national Churches, there are not only bitter, untrue, sophistical statements and reasoning met, but peculiar positions are found to be occupied by those who advance and sympathise with these statements and arguments. In most cases it is right to estimate reasoning apart from the person reasoning. But in this instance, as happens in matters of evidence, the character and position of the witness throw a very important light on the whole matter. They who make use of the foregoing arguments may be classified as follows: (1) An extreme branch of politicians notoriously on the outlook for a new party-cry to reach office, "whistling for the wind;" (2) Peripatetic platformers hired by the "Liberation Society," whose income of £16,000 a-year is all English money, except a few hundred pounds Scots; (3) The same twofold company of clerical "leaders" who laboured so zealously for ten years to effect a union between the Free Church and the U.P. Church, but failed—leaders whose secret design in union is now openly avowed in this new movement which is diverting their respective Churches from proper Gospel-work into politics and revenge; (4) Extreme High Churchmen, who find the

sober piety of national Protestant Churches to stand in the way of their medieval revivals in ecclesiastical nomenclature, millinery, gestures, and furniture; (5) Secularists, to whom all doctrines of revelation and all creeds are hateful.

In short, while there are no two nobler things in the world than a good State and a good Church, and between these friendly intercourse and mutual help, the five elements above enumerated represent simply the degeneracy and acrimony of State and Church.

Two curious Changes recently made in the Enemy's line of Argument.—Since the composition of this Handbook was begun last autumn, the argument against the Church of Scotland, based on its being in a minority in the country, has practically been abandoned, mainly in consequence of the clear and powerful letter of Principal Tulloch in the 'Times' of 6th July 1878. Before that date frequent scorn was cast at the National Church as a poor shrivelled institution, whose mainstay was the treaty of Union and Acts of Parliament. The demonstration of its popularity and vitality has forced the enemy to take refuge in the sophism of the cloudy argument as to religious equality. No acknowledgment, however, has been made of the previous misrepresentation or falsehood as to minority. That would be an unprecedented honesty and courtesy for the Church's persecutors.

In the same style, from 1843 on to within two or three years ago, one of the grand faults of the National Church was its "lat-i-tud-i-na-ri-an-ism;" it was the mother and patron of all heresy, and unsoundness in the faith. For two or three years past the old sing-song cant as to lat-i-tud-i-na-ri-ans has been heard very rarely, if at all. Has the Church of Scotland changed and become more orthodox and evangelical, or has Dissent become more charitable?

Neither. The strange silence as to latitudinarianism is explained simply by prudence. The Free Church has had its own troubles in the Marcus Dods and Robertson Smith cases. The U.P. Church has had its Ferguson and Macrae cases. In the face of these facts it has not been convenient to maintain the venerable 36-year old slander. Who is the latitudinarian *now?*

CHAPTER XII.

PART I.—TESTIMONY RENDERED TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND BY STATESMEN, HISTORIANS, AND THEOLOGIANS, MOSTLY OF OTHER CHURCHES.

Article in Treaty of Union, 1707, guarding the Church.—"And more especially her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, ratifies and approves and for ever confirms the fifth Act of the first Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, Act ratifying the Confession of Faith and settling Presbyterian Church government, with all other Acts of Parliament relating thereto, in prosecution of the declaration of the Estates of this kingdom, containing the claim of Right bearing date the eleventh of April 1689. And her Majesty, with advice and consent aforesaid, expressly provides and declares that the foresaid true Protestant Religion contained in the above-mentioned Confession of Faith, with the Form and Purity of Worship presently in use within this Church, and its Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline, (that is to say,) the Government of the Church by Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, all established by the foresaid Acts of Parliament pursuant to the Claim of Right, shall remain and continue unalterable, and that the said Presbyterian Government shall be the only government of the Church within the

kingdom of Scotland."—Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, 6 Ann, c. 11, art. xxv. (quoted in Cook's Styles, Appendix).

Report of Committee of Commons in 1834.—"No sentiment has been so deeply impressed upon the minds of your Committee, in the course of their long and laborious investigation, as that of veneration and respect for the Established Church of Scotland. They believe that no institution has ever existed which, at so little cost, has accomplished so much good. The eminent place which Scotland holds in the scale of nations is mainly owing to the purity of the Standards and the zeal of the ministers of its Church, as well as to the wisdom with which its internal institutions have been adapted to the habits and the interests of the people."—Report of Committee of Commons on Patronage in 1834, composed of Sir R. Peel, Sir R. H. Inglis, Lord Dunfermline, Lord Dalmeny, &c.

Sir Walter Scott: his character of "good Mr Morton," "Dr Erskine," and "Reuben Butler."—"This worthy man (none of the Goukthrapples or Rentowels) maintained his character with the common people, although he preached the practical fruits of Christian faith, as well as its abstract tenets, and was respected by the higher orders, notwithstanding he declined soothing their speculative errors by converting the pulpit of the Gospel into a school of heathen morality. Perhaps it is owing to this mixture of faith and practice in his doctrine, that, although his memory has formed a sort of era in the annals of Cairnvreckan, so that the parishioners, to denote what befell Sixty Years since, still say it happened 'in good Mr Morton's time,' I have never been able to discover which he belonged to—the evangelical or the moderate party in the Kirk. Nor do I hold the circumstance of much moment, since, in my own remembrance, the one was headed

by an Erskine, the other by a Robertson."—'Waverley,' chap. xxx.

Note.—While Sir Walter in many passages has done the Church of Scotland injustice, and religion itself harm, by caricaturing the Covenanters, faithfulness has prevailed in such instances as the character of a moderate minister of the eighteenth century above quoted; and still more notably in the character of Dr Erskine, given in 'Guy Mannering,' chap. xxxvii., and in that of Reuben Butler, in 'The Heart of Midlothian,' chap. li.

Sir Robert Peel on supporting the National Church.—"When I have joined in the public worship of your Church, think you that I have adverted to distinctions in point of form, to questions of Church government and church discipline? No; but with a wish as hearty and as cordial as you can entertain, have I deprecated the day when men in authority, or legislation, should be ashamed or unwilling to support the National Church of Scotland."—Speech at Glasgow in 1837.

Lord Gillies: the Usefulness and Stability of the Church unimpaired by Decisions of Civil Courts.—"I am bound to come to this conclusion, but I should come to it with much regret if I thought it could be hurtful to the Church of Scotland. I had the honour for a considerable period of a seat in the General Assembly, though for several years I have ceased to be a member of it; and I am still a sincere friend to the Church, and nearly connected with it. My grandfather was a minister of the Church of Scotland; and one of his sons after him was also a clergyman, distinguished by his piety, his learning, and his usefulness. I am proud of such connections; they serve to attach me in every way and by every tie to the National Church, of which I have always been a member. As a sincere well-wisher of the Church, I repeat that I should deeply

regret any judgment that might be hurtful to it; but I console myself by taking an opposite view of the effects which will be produced if our judgment should be in favour of the pursuers.

"Here I intended to record, but in this I have been anticipated by your lordship, the concluding passage of Sir Henry Moncrieff's excellent pamphlet, where he states that 'the practical effect of the Church Establishment in Scotland on the information, the morals, and religious character of the people equals, if it does not surpass, whatever can be imputed, on the same points, to any other Church in the world.' This was well and truly said: it was true at the time; it is true still; and long may it continue to be so. The Church of Scotland is a beautiful and solid fabric; it rests on durable, on eternal foundations. It has nobly fulfilled, and continues to fulfil, the important purposes for which it was intended; and I for one am unwilling to tamper with so fair and useful an edifice."—Speech in Auchterarder Case: Robertson's Reports.

Lord Medwyn, an Episcopalian, on the Ground of its unsurpassed Usefulness, desires the Continuance and Prosperity of the Church of Scotland.—"Although I stand in the peculiar position of a dissenter from the Established Church, I trust I need not profess my great regard for it, founded on the firm conviction of the truth of the statement, 'That the practical effect of the Church Establishment in Scotland on the general information of the people, on their private morals, and on their religious character, equals, if it does not surpass, whatever can be imputed, on the same points, to any other Church in the world.' On this my respect for the Presbyterian Church in this country rests, and on this my earnest desire for its continuance and prosperity is founded."—Speech in Auchterarder Case: Robertson's Reports.

Sir William Hamilton, Bart.: the Church of Scotland the most Faithful and Independent of all Branches of the Reformed Church.—"While other Churchmen and other nations (and these often the most prompt defenders of their temporal liberty) have passively allowed their creeds to be prescribed and represcribed to them by the civil ruler, under all the changeful phases of his personal caprice, the clergy and the people of Scotland, during ages of fiery persecution, through rebellion, discomfiture, revolution, and victory, steadfastly maintained, and finally established, in this our country, the ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline which, from the Reformation, had been established in our hearts; . . . the Church, now alas! of all the sisters of the Reformation,

'Among the faithless faithful only found.'"

—In Pamphlet of 1843: "Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs, by Mistake."

W. E. Gladstone: his original Views as to the State's Duty and Interest to co-operate with the Church—the insufficiency of Voluntaryism—the Scottish Establishment the National Estate of Religion for that Kingdon—and Faith plighted to support it.—"The highest duty and highest interest of a body politic alike tend to place it in close relations of co-operation with the Church of Christ. . . . The union is of more importance to the State than to the Church. She, though excluded from the precinct of government, may still fulfil all her functions, and carry them out to perfection. But the State, in rejecting her, would actively violate its most solemn duty, and entail upon itself a curse. . . . Besides, it may be shown that the principles upon which alone the connection can be disavowed tend intrinsically and directly to disorganisation, inasmuch as they place government itself upon a false foundation. . . . Of

all parts of this subject, probably none have been so thoroughly wrought out as the insufficiency of what is termed the Voluntary principle. It has been shown that, while demand under the circumstances of modern society commonly creates supply, and while, therefore, it is needless to use adventitious means in order to provide any commodity or good for which there is a natural desire, in the case of religion the desire is least when the want is the greatest, and those who are most indifferent upon the subject require to be most solicited by the public institutions of religion, not less for the welfare of the State than for the salvation of their own souls. . . . Because the Government stands with us in a paternal relation to the people, and is bound in all things to consider not merely their existing tastes, but the capabilities and ways of their improvement; because it has both an intrinsic competency and external means to amend and assist their choice; because, to be in accordance with God's Word and will, it must have a religion, and because, in accordance with its conscience, that religion must be the truth as held by it under the most solemn and accumulated responsibilities,—because this is the only sanctifying and preserving principle of society, as well as to the individual that particular benefit, without which all others are worse than valueless, we must disregard the din of political contention, and the pressure of worldly and momentary motives, and in behalf of our regard to man, as well as of our allegiance to God, maintain among ourselves, where happily it still exists, the union between the Church and the State. . . . The Scotch Establishment has every feature that can mitigate the anomaly and evil of a case of separation [from Episcopacy]. It is, in the words of Mr Smith, 'the national estate of religion' for that kingdom. It has fixity of creed. It is now rid of its

ancient prejudices against the Episcopal government, which is generally regarded with positive favour by its clergy. The character of that body is most exemplary. The administration of patronage is wonderfully pure. The temporalities of the Church are husbanded so as to produce a great amount of beneficial agency from limited means. The operation of the system on the people tends to order and loyalty, and yet more to a general knowledge and fear of God, which those who have lived among the Scottish people will ever be glad and forward to acknowledge. . . . It is obvious that the members of the Anglican Church might, by their votes in Parliament, overbear the representatives of Scotland and alter the Union; but it is not less clear, I think, that such an act would virtually be a breach of covenant; and therefore it is not option or discretion, but plighted faith, which entails upon us the support of the Scottish Church." —'The State in its Relations with the Church,' 2d ed., 1839.

Dr Chalmers: impotency of Voluntaryism — call for Churchmen to labour on, and for the squabble of Voluntaryism to cease.—"This is an age hostile to endowments by the State; and our great dependence under heaven for the fuller equipment of our Churches is in the endowments of Christian charity. The spoliators of our Establishment are on the wing, and their unhallowed hands are already lifted up to mutilate and to destroy. But if we be supported as we ought to be, the benefactors of our Establishment will greatly outnumber and overmatch them. In that mighty host of aliens from the lessons and ordinances of the Gospel who are still unreached and unclaimed, we behold the full demonstration of the impotency of what is called the Voluntary system. It is now for the Church to bestir herself, and put forth her own peculiar energies and resources,

in the work of calling in these helpless outcasts; and in proportion to our success, we shall earn for the cause of religious Establishments the friendship of the wise and good, the support of every honest and enlightened patriot. . . . What a beautiful and noble result were this wretched squabble of Voluntaryism terminated, and the combatants, dropping their peculiarities, were to join their forces in one grand movement against the wickedness and irreligion of the people! We shall not despair of such a consummation. The asperities of that warfare which now rages on every side of us are surely not to last for ever. Peace and charity, let us hope, will in time be lords of the ascendant, and the storm which now darkens and disturbs our moral atmosphere, we trust, shall purify but not destroy."—In a Church circular in 1836, quoted in 'Courant,' March 14, 1879.

Thomas Carlyle: good Influence of the Presbyterian Church on Scottish National Character.—"The Scottish national character originates in many circumstances: first of all, in the Saxon stuff there was to work on; but next and beyond all else except that, in the Presbyterian gospel of John Knox. . . . Knox did at bottom, consciously or unconsciously, mean a theocracy or government of God. He did mean that kings and Prime Ministers, and all manner of persons, in public or private, diplomatising or whatever else they might be doing, should walk according to the Gospel of Christ, and understand that this was their law, supreme over all laws. He hoped once to see such a thing realised, and the petition *Thy kingdom come* no longer an empty word. He was sore grieved when he saw greedy, worldly barons clutch hold of the Church's property; when he expostulated that it was not secular property, and should be turned to true Churchly uses, education, schools, worship; and the Regent

Murray had to answer, with a shrug of the shoulders, 'It is a devout imagination.'"—Essay on Sir Walter Scott.

Lord Macaulay: the Nationality of the Church.—"Take the Church of Scotland: . . . it is a Presbyterian Church in a Presbyterian country; its creed is the national creed; its form of worship the national form of worship. Schism may have reduced its numerical strength, a subject on which we shall have something to say before we have done, but it is still, in the eyes of all reasonable men, the Church of the Reformation and the Church of the Revolution."—Speech in the Commons, 23d April 1845, quoted in 'Blackwood' for Sept. 1878.

Dean Stanley: Church of Scotland the Church for Scotland.—"Whilst thus insisting on the elements of Scottish religious life, which are above and beyond all institutions and all parties, it is impossible to avoid the question (not what party, but) what institution most corresponds to these aspirations? And here we cannot doubt that, viewing it as a whole, and with all allowance for its shortcomings, it must be that institution which alone bears on its front, without note or comment, the title of 'the Church of Scotland.' . . . The Church of Scotland has a claim on the attachment of all those who are unwilling to let go the opportunity of unfolding to the utmost the capacities of an institution which has already done so much for the civilisation and the edification of the whole empire. Englishmen and Scotsmen of all persuasions may well be proud of maintaining a Church which has at times in these islands been the chief support of the united interests of culture, freedom, and religion—a Church which Carstairs and Robertson, Chalmers and Irving adorned—which Sir Walter Scott and Sir William Hamilton supported, because they felt that no exist-

ing institution could equally supply its place."—The Church of Scotland, Lect. iv.

Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, M.P.: Popularity of the Church above all Sects, and her Position now better than ever before. —"Speaking as impartially as a Scotchman can speak of the various religious associations into which our country is divided, I think the Church of Scotland holds a paramount place in the affections of the people. We know that there are many sects among us; but we also know that the Church of Scotland occupies much ground which is common to them all, and therefore it cannot fail to awaken the respect of them all. I am aware that there are amongst us a large and influential party who are conscientiously opposed to the existence of Church Establishments, and who would if they could, and no doubt will if they can, take away from the Church of Scotland such modest public endowments and such shadowy privileges as now belong to her. But I think I may at the same time say, that if any member of our various sects should by any accident be prevented from obtaining or enjoying the ministrations of the body to which he belongs, he would, from the highest Anglican Churchman down to the most stanch Voluntary, rather worship in the Church of Scotland than with any of the sects by which he is surrounded. And I think there are many obvious reasons why that should be so. First of all, the Church of Scotland has never in her history shown more of zeal, more of charity, and more of vitality than at the present moment. Not even in those great days when Dr Chalmers was the leading orator of his country, and the organiser of all good works, did the Church of Scotland occupy a prouder position than she does at present. Nay, more, I would say that there are many respects in which the position of the Church of Scotland is better than it was then. . . . There never

was a time, I believe, when, as leaders of public opinion, the leaders of the Church of Scotland stood in a more eminent position. They are worthy successors of those great men in the last century who stamped a high and intellectual character upon the Church of Scotland. Every year some of the flower of the youth of Scotland join its ranks, and amongst the rank and file whom its leaders lead there are few who are not men of pure lives, whose homes are not the homes of everything that is comely and of good report, whether in our towns or rural districts."—Speech, 19th May 1877, when laying the foundation-stone of Pollokshields Church, Glasgow—a handsome building on his own property, costing £14,000, to which Sir William personally contributed.

Lord Moncreiff, a Free Churchman, warns against Disestablishment as both Needless and Dangerous.—"I do not draw from the history of the times which were the subject of my remarks [1560-1843] the moral that the State Church should cease to exist in Scotland. As an adherent of the Free Church (I say nothing of the political aspect of the question), I see no more reason for taking any part in an agitation against the Established Church now than the leaders of the great body of the Free Church did in 1843. . . . I do not think the prospect of redress is near in the present day; neither, on the other hand, do I think the result unattainable; but it is far too soon, in my opinion, for us with our own hands to render it impossible, and undo the work of three hundred years. The public guarantees given by the Civil Government for the Protestant faith, Presbyterian Church government, and evangelical doctrine, whatever such securities may be worth, for the most part centre in the institution of the Church established by law. I have no nervous apprehension in regard to any of these, but none of them are so far beyond peril that I would

willingly renounce any of our safeguards, and liberate the Imperial Parliament from its obligations, unless better assured of what would come in their place. The adjustment of the new order of things would not be wholly or mainly in Presbyterian hands; and it were difficult to predict what kind of fabric might or might not arise on the ruins of our Revolution Settlement and the Treaty of Union. For it must not be forgotten that changes of this nature are seldom confined in their operation to the object for which they were effected, but frequently find their main development in results the most unexpected, and sometimes in those which are least desired. It is impossible to root out an old tree without disturbing the soil round it; and the abolition of the Established Church would bring with it many results, religious, public, and social, extending far beyond our subjects of controversy. . . . For myself, I prefer to remain on the old neutral vantage-ground—to cherish the traditions of our fathers and the lessons of history, and leave it to time to unravel problems which we cannot and need not solve." — Prefatory Note to Lecture on Church and State from the Reformation to 1843: Edinburgh, 1878.

Dr Norman Macleod: would widen the Church for all Presbyterians, but preserve Endowments to secure a proper Ministry.—His anxiety was, if possible, to rebuild the Church on a foundation sufficiently wide to include the Presbyterianism of Scotland. He did not, however, delude himself with the hope of any corporate union immediately with the Free Church and United Presbyterians, in consequence of the abolition of patronage. He knew too well their historical antecedents, understood too well the spirit which years of antagonism had created, and had weighed too carefully other practical difficulties, to expect any such happy consummation. . . . But he certainly dared to hope that, after time had exercised its healing influence, these

Churches would be thankful for the preservation of the national endowments for religion, and appreciate the attempt now made to open the doors of the Establishment as wide as poseible to all Presbyterian bodies. In these endowments he saw the only sufficient security for the existence of a well-paid and well-educated ministry for the nation. All he had seen and learned of Voluntaryism in America, and all he had known of its working in this country, had convinced him that, when existing alone, it was not only insufficient for the proper support of the Church in poor districts, but involved in its very nature elements of danger to the tone, independence, and liberty of the clergy. (See his speech on patronage in the Assembly of 1870.) It seemed to him, therefore, a betrayal of the interests of Christianity in Scotland, where the people were practically at one in their beliefs, to throw away the patrimony of the Church for the sake of a party triumph. He was therefore determined, as far as in him lay, to conserve the Church for patriotic ends; and, with this view, was anxious to bring her government as much as possible into harmony with the lawful wishes, and even the prejudices, of the people. "We must endeavour to build up a Church, national but not sectarian, most tolerant but not indifferent—a Church with liberty but not licence, endowed but not covetous, and which, because national, should extend her sympathy, her charity, if need be her protection, to other Churches, and to every man who, by word or deed, tries to advance the good of our beloved country."—'Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.,' chap. xxii.

In an earlier passage, in 1847, at the end of chap. xi., he says:—

"I have now within two years seen the practical working of various Churches, and come into contact

with the clergy of various denominations. I have seen the war of weak sects in the backwoods and lonely settlements of the colonies, and Voluntaryism in its poverty and in its grandeur in the United States. I have watched well the temper and tendency of the Free Church in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. I have met in the freest and most friendly communion, for days together, the Dissenters of England at the Evangelical Alliance. I have examined the workings of Episcopacy during a year's residence in England. I have seen Popery in every part of Germany, from Vienna to Berlin; in France and Belgium, Ireland and America. I have examined into the German Church; and the result of all has been to deepen my attachment to my own Church, to fill me with unfeigned gratitude to God for the Protestant Evangelical Presbyterian Established Church of Scotland. It is Protestant, without any toleration of Popish error within its bosom. It is Evangelical, and equally removed from formal orthodoxy, or canting methodism, or icy rationalism. It is Presbyterian, and in possession of a free and vigorous government, which occupies a middle point between the power of one bishop or of one congregation. It is Established, and so not dependent for its support on the people, while, for the discharge of all the functions of a Christian Church, independent of civil government by virtue of her constitution. What want we then? Nothing but the power of the living Spirit of God to enable ministers, elders, and people to use the high talents God has given us for the good of Scotland, of the Christian Church, and all to the glory of God. 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning.'"

Duke of Argyll: the Freedom of the Church of Scotland, and its Superiority to Party Strife.—"It is difficult to con-

ceive of any Church with greater powers and liberties than these; they are greater, more unencumbered, than have been enjoyed at any former period of its history. It is now distinctly more free than in the days of Knox, or in the days of Melville, or in the days of Henderson. If its powers are wisely used, they give to that Church singular facilities for meeting the requirements of its own country and of our time. It now represents, with a fulness of measure in which it never represented before, that ideal connection between Church and State which was the passion of its Reformers, and has been always the distinguishing aspiration of the whole Presbyterian people. And in this result the seceding Churches have at least an equal right to triumph. . . . It is for them, or for as many of them as choose to do so, to enter in and take possession. . . . Or if they do not formally join, at least they can work alongside in peace; for there is room for all. What divided them [patronage] is gone. What has always united them alone remains.

"It would indeed be a strange and perverse reason for disestablishing a Church, that it has just been brought to coincide almost, if not altogether, with those who once thought themselves compelled to withdraw or to stand aside. If the Presbyterian laity of Scotland are now worthy of those who have gone before them, they will in this matter refuse to follow either secular politicians or ecclesiastical leaders who make it the sport of party."

"They will compel both sectarianism and faction to stand aside. They will not allow the abandonment of that public and national recognition of the principles of their Church which our ancestors highly valued and which they dearly bought."—Duke of Argyll, "Disestablishment," 'Contemporary Review,' Jan. 1878.

Marquis of Lorne—judge the Church fairly, and let it

stand.—"In domestic matters he asked them not to yield to a mere outcry against an institution. They should examine if the thing were bad before they pulled it down, and ask what better could take its place. With such an institution, for example, as the Church, he asked them not to give way to a mere jealousy of it. Do not judge of any proposal to reform it in the spirit shown by some when the abolition of patronage was proposed, when it was said that the Church could not be national if the congregations alone were to choose their ministers. The nationality of a Church depended not on such things, but on its accepting the recognition of the nation. Before voting with, or listening to, those who wished for disestablishment, they should inquire whether by any other system they could have in Scotland a Presbyterian Church able to cover the whole field of religious want, and overtake the spiritual needs of the whole country, which advantage an Established Church gave them. They had now got the nation to recognise Presbyterianism as the religion of the Scottish people, a recognition which it was not certain they might be otherwise able to procure."—Speech at Inverary before starting for Canada: 'Courant,' Sept. 25, 1878.

'Blackwood's Magazine,' Sept. 1878—**the Liberal Attack on Church Establishments inconsistent with previous Principles of Liberals, and makes the Liberal Party the Tool of Religious Jealousy.**—"It is pitiable to see the flag of religious jealousy supplant that of political independence; and it is still more pitiable to think that the object of all this low-minded and slanderous assault should be an institution which has deserved so well of its country as the Church of Scotland. . . . If it is overturned for the exigencies of a Liberalism which has lost both its character and its sense, or from the apathy of a Conservatism which fails to realise all that such an

overturn means, there will survive little in Scotland to distinguish it as a nation. The country will become, as many now desire it to become, a mere northern province of England; and movements which have even now begun for the removal of its supreme courts of law southward will rapidly culminate in success. But more than this, if the Church of Scotland is removed, there will remain no link whatever between the commonalty of Scotland and its higher classes. . . . Remove the Established Church, and social bonds in Scotland will become thoroughly disturbed. . . .

"Let it be borne in mind that the forces which are really moving the present agitation are not any genuine form of national discontent in Scotland nor in England. If they were, the sources of the discontent might be removed—the National Churches might be readapted to the national feeling. But the real forces are not popular or national, but sectarian and dogmatic; and the chief home of these forces is in England. The Church of England is the real object of offence to them. The money which promotes the agitation year by year comes almost all from England, and is given by men or societies who hate the English Church for its social privileges and the very largeness of the power which it exercises. They think comparatively little of the Church of Scotland, save as a means for the overthrow of the more powerful institution. . . . It is still possible, however, for the mass of intelligent Liberals, as well as Conservatives, to stamp out, by firm and resolute resistance, an agitation which has no roots in popular conviction any more than in enlightened political philosophy. The sectarian dogmatism out of which it comes would be seen in its true proportions if the question were fairly and by itself put to the popular vote."—Article "The Liberal Party and the Church of Scotland."

Professor Flint: the Church of Scotland the chief Fountain of Scottish Life and main Stream of Scottish History, and less one-sided in Politics than any other Church.—"She is a Church which her ministers may justly regard with pride and affection; a Church with a long and heroic history; a Church with crowded records of martyrs and saints, gospel triumphs, and national services. She has displayed faults on which many in the present day delight to enlarge, and committed errors for which she has had dearly to pay; but notwithstanding these, she has been the chief fountain through which has welled Scottish life, and her history has been the main stream of Scottish history. She has done more than any other institution to make Scotland what it is, and no man not ashamed of Scotland can reasonably be ashamed of her. As the Established Church of the country, she is bound to free herself from everything which can give reasonable cause of offence to those who hold the principles and doctrines presupposed in her establishment; bound to seek to be able to say with a clear conscience to every person in Scotland who assents to her doctrine, and regards the national recognition and support of religion as right and useful—I am not the cause of your separation from me. I am aware that the more she does this, the more offence she will give to some persons, who, if they were to speak quite frankly, would say, What offends me is just that there are no grounds for offence—what I dislike in you is simply that you are truer to my principles than I am myself; but duty is duty, and the Church of Scotland is bound to do her duty, no matter who may wish that she would not. So, wherever there is spiritual destitution in Scotland, besides the common claim which lies on all our Churches to meet it, there lies on the Church of Scotland a special claim to do so in virtue of her establishment. If there be great spiritual desti-

tution in Glasgow, and great spiritual destitution in Timbuctoo, a Voluntary Church is, comparatively speaking, free to choose whether she will direct what spiritual supplies she can provide, but the Established Church can have no choice in the matter; she exists as an Establishment to supply the spiritual needs of Scotland; that is the very basis of the bond between her and the State—a bond which is in no contradiction to the obligation she is under to send the Gospel to the brethren abroad, but which pledges her honour to a special care for the spiritual welfare of the people of Scotland. Mere co-parishioners have no special claim on the minister of a Voluntary Church, but every parishioner has as much claim on the minister of the Established Church as the members of his own congregation. Further, the Church of Scotland needs that her clergymen should be men largely endowed with catholicity of feeling towards the other Christian Churches in the country—largely endowed with unfeigned Christian love towards Dissenting Christian brethren. The Gospel imperatively demands this. Its royal law is love, and we cannot violate that law without sowing to the wind and reaping the whirlwind. Not a little of the bitterness which is sometimes manifested in assaults on our Church may, I believe, be traced to the fact that many of our clergy in former days treated Dissenters, and especially Dissenting ministers, as intellectually, morally, and socially their inferiors. This contempt and injustice caused, in no inconsiderable degree, that soreness of feeling which makes the argument that a national establishment of religion is subversive of Christian and civil equality, although worthless in itself, always a telling one at Liberationist meetings. If we could heal the soreness of feeling, the argument would soon be seen to be pointless, and the only way in which we can hope to

heal it is by so acting towards our Dissenting brethren as to show them that their equality is already as fully recognised by us as it could be if we had never been established. We shall then be able to say to them, with the right, at least, to be believed sincere, This Christian equality—this religious and civil equality—which you seek, are you sure that you have not already got it? We know that, as the ministers of an Established Church, we are under some obligations from which you, as the ministers of a Voluntary Church, are free, and that in virtue of voluntarily accepting these obligations we have placed at our disposal certain means of usefulness which you have not, because not willing to comply with the conditions on which they are bestowed; but that we are thereby raised religiously or civilly above you is what we do not know, and is what we do not feel. We cannot be pulled down to your own level, for we are there already. The pinnacle of religious and civil superiority on which it grieves you to see us placed is the creation not of the State and Establishment, but of imagination. No argument, however, to this effect, will be of any avail if our acts do not confirm our words, if our conduct does not prove our language to be sincere. There will be all the more need, I add, for cherishing the catholic feeling and Christian love of which I speak, if our Dissenting brethren are to put forth their strength in a combined and persistent effort for disestablishment. I sincerely hope that the resolution which many of them have expressed to that effect will be seriously and conscientiously reconsidered. I do not fear that if they act on it they will succeed. I feel quite certain that Scotland, fairly consulted, will be decisively against them. What I dread is, that ecclesiastical war will be very disastrous to the religion of Scotland, and most injurious also to the political and moral life of Scotland. I can see no

prospect of advantage coming from it to any Presbyterian Church in Scotland, or to any good cause in Scotland. The increase of religious indifference, of contempt for all Churches and Churchmen, of unbelief, and of Romanism, the embitterment of political feeling, and the consciousness of Presbyterian and Christian unity seriously deadened for many a day—these, it seems to me, will be the chief results of it.

"It has been argued that the Church of Scotland should be disestablished because her people have largely, and her clergy altogether, gone over to a party—the Conservative party. But I observe with astonishment that the very persons who laid most stress on this argument boast that their Church has gone over to another party—the Liberal party. What punishment should be inflicted on their Church for that? The Liberal party is at least in one respect like the Conservative party—it is only a party—a national party, if you please, still merely a party. Then, it is most inaccurate to say that the Church of Scotland has gone over to the Conservatives. Her adherents are, I believe, at this moment more equally divided between parties than those of any other Church in the country. Her clergy even are much more divided between the two great national parties than many persons seem to be aware of; and I have not yet heard of the Liberals among them leaving their party, although they may be somewhat afraid of their party, under bad guidance, leaving them. Then, what is to be said of those clergymen—I confess myself to be among the number—who distinctly refuse to be classed as either Conservatives or Liberals — who regard both Conservatives and Liberals as politically half-minded men—who deliberately choose to make up their views on political subjects without taking the opinions either of the Prime Minister or of the leader of the Opposition as a standard—without

respect to party at all? There are a good number of us in the Church of Scotland. Are we not to be counted? Then, who ever heard any minister of the Church of Scotland boast that she belonged to the Conservative party, or to any other party? If he did so, I hope he would be speedily told to speak only for himself; that the Church of Knox and Melville was above all parties; that her alliance was not with a party, but with the State." — Opening Address, University of Edinburgh, Session 1878-79: 'Courant,' 12th November.

Principal Tulloch: Danger to the Liberal Party in assailing the Church of Scotland at the instigation of Radicals. —"It has been said—I think the accusation is hardly worthy of honourable opponents — that I and some others have raised the cry of self-defence when there is no cry of danger; that if we only held our tongues and let matters go on, things would all go right. Now, I think that is not a fair construction of the recent course of events. Aggression has come from the outside towards the Church, and in almost every case that I know the voices raised in defence of the Church have been raised in reply to direct assaults. It would have been cowardly, I think, if such voices had not been raised. It surely has not come to this, that an old and respected, and, as we believe, useful and living institution, should be the subject of the worst aspersions, and that misstatements should be made about it by public men, many of which have been proved to be untrue, and that no answer should have been made to these statements. It is very true, I think, that within the last few months a change has come over the spirit of party movement, and the question of the Church has very much retired into the background. Mr Hutton, it is true, still lives, and the Liberation Society, so far as I know, is not yet bankrupt—although, if the 'Quarterly Review' is to be be-

lieved, there seems to be some possible danger of that; but these are enemies that the Church will always have. The very good it does provokes enmity of that kind. The Church has no right, perhaps, to complain of such enemies, and it knows how to deal with them. There has also always been a Radical party, an Extreme Left of the Liberal party, who have desired the abolition of Established Churches, and that party is quite entitled to its own opinions. Many members of it, old Voluntaries, who have always held these views, I have the greatest possible respect for. They are entitled to use fair tactics. Let them do what they can to advance their own opinions; let them try whether the country has come over to them, and then, if it is true, they will have their innings. Why, even Mr Chamberlain yet may possibly be Prime Minister, and from the height of an official position he may direct the councils of the nation. But all I say is—and I think most of you here will agree with me—that I see no signs yet of such a change as this. It appears to me, looking carefully at the signs of the times, that the Radical party are not any nearer becoming the Liberal party, or the Liberal party any nearer being merged into the Radical party, than they have at any time been during the last thirty years. As Liberals, we cannot refuse to put any question to the country. The Church is not an Established Church upon any theory of divine right. The Church of Scotland exists by a statute based upon popular assent. These are the terms of its existence—its existence as an Establishment. I am not speaking of it as a spiritual institution. Its existence as an Establishment is political; it rests on a popular basis, and we believe it still rests on that basis; and we are ready to say to any who challenge us, 'Well, try the issue before the country;' and we also say, 'Try it as a direct issue.' We are

not willing to have so grave a question as this, the existence of the old National Church of Scotland, treated as a side issue: it ought to be put fairly to the country. It is perfectly fair, I think, of any Liberal candidate—but really the great difficulty is just as to the duty of Liberal candidates in the present day—to say, 'I do not approve of the existence of the Established Church: that is my opinion, and my vote will be in accordance with that.' Or, it is perfectly fair for a man to say, 'That question has not yet come within the sphere of practical politics: I have no opinion about it; but before I give a vote I will come back here to put the question to you, and the question will be put to the country.' All that is fair. But it is not fair for a man to come before a constituency and to evade that question, and then to go to Parliament and allow himself to be numbered by the head as a Church abolitionist, and to vote according to the exigencies of party. He has been sent there, in the case, so far as I know, of every Liberal candidate, by hundreds of votes that would never have been given him if he had taken up the attitude he in fairness should have done. Why, even the Irish Church question was put to the country, and every voter by his vote was able to say whether he approved of the abolition of that Church or not. I, and hundreds of others, approve of the step; and I thought, and I still think, it was a fair measure of Liberal policy. I have thought so from the time I could first reason about politics, and I have not changed my opinion. We thought the Irish Church should be abolished. Why? Because it was never a national Church in the true sense of the word, although it was in a legal sense. It never represented anything but a small and extreme section of the Irish people, and for the same reasons we now oppose the abolition of the Scotch Church. We believe that

Church still represents a large preponderance of the Scottish people. We believe that there are hundreds and thousands who may not be members of that Church who yet do not desire its discontinuance, but who recognise it as a great Christian institution that is doing an amount of social good in the country that would not be done if that Church were taken away. It is a Presbyterian Church in a Presbyterian country. It is the Church of the poor. It has always made the poor its peculiar care; it has carried the ministry of divine love and divine righteousness to the homes of the poor; it has followed them to their doors; it has worked the parochial system with an energy and faith in its efficacy that no Church that I know of has done in the past. It may be said of other Churches, 'Don't they do this? Do they not also minister to the poor?' I do not deny that. I say nothing about the work of other Churches; but I say it is the business of the Church of Scotland to minister to the poor, and it has been true to that business, and it never was more true than it has been in the recent years of its history. I am sure that such a Church, a Church with such a history, a Church which is doing such loving and useful work, cannot, from the fact of its existence, be offensive to any fair-minded man, but would rather appear to him to deserve continued existence. It interferes with no rights. I do not believe there is a single practical abuse connected with the Church of Scotland that can bulk largely in the mind of any fair or intelligent public man. If there are any oppressive abuses towards others, either in the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, let them be taken away. I, as a Liberal, raise my voice against every abuse whatever—against any exaction which is not a part of the legal constitution of the Church. From no side will reformers of this kind receive more assistance than

from Liberal Churchmen; but we say, 'Don't level or destroy old historical institutions for the sake of faction, or for the sake of denominational jealousy.' Let the existence of such institutions, as I have said, be examined on their right, and depend upon their own merits, and let the verdict be a direct one before the people. We are exhorted to union, as the Liberal party is—and that is a better strain than the old one—but, depend upon it, there can be no union upon any basis of a subversive policy. If Mr Gladstone should come down to Mid-Lothian, I hope he will come on broad Liberal views. It would be unworthy of his great genius and his great reputation to come upon any other ground. I yield to no one in admiration of the genius and the many splendid qualities of Mr Gladstone; but I daresay most of you will agree with me that his eloquent genius is sometimes in excess of qualities which I esteem as valuable, and even more valuable, in a statesman. He has been too apt of late to become the stormy petrel of his party; and I hope that his advent in Scotland will not be the precursor of a storm in our political atmosphere, which will rend the Liberal party in pieces. I do not speak without authority on this matter. Party bonds are dear to most men. It is not honourable or desirable that party bonds should be easily ruptured, but still there are other interests even more sacred than party bonds. I have ventured to go into this line, because I do not think there would be much use in my coming here to speak a few generalities about the Church. There can be no doubt that the present aspect of political affairs, especially in Scotland, has a serious bearing upon the future of the Church; and I believe honestly that the great Liberal party, of which I have been a member all my life, will enter upon a career both ruinous to itself and disastrous to the country if it move pre-

maturely in such a question. Let unripened questions alone. If the fruit is not ripe, why meddle with it? It will stain very uncomfortably the hands that venture to pluck it; and there are many of us who believe that the ripened fruit will be very different from what some people imagine."—Speech in reply to toast of "The Church of Scotland:" 'Glasgow News,' February, 1879.

PART II.—FURTHER TESTIMONIES—ON THE GENERAL QUESTION AS TO NATIONAL CHURCHES.

Warburton: the special Aims of Church and State, and that they have mutual need of each other.—"The State contemplates for its end the body and its interests; has for its means, coercion; for its general subject-matter, utility. The Church is a religious society of distinct origin; having for its end the salvation of souls; for its subject-matter, truth; for its instrument, persuasion; regulating motives as well as acts; and promising eternal rewards. Though separate, these societies would not interfere, because they have different provinces; but the State having need of motives and the sanction of rewards, and the Church wanting protection against violence, they had each reasons sufficient for a voluntary convention."—'Alliance between Church and State.'

Paley: a religious Establishment defined and defended.—"The notion of a religious establishment comprehends three things: a clergy, or an order of men secluded from other professions to attend upon the offices of religion; a legal provision for the maintenance of the clergy; and the confining of that provision to the teachers of a particular sect of Christianity. . . . This maintenance must either depend upon the voluntary contributions of their hearers, or arise

from revenues assigned by authority of law. To the scheme of voluntary contribution there exists this insurmountable objection, that few would ultimately contribute anything at all. However the zeal of a sect, or the novelty of a change, might support such an experiment for a while, no reliance could be placed upon it as a general and permanent provision. . . . Preaching in time would become a mode of begging. With what sincerity, or with what dignity, can a preacher dispense the truths of Christianity whose thoughts are perpetually solicited to the reflection how he may increase his subscription? His eloquence, if he possess any, resembles rather the exhibition of a player who is computing the profits of his theatre, than the simplicity of a man who, feeling himself the awful expectations of religion, is seeking to bring others to such a sense and understanding of their duty as may save their souls."—'Moral and Political Philosophy,' Bk. vi. chap. 10.

Southey: relation of an Established Church to civil Order and Patriotism, and the beneficent operation of the Patrimony of the Church.—"Religion is the basis upon which civil government rests—that from which power derives its authority, laws their efficacy, and both their zeal and sanction. . . . Sub-sects will be again divided—carrying the principle of schism in their constitution, as grafts take with them the diseases of the parent stock. . . . The principle of nonconformity in religion is very generally connected with political discontent; the old leaven is still in the mass, and whenever there is thunder in the atmosphere it begins to work. In the time of the American war they were wholly with the Americans; and during that of the French Revolution their wishes were not with the Government, nor their voice with the voice of the country. At contested elections their weight is uni-

formly thrown into the Opposition scale; at times when an expression of public opinion is called for, their exertions are always on the factious side. They are what Swift called them, schismatics in temporals as well as in spirituals. The truth is that, as Burleigh said of the English Papists, they are but half-Englishmen at heart; for they acknowledge only one part of the twofold constitution under which they live, and consequently sit loose in their attachment to the other. Of the two strands of the cable one has been cut through. . . . No property is so beneficially distributed for the general good as that which by the wisdom not less than the piety of our forefathers was set apart to be a provision for the ministers of the altar. Let any parent who has a diligent and hopeful son at school or at college ask himself whether the youth's chance in life would be as good as it is if the Church lands were secularised, if tithes were abolished, and the clergy left, like the Dissenting ministers, to depend upon their congregations. And if we had Dukes of Durham and Winchester instead of Bishops, would the lands attached to the title be more productive, or the tenants sit at easier rents? Should it not, on the other hand, seem as evident as it is certain that every one is interested in upholding an Establishment by means of which some of the public wealth is set apart to be disposed of, not by the accident of birth, but among those who may deserve it by their learning, their abilities, and their character; and that, too, under the notorious condition that without character neither learning nor abilities, however eminent, will be regarded as a claim,—a distribution whereby no man has been, or is, or can be injured, while some scores of individuals in every generation are raised by it to stations of dignity, and some hundreds of families placed in respectability and comfort."—"Colloquies."

Coleridge: the Church completes and strengthens the State.—"Whatever is beneficent and humanising in the aims, tendencies, and proper objects of the State, the Church collects in itself as in a focus, to radiate them back as in a higher quality; or to change the metaphor, it completes and strengthens the edifice of the State, without interference or commixture, in the mere act of laying and securing its own foundations."—'Aids to Reflection.'

Wordsworth: Church and State:—

"Hail to the crown, by freedom shaped to gird
An English sovereign's brow—and to the throne
Whereon he sits! whose deep foundations lie
In veneration and the people's love;
Whose steps are equity, whose seat is law.
Hail to the State of England! And conjoin
With this a salutation as devout,
Made to the spiritual fabric of her Church;
Founded in truth; by blood of martyrdom
Cemented; by the hand of wisdom reared
In beauty of holiness; with ordered pomp,
Decent and unreproved. The voice that greets
The majesty of both, shall pray for both;
That, mutually protected and sustained,
They may endure as long as sea surrounds
This favoured land, or sunshine warms her soil."

—"The Excursion."

Summary and Conclusion.

The Church of Scotland, as originally constituted in 1560, was distinctly, but not bigotedly, Presbyterian; was one of the original group of reformed Churches, and shared all or nearly all the features characteristic

of these in method of government, catechism, confession of faith, and prayer-book.

The subsequent struggles of the Church (as to whether the government was to be by presbyters or bishops) had their origin and strength, not within the Church in its ministers or members, but outside the Church in the interference of Royalty in the way of dictation or intrigue; so that Episcopacy (as distinct from Romanism) never was native or national or patriotic in Scotland.

In point of theory, Presbytery is not provincial, narrow, or poor, as some prejudiced persons suppose, but occupies a firm and logical place as a protest against Roman corruption, and as a return to the first principles of the New Testament. The group of reformed Churches of Presbyterian type is not tied down to the theory of Apostolic succession for validity, which becomes a very hard, if not impossible, question apart from Roman or Greek orders.

In point of fact, the present standards of the Church of Scotland (Westminster Confession, Shorter Catechism, and Directory of Public Worship) are wider and deeper than the narrower theory of Presbytery commonly current (especially among dissenters), and coincide rather with the less rigidly defined system that arose at the Reformation — the Westminister standards being the free and conscientious work of Episcopalians, Independents, and Presbyterians in friendly conference in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster.

The Revolution Settlement marks the close of *external* dictation or intrigue for the Church (with the exception of the re-imposition of patronage in 1711); but one great effect of the two anti-prelatic struggles has been to introduce an element of controversy and limitation into the Church of Scotland foreign to its

original and proper character—an element which, in the present generation, is being steadily eliminated.

The one exception, to the close of external dictation and intrigue in the Patronage Act of 1711, brought in a new element of evil, in the form of dissension and dissent. This discontentment ending in dissent had to a considerable extent good ground; but also it largely arose from morbid exaggeration, whereby a few real grievances were made to hide the merits of a Church that was in the main sound and faithful—the strongest proof of the morbid exaggeration being that the dissenting body has, in course of time, changed its original complaint of defective discipline into others totally different, of which the chief is now alliance with the State.

Within the Church itself the long strife between moderates and populars was a conflict of two principles, neither of which is essentially or greatly wrong. But as time went on feeling and temper got keener, and bad language of the worst sort resulted on both sides, so that moderate came unjustly to be equivalent to heartless and secular, while, with like injustice, popular or evangelical became equivalent to unintellectual and hypocritical. But how base to rewrite our Church history half a century or more after these parties have practically been extinct, and to make capital out of old quarrels in the interest of new ones, by trying slanderously to identify the present Church of Scotland with one of the long-deceased parties.

Coming to a point easily within living memory, we trace the self-same evil principles of exaggeration, acerbity, and change in a fresh dissension and dissent through which the Church of Scotland has held on the even tenor of her way, not only surviving but prospering. A temporary and heated majority of the General Assembly unhappily passed an Act which reached over

into temporal interests which they had no right to meddle with alone. When this Act had been calmly and constitutionally tried by the supreme courts of the country, and pronounced to be null and incompetent, a large part of the party that had passed the Act still defended their mistake, and left the Church for that purpose. But when the stern test of separation came, the party that had erred in the law had grievously dwindled down. Only 289 parish ministers became dissenters, while 681 parish ministers remained. A separation where such figures are true is no disruption of the Church, but merely a large secession from it.

Delivered from dissension in this calamitous way of dissent, the Church of Scotland since 1843 has had more unity, concentration, zeal, and charity. Work of many kinds has been her token of life, and her answer to calumny. Lost ground has been largely regained, of which detailed examples are furnished in Paisley, Greenock, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. Chapel debts have been paid. At date of 15th April 1879, 283 new parishes have been added to the Church, besides 40 parliamentary churches erected into parishes. The Endowment Scheme is continuing this work of addition, with revenue of £18,468, the increase of parishes for 1878 being 10. The Home Mission, with revenue of £18,088 for 1878, makes 22 church-building grants, and supports 153 mission churches and chapels, with 14,251 communicants, and 29,905 of certified attendance. The Association for Augmenting Small Livings is annually dividing, in above 300 grants, £7851, and has a capital fund of £51,000. Church work beyond Scotland is annually going on at an expenditure of £25,719 (viz., for 1878, Colonies £6367, Jews £5667, Foreign £13,685). To the Home branch of work requires to be added above £20,000 of revenue of the Baird Trust.

The total value of the Church of Scotland's Endowments is £275,000 per annum, of which £235,700 are from teinds. This property never was given by the State; it has always been separate from other property —it has always been Church property. No person pays any part of it in his religious capacity; it is not a tax in any sense, far less a religious tax, but a pecuniary transaction pure and simple, as much as any feu-duty or ground-annual.

The Church of Scotland not only uses this revenue for its original and legitimate purpose, but herself from her own membership voluntarily supplements it year by year, to the extent of £408,500 in 1878, for the purpose of more efficiently performing all branches of incumbent duty as a Church.

The membership of the Church of Scotland, moreover, is such, in point of actual numbers and of annual growth, as to put it in a place of marked preponderance in the country, for it is not merely one of three great branches of Scottish Presbytery, but is much more than equal to the other two put together, the figures being: Church of Scotland, 515,786 communicants; Free Church, 222,411; United Presbyterian, 172,170. The majority of the Church of Scotland over both together is thus 121,205. The figures are the returns made in each case by the ministers and kirk-sessions of the three Churches concerned.

The representations made for political and sectarian purposes against the Church of Scotland may be classified as: (1) sophistical general arguments against all national Churches; (2) perversions of the historical facts of the Church of Scotland in a series of garbled versions of former secessions and controversies; (3) railing accusations in which collections of bad words from old quarrels are made to do modern duty; (4) garbled statistics. By these methods in modern times

through abuse of platform, stump, and press, the weak are able to persecute the strong. To meet this new and inverted style of persecution, it is necessary to read both sides of history to arrive at truth as to parties, and to go to official documents to ascertain facts, and after this has been done to put real history and real statistics, and sound political and social and ecclesiastical principles, within the reach of the people, so as to deliver them from the snares of dissenting clerical leaders and hired agitators. The rapid growth of the Church of Scotland in recent years, and the comparative stagnation or decline of dissenting bodies, is a token that the popular mind and heart on this great subject is able to appreciate a quietly earnest Church, which attends to its own business and lets its neighbours alone, as contrasted with persecuting and slandering Churches, largely substituting politics for the Gospel.

One important part of the whole case, especially in its present aspect, is, that while there is still need to build new churches in remote places, where churches are very far apart ; in new villages springing from modern causes ; and in new suburbs of large towns,—there are other cases, especially in small burghs with populations of 1000 to 5000, and in rural parishes, with population of 1000 to 2000, where there is a superfluity of churches, to the great dispeace of the community, waste of good money, and lowering of the ministerial office. If several hundreds of these struggling and mutually weakening churches could be suppressed by any system of reasonable compromise, it would be one of the greatest religious blessings which Scotland could receive in this generation. How plentiful these weakling, because superfluous, churches are in connection with the Free Church alone is seen in the fact that of all their 1032 churches existing in 1878,

only 320 are self-supporting—*i.e.*, yield £157 a-piece to the common stipend fund.

What may serve as an appropriate conclusion to this Handbook, has very recently been furnished by Principal Tulloch in his "Parting Word" in our 'Missionary Record' for September 1879, which he has so efficiently edited for fully seventeen years:—

"A National Church is something far more than an endowed institution for Christian preaching and work. It is the legal organisation of all the intellectual and Christian forces within a country, which do not by their professed principles repel such organisation, for Christian good. It exists under public law, and is governed by public principles in a manner in which no dissenting Church can ever exist or be governed; and so it gathers to itself a force of intellectual and social opinion which can belong to no other institution. It is often the very best and wisest minds which are disposed to a Church, not on any dogmatic or denominational grounds, but simply because it is the Church of the nation, embodying its noblest traditions, and consecrated by its most touching and sacred memories. Let our National Churches be destroyed, and it will soon be seen how much real dignity and usefulness both of them owe to this mere instinct of national respect. A disestablished Presbyterianism can have no attractive force of this kind, and will soon sink far below all the best traditions of the old Church of Scotland.

"While the Church therefore advances in freewill giving, let none of its clergy or elders or members ever suppose that this makes the question of Disestablishment one of indifference. The capacity of a Church to maintain itself has, rightly viewed, nothing to do with this question. The present establishment is the Church of Scotland because *it is established*, resting on

the basis of the national will under legal sanction, and so entitled to represent—as it does represent—to the world the national Christian sentiment, as no other Church does or can do.

"There is much, no doubt, that is troubled in the future of the Church of Scotland; and complications may arise to overthrow it, amidst much else that is good in the institutions of the country. But, to a large extent, this future is in the hands of the members and office-bearers of the Church itself. Let its ministers never cease to be Christian gentlemen, full of evangelical life by God's blessing, but full also of intellectual thoughtfulness and the broad sense which remembers that there are other forms of Christian activity and usefulness besides those which are Presbyterian, — that the noise of Scottish Christianity, however important, is not the murmur of the Catholic world. What is needed above all is the spirit of Christian justice and moderation to rule all the counsels of the Church, while the spirit of Christian enthusiasm inspires all its work. In nothing has the Church grown so strong during the last ten years as in the increase of the spirit of Christian tolerance and fair-mindedness—in a word, of Christian moderation —in its treatment of public questions and competing parties. It was its loss of this spirit during the 'ten years' conflict,' as it is called, which imperiled the national establishment, and wellnigh brought it to its ruin, in 1843. It has once or twice in the interval been near to the old dangers, but by the blessing of God it has steered clear of them; and others are at present the monument of the spirit of faction and of violence. That spirit has been the bane of Scottish history, and, above all, of Scottish ecclesiastical history, and nothing but shame and confusion have ever come of it. Never was it more true than in the case of

Churches, that 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'

"May the Church of Scotland live by God's blessing! but let it be remembered that the blessing never goes with violence nor intolerant harshness of any kind—never with fanaticism in the name of zeal, nor dogmatism in the name of orthodoxy. In every Church, and in every National Church especially, there must be room for intellectual, theological, æsthetic growth—room for all who are willing to serve the Church in the spirit of its constitution, or to advocate any changes whatever consistent with its essential principles. No Church lacking in so much freedom as this deserves to live, or can live in these times. It may be doubted whether any but National Churches can ever have such freedom—at least, legally secure. And freedom without legal security is not worth much. Mere ecclesiastical instinct, unhappily, in all Churches is apt to be tyrannous rather than free and justly ordered."

THE END.

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