2/6

3/6

Robert A. Eden
1893

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

IN

THE COLUMBAN CHURCH AND IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE COLUMBAN CHURCH AND IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY

With other Scottish Ecclesiastical Annals

BY

THE REV. JOHN ARCHIBALD, M.A.,

RECTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH, KEITH; HONORARY CANON OF S. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL, INVERNESS; AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT KEITH, IN THE 17TH, 18TH, AND 19TH CENTURIES."

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."—ZECH. iv. 6.

EDINBURGH:
ST. GILES' PRINTING COMPANY, 32 YORK PLACE.
R. GRANT & SON, 107 PRINCES STREET.
KEITH: JOHN MITCHELL.
1893.

Dedication.

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY PERMISSION

TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON.

PREFATORY NOTE.

My warmest thanks are due to the Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, D.D., Glasgow; the Rev. R. A. Eden, Vicar of Old S. Pancras, London; the Rev. Canon W. E. Heygate; and the Rev. H. W. Tucker, London; for their kindness in lending me documents which were useful in the preparation of this volume. In the line of general ecclesiastical history I was guided by the work of the late Professor Grub. At the same time I did not neglect to examine all original authorities within my reach. The possession of the Synod Records of Moray and Ross greatly aided me in writing the history of the present century.

JOHN ARCHIBALD.

April 14*th*, 1893.

CONTENTS.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE COLUMBAN CHURCH.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE COLUMBAN CHURCH

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

IN THE

COLUMBAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

"Regions Cæsar never knew
Thy posterity shall sway;
Where his eagles never flew—
None invincible as they."

COWPER.

HOW THE CHRISTIAN FAITH APPROACHED THE BORDERS OF NORTHERN PICTLAND.

WHAT soldier of the Christian army first bore to British shores the glorious standard of the Cross of Christ has not been recorded by historians. All we know is that Christ was preached in Britain towards the end of the first century. Legendary lore has variously ascribed the brave deed to S. James, S. Simon Zelotes, S. Peter, and S. Paul. There is greater probability in the statement that Greek traders, between Marseilles and the south-west of Britain, were the first pioneers of Christianity in our island. Such a trade was going on at the commencement of the Christian era, and from that source, doubtless, the ancient Celtic Church of Britain received those Eastern peculiarities which distinguished her from the rest of Western Christendom. Certain is it, too, that Christianity followed in the wake of the Roman armies; the conquerors from Italy teaching the vanquished Britons the use of mightier arms than the swords of the Roman legionaries.

The Roman power, however, was never established north of the wall which stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde. Tertullian, who wrote about the end of the second century, speaks of

"Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita"; and these places of the Britons, "inaccessible to the Roman legions," but "subdued to Christ," were clearly the districts to the north of the Roman provinces in the island.* Roman arms never subdued the Picts in these provinces, for these savage tribes were free and independent at the beginning of the fifth century.

Regarding the first settlement of Christian teachers north of the Roman walls, historians have no other authority than fable and legend. This is true of Fordun's assertion, that in A.D. 203, the nation of the Scots had embraced the Christian faith; and it is equally true of the statement of a later historian, that in the reign of the Emperor Severus, Donald, King of the Scots, having sent ambassadors to Pope Victor, received from him religious teachers, who baptized the monarch himself and all the royal family.

Then there was the legend of S. Regulus, or S. Rule, the holy abbot from Patrae in Achaia, who in the fourth century was wrecked not far from the spot where now stands the city of S. Andrews. The natives gathered round the adventurous strangers, who had saved from the wreck part of the relics of S. Andrew, by which miracles were worked. A church was built at the place by Hurgust, King of the Picts. Boece adds that the church was dedicated to S. Andrew, who after that became the patron saint of Scotland. We should prefer that the picturesque story was something more than legend, and that the fair city of S. Andrews could boast of an antiquity so remote. Long centuries afterwards Sir Walter Scott wrote of the classic spot in his poem of *Marmion*—

> "Where good Saint Rule his holy lay,
> From midnight to the dawn of day,
> Sung to the billows' sound."

When we come to the times of S. Ninian, we have something more than legend on which to base historical statements, for he is mentioned by the Venerable Bede, three centuries after Ninian's day. Ninian was born of royal lineage in Valentia, and was consecrated to the Episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, about the year 397. Returning homeward through Tours in France, he was kindly entertained by S. Martin, the pious prelate of that city, to whose honour he afterwards dedicated his famous church of

* Tertullian, *adv. Judæos*, ch. vii.

Candida Casa, at Whithorn in Wigtownshire. The crumbling away of the Roman Empire left the Britons of Valentia exposed to the murderous attacks of the Picts and Scots, and the result was an indescribable state of war and rapine. Undismayed by obstacles, the saint converted the Britons of Valentia and the southern Picts, who dwelt between the Roman wall and the Grampian Hills. Aildred of Rievaulx, his mediæval biographer, tells how the Druidical temples fell and the Christian churches rose as S. Ninian advanced. He also states that S. Ninian ordained presbyters, consecrated bishops, and divided the country into separate dioceses. This successful prelate died about the year 432.

No sooner had Ninian departed to his eternal reward, than another religious teacher appeared in southern Pictland, to take up the pastoral staff he had laid down. This evangelist was Palladius, who came to the country at the end of 431, or the beginning of 432. Palladius, having been consecrated to the episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, was sent, in the first place, to preach to the Irish Scots. Unsuccessful in Ireland, he came to Britain, where, assisted by his two disciples, S. Serf and S. Ternan, he completed the glorious work which S. Ninian had begun. After living many years in the country of his adoption, Palladius died at Fordun, in the Mearns.

Unable to resist the attacks of the painted warriors of Caledonia, the Britons called in the Saxons to their aid; but these foreign auxiliaries proved far more dangerous to the British than their wild foes in the north of the island. Pressing into the land in all directions, the Saxons extended their sway as far north as the River Forth, and the Britons were forced to take refuge in the mountainous regions of Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall. The Saxons were heathens, and stamped out in Valentia every vestige of the Christian Church. When war and anarchy were rife on every side, God raised up Kentigern to preserve the remnants of the faith among his countrymen. From his teacher, S. Serf, at Culross, Kentigern received the name of Mungo—an endearing surname, significant of the pupil's gentle and courteous nature. Having received consecration from an Irish bishop, he fixed his see at Glasghu—the *Grey Ravine*—whence he set out to restore the Christian faith and practice among his British countrymen of Cumbria and Valentia, as well as in Strathclyde. An affecting meeting once took place between S. Mungo and S.

Columba. The two great evangelists met at Glasgow, each giving to the other his pastoral staff before they parted. That which S. Mungo received from S. Columba was long preserved in the Church of S. Wilfrid, at Ripon. Kentigern was buried at Glasgow, on the spot where afterwards rose the stately fane of S. Mungo's Cathedral. Ninian, Palladius, and Kentigern were all bishops of the Church, and, as such, exercised the episcopal functions of consecration and ordination, as well as of jurisdiction over their various sees.*

At the beginning of the fifth century, the royal banners of the King of kings had reached the line of the Grampian Hills. The Fair Picts, south of that mountain range, were Christians, and so were the Irish Scots, who had come to Argyllshire from the sister island of Hibernia. North of the Grampian Mountains dense heathen darkness reigned supreme. There the Druids practised their hideous cruelties, sometimes burning with fire large numbers of their fellow-creatures, imprisoned in huge images made of osiers. When criminals were not to be had for the horrid immolation, they had recourse even to the sacrifice of the innocent.† In the decision of all disputes, the final award was the privilege of the Druids, the religious element in the State entirely predominating over the civil. King and people alike feared the Druids, who could interdict them from the sacrifices, and cause them to be shunned by all their fellow-countrymen. Slavery was to be found in every part of Northern Pictland, the masters often putting the slaves to death with the most aggravated modes of cruelty. The Fair Picts south of the Grampians were enjoying the bright light of the Gospel of Christ, but what brave soldier of the Cross was to convert the Black Picts of the north? What daring prow was to bear the messengers of peace to the stormy shores of the Western Isles? Whose matin song and vesper hymn were first to be heard

> "Breaking the silence of the seas,
> Among the farthest Hebrides"?

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 1-41.
† Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi., 13-20.

CHAPTER II.

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

I.—S. COLUMBA.

S. COLUMBA was born at Gartan in Donegal, on December 7th, A.D. 521. He was of kingly lineage, his father and mother both coming from royal stock. Cruithnechan the Presbyter baptized him under the name of Colum, to which there was afterwards added *cille*, signifying "of the Church."

Biographies of Columba were written by Cuminius Albus, or Cummene the Fair, and by Adamnan, both of these being Columba's successors in the abbacy of Iona. If Cuminius, who was Abbot of Hy from 657 to 669, had not seen Columba himself, he must at least have conversed with those who knew him. Adamnan, too, whose tenure of rule at Iona lasted from 679 to 704, must have received much information from those who had seen Columba. While such sources of information are far superior to oral tradition, readers of both biographies must be careful to distinguish between the fabulous and the true. Adamnan incorporated in his third book the whole of the work of Cuminius. Columba's piety was observed from his very childhood by the bishops and abbots who were his teachers. Cruithnechanus, one of the preceptors of the youth, seeing a halo of bright light over his sleeping charge, felt sure the Holy Spirit had been poured upon him.*

After due preparation, Columba was ordained deacon by S. Finnian, a noted bishop who lived on Lough Strangford, and many miraculous stories have been told about the saint's diaconate. One of these relates how, when living with Bishop Findbarr, the young deacon was sent to bring water from the fountain for the Holy Eucharist. That day no wine could be found for the Holy Communion, and the biographer states that the water drawn by Columba from the fountain was miraculously changed into wine. The whole story was evidently suggested by S. John's account of the miracle at Cana of Galilee.†

* Adamnan, bk. iii., ch. iii. † *Ibid.* bk. ii., ch. i.

At a later period of his diaconate, Columba placed himself under the instruction of a bard called Gemman. One day, as the aged bard and the young deacon were walking in the country, a fugitive maiden took refuge under their cloaks from her pursuer. Showing no respect for the religious garb of the deacon, the murderer stabbed the maiden to death through the cloaks of her protectors. Then Columba exclaimed, "At the same hour in which the soul of the girl shall ascend to the heavens, the soul of the murderer shall descend to hell." More quickly than speech, the assassin fell dead before the eyes of the youth. This anecdote, suggested doubtless to the credulous monks by the story of Ananias and Sapphira, illustrates the truth that punishment follows close upon the heels of crime.*

When twenty-four years of age, and in deacon's orders, Columba founded a famous monastery on the shores of Lough Foyle. Round the convent there arose in the course of time the city of Londonderry. Before he was ordained presbyter, the saint established another not less famous brotherhood at Durroch, in King's County.

S. COLUMBA ORDAINED PRESBYTER.

At the age of thirty Columba was ordained presbyter by Etchen, Bishop of Clonfad, in Meath. When the candidate came to request the Bishop to ordain him, he found the prelate, Cincinnatus-like, ploughing in the field. After being raised to the priesthood, Columba lived for some time at a monastery near Dublin.

BATTLE OF COOLDREVNY.

This battle was said to have been brought about by the instrumentality of S. Columba, and a Synod met at Teltown to excommunicate him for participation in the civil war. The conclave were not unanimous in their finding, Brenden of Birr protesting against the sentence as unjust. The latter declared that he saw holy angels as the companions of S. Columba in his journey through the plain. Awed by this statement, the Synod dared not excommunicate S. Columba any further, but treated him with reverence. A similar appearance of angels was seen by S. Finnio, Columba's former master, when the saint came to visit him. Whatever may be said about these two legends, they are appropriate illustrations of Psalm xxxiv. 7—"The angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them." †

* Adamnan, bk. ii., ch. xxvi. † *Ibid.* bk. iii., ch. iv. and v.

The battle of Cooldrevny and the unjust sentence of the Teltown Synod are frequently put forth as the causes of Columba's departure from his native isle. This statement is entirely inconsistent with the fact that the holy man still retained jurisdiction over the Irish houses he had founded, and that, after being in Great Britain, he returned to Ireland more than once. "Pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit," writes his biographer: "Willing to be an exile for Christ, Columba sailed away." *

COLUMBA'S ARRIVAL AT IONA.

Columba and his twelve companions left the Emerald Isle in a frail wicker currach, and landed safely on an islet of the Western Hebrides. This islet has received no fewer than thirty names, the principal being *Hy*, or "the island," *Iona*, "the island of waves," or "Holy Island," and *Icolmcill*, "the island of Columba of the Churches." Iona, lying to the south-west of the sombre shores of Mull, is three miles long by two in breadth. A hill called Dun-ii, 400 feet in height; green patches and rocky projections, whose sides are beaten incessantly by the wild Atlantic waves; creeks and small inlets of the sea, fenced round by steep rocks of gneiss—these are the natural features of rugged, wave-worn Iona. Montalembert described the aspect of Iona as being "singularly sad and sullen." On a cloudy day the place might have made such an impression upon the accomplished Frenchman. "Not thus would one write of it," said a certain writer, "who had seen it in the early radiance of a summer morn, when a rare glow touches the whispering waves. Not thus would one write of it who had seen it in the warm haze of a summer noon, when every outline is softened by the trembling lustre, and there is no more ripple on the sea than on a field of corn when lightly touched by a passing wind. And not so would one write of it, who had seen it in the rich glories of a summer sunset, when land and sea are aflame with vivid purple and gold, and emeralds; and when the mountains are bathed in a deep strange light, which seems a reflection of celestial splendour!" † Connal, King of the Scots of Argyll, was a kinsman of Columba, and by him, as well as by the Pictish King, he was confirmed in his possession of the island. Columba's first work at Iona was to erect a church and monastery, the unpretending buildings being made of hewn

* Adamnan, Pref. ii. † *Scottish Guardian*, vol. viii., p. 122.

timber and thatched with reeds. The chief glory of the humble sanctuaries was within, where the Lord of Hosts was present, and the Word and Sacraments were dispensed to devoted worshippers. The monastery at Iona became a great school for Christian missionaries, who were to announce the glad tidings to the Scots of Dalriada and the Black Picts of the north. Reeves mentions that a building, called "Teach an Epscoip," or Bishop's House, erected long after Columba's day, stood near the cathedral.* Columba's kinsman, King Connal, died in A.D. 574, and Aidan, his son, was inaugurated as King of the Scots by the saint himself at Iona.

II.—S. COLUMBA IN NORTHERN PICTLAND.

THE SAINT'S FIRST VISIT TO KING BRUDE AT INVERNESS.

Having crossed the Grampian Hills, and surmounted many difficulties in their way, Columba and his dauntless fellow-missionaries came to the castle of Brude, the Pictish King, near the River Ness. Instigated most likely by the Druids, the King ordered the gates of the castle to be closed against the Christian preachers. "King Brude," says the biographer, "elated by royal pride and acting haughtily, would not open the gates of his fortress to admit the blessed man at his first coming." Knowing this, the man of God proceeded with his companions to the gates, and having marked them with the sign of the cross, he knocked upon them with his hand. Immediately, of their own accord, adds the chronicler, the bolts were pushed backward with great force, and the gates opened with all speed. Hearing of this, the King and his councillors, filled with fear, went forth to meet Columba and his companions with reverence as they passed through the open gates. From that day Brude honoured the venerable man with very great honour, and he and the Pictish King became firm friends. On various other occasions Columba visited the royal fortress near the river Ness.†

CRAIG-PHADRIC AT INVERNESS.

The visitor at Inverness is struck with the shades, colours, and shapes of the hills that encircle the Highland capital. One there is that attracts attention above the others, and that is Craig-phadric

* Reeves' Introduction to Adamnan, p. cxl.
† Adamnan, bk. ii., ch. xxxvi.

with its woody crest. Some say that Craig-phadric is the same as Craig-patrick, the latter part of the word alluding to the Irish origin of Columba. They therefore infer that the hill has been named after him.*

ANSWER TO COLUMBA'S PRAYER FOR THE SICK.

Columba, with his fellow-labourers, was crossing the Dorsum Britannicum, the great mountain range of Britain, now called the Grampian Hills, when one of his companions became sick, and was reduced to the last extremity. At the entreaty of the others, Columba, having prayed to God and blessed the sick man, said, "This young man, for whom you plead, shall live a long life, and, surviving all of us, will die in a good old age." The youth, called Finten, the son of Aid, recovered, and lived to found the monastery of Kailli-au-inde. He died at a good old age.†

HOW S. COLUMBA OVERCAME THE DRUIDS NEAR INVERNESS.

One day S. Columba and his brethren were chanting their evening psalms, according to their usual custom, outside the King's fortress, near the River Ness. Certain Druids endeavoured to interrupt the service, not wishing the sound of Divine praise to be heard by the heathen people. S. Columba observing this, began to sing Psalm xliv., which thus begins, "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what thou hast done in their time of old." At the same moment, it is said, Columba raised his voice so that it sounded like the resounding thunder to King and people. The listening savages, struck with terror, did not again interrupt the Christian services. This anecdote at all events shows that Columba had a remarkable voice, and probably the sound of the combined voices of the holy man and his brethren awed the listeners.‡

S. COLUMBA AT GLENURQUHART.

On one occasion Columba, travelling beyond "the mountain ridge of Britain" (the Grampians), came into the district called Glenurquhart, near the lake of the River Ness. Then he said to his brethren that he must hasten on to baptize a certain pagan, who had

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. viii., p. 158.

† Adamnan, bk. ii., ch. xxxii.

‡ *Ibid.* bk. i., ch. xxix.

lived up to the light of his natural goodness, even to extreme old age. Having thus spoken, the saint went before his companions till he came into the land called Airchat-dan. There he found an aged man called Emchat, who, after hearing the Word of God from Columba, believed and was baptized. "Immediately," says Adamnan, "joyful, safe from harm, and accompanied by the holy angels who came to meet him, Emchat departed to his Lord." At the same time, the aged man's son, Virolecus, was baptized with his whole house.*

THE MIRACLE-WORKING STONE FROM THE NESS.

The Druid, Broichan, detained in servitude a female slave, whom S. Columba, from motives of humanity, wished to be set free. Refusing to listen to the remonstrances of Columba, Broichan was thus addressed by him in the presence of King Brude—"Know, O Broichan, that if thou refusest to free this captive stranger maid for me, you will die quickly, before I shall return from this province." Then Columba left the palace and came to the River Ness. A white stone was taken by him from the river, and as he did so, he said, "Behold this white stone, by which the Lord will effect many healings of the sick in this heathen nation." Two messengers arriving from the King, entreated Columba to do something to save the life of Broichan, for, seized with severe illness, the Druid was now repentant, and prepared to give up the captive maid. Columba then sent two of his companions to the King with the stone blessed by himself. They were told to say to King Brude, "If Broichan shall have first promised that he will free the maid-servant, then let this stone be dipped in water, and let him drink from it, and he will instantly recover his health; but if he refuse to set free the maiden, he will die immediately." The messengers soon returned again to Columba with the liberated captive, and Broichan recovered from his sickness.

"This remarkable stone," says the chronicler, "was hidden in the treasury of the King, and always floated when dipped in the water." Many cures were reported to have been worked by its agency, but it could never be found when sought for by those whose term of life had come. It was sought for, and could not be found in its usual place on the day King Brude died. The Druid, Broichan, was the tutor or foster-father of the King.†

* Adamnan, bk. iii., ch. xv. † *Ibid.* bk. ii., ch. xxxiv.

THE POISONOUS FOUNTAIN OF WATER IN NORTH PICTLAND.

When in the province of the Picts, Columba was told of a fountain of water that was worshipped by the heathen people. Those who drank of the fountain, or washed their hands and feet in it, were struck with leprosy or some other infirmity. To show the fraud that was being practised by the Druids, Columba and his companions fearlessly drank of the water, and washed their hands and feet in it. By this the Druids were confounded, as they saw that no harm happened to the saint and his brethren, after they had drunk of the spring.*

BROICHAN THE DRUID OPPOSES COLUMBA.

One day Broichan asked the saint when he proposed to sail. Columba said, "On the third day, God willing, and life remaining to me, we propose to begin our sailing." The Druid replied, "You will not be able, for I am able to make the wind contrary to thee, and to bring over you black darkness." Columba merely said to him, "The omnipotence of God rules all things, and in His name and under His government all our movements are directed." On the day appointed, the holy man, followed by a great crowd of people, came to the long lake of the River Ness. A dark cloud was overhead, and the wind was contrary and tempestuous. When the Druids were rejoicing at this, Columba, calling on Christ the Lord, ordered the hesitating sailors to hoist the sails. Soon the wind changed, and the light breezes blowing favourably, the boat containing Columba was carried forward to the wished-for haven. "In this way," observes the biographer, "Almighty God manifested His glorious name before the heathen people."†

III.—ANECDOTES IN S. COLUMBA'S BIOGRAPHY ABOUT BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, & DEACONS.

IRREGULAR AND UNCANONICAL ORDINATION OF AID THE BLACK.

Findchan the presbyter was the founder of a monastery called, in the Scottish dialect, Artchain, in the Ethican land (Tiree). At one time he brought from Scotia (Ireland) to Britain, one Aid the

* Adamnan, bk. ii., ch. x. † *Ibid.* bk. ii., ch. xxxv.

Black, a cruel murderer, who had slain Diormitius, the ruler of all Scotia. After staying some time with Findchan in the retirement of his monastery, Aid was ordained irregularly in the presence of Findchan by a bishop invited there. "The bishop, however," says Adamnan, "did not dare to lay a hand upon his head, before that Findchan also, who loved Aid in a human way, placed his right hand upon his head for approval." Columba, having been informed of this irregular ordination, made this prophecy—"That right hand which Findchan, contrary to the laws of picty, placed upon the head of the son of perdition, shall putrefy and be buried in the earth before him." "As for Aid," he said, "he shall be wounded with a lance, and shall perish in the water." Both events happened as Columba had predicted; and Aid, a presbyter only in name, became again a murderer and met his death.*

COLUMBA REPROVES A WICKED PRESBYTER.

The saint sometimes visited his native island. During one of these visits, he came on the Lord's Day to a monastery, called in the Irish language, Trioit (Trevet, in Meath). That day a certain priest, chosen by the brothers to celebrate the Holy Eucharist on account of his supposed piety, was severely censured by Columba. Knowing this priest to be harbouring some secret sin, he suddenly pronounced this opinion about him—"The clean and the unclean are now discerned to be equally mixed, that is, the pure mysteries of the sacred oblation are ministered by an unclean person, who conceals in his own conscience some great crime." The erring priest was compelled to confess his sin in the presence of all the bystanders, who trembled, and were astounded at the supernatural intuition of the saint.†

ERNAN THE PRESBYTER.

Columba sent the aged Ernan, a presbyter, to preside over a monastery he had founded in the island of Himba (Eil-an-na-Naoimh). As the saint was blessing him before he left, he made this prophecy—"This, my friend, who is now going away from me, I do not hope to see again in this world." A few days afterwards Ernan fell sick, and at his own request was brought back to Iona. The aged priest tried to walk unassisted from the harbour to the monastery, from

* Adamnan, bk. i., ch. xxix. † *Ibid.* bk. i., ch. xxxii.

which the Abbot was setting out to meet him. When they were still twenty-four paces apart, and before Columba saw Ernan's face, the latter fell down and expired. In commemoration of this, two crosses were afterwards erected on the spot.*

IOGENANUS THE PRESBYTER.

A book of hymns, written by the hand of Columba, and belonging to Iogenanus, a presbyter of the Pictish nation, fell into a river at Christmas-tide. Iogenanus had left Pictland for Ireland, and was living in Leinster (the country of the Lageniaus). At Easter-tide a woman found the satchel containing the hymn book on the river bank, and took it to Iogenanus. The priest found the leather bag soaked and rotten, while the hymn book contained in it was as clean and dry as if it had been in his desk all the time.†

THE PRESBYTERS, BAITHEN AND COLUMBANUS.

Baithen and Columbanus were to sail from Iona on the same day, and in different directions. They came to Columba at the same time asking for his prayers, that they might have a prosperous voyage on the morrow. According to the predictions of the saint, the request of each was granted. Next day Baithen, having left Iona in the morning, passed with full sails over the open sea as far as Tiree. In the afternoon, the Abbot ordered Columbanus to prepare for his journey. At the same hour the wind veered from the south to the north, and Columbanus, taking advantage of this, safely accomplished his voyage to Ireland. After Columbanus had left, the aged Abbot said, "The holy man, Columbanus, whom we have blessed going away, will never see my face in this world." This prediction was fulfilled, for that same year Columba passed away to his Lord.‡

STORY OF THE PRESBYTER-ABBOT VIRGNOUS.

When a brother in the monastery of Iona, Virgnous one night entered the side hall attached to the walls of the oratory to pray, while the brethren were asleep. An hour afterwards Columba himself entered the church, which was lighted up at the same time with a glorious light, illuminating the sacred edifice itself and the

* Adamnan, bk. i., ch. xxxv.

† *Ibid.* bk. ii., ch. viii.

‡ *Ibid.* bk. ii., ch. xiv.

side-room, where Virgnous was attempting to hide himself. Next day, the Abbot, sending for Virgnous, said to him, "Thou art crying well, O my child, for last night thou wert very pleasing in God's sight, by pressing your eyes to the ground, terrified by the fear of that splendour; for hadst thou not done so, thine eyes would have been blinded by the priceless light. But carefully observe this, never to tell to anyone of such a manifestation of light while I live." *

THE BISHOP COLMAN.

Adamnan states that one day Columba, when in the church of his monastery, suddenly uttered these words: "Columbanus, the son of Beogna, beginning to sail to us, is now much tossed about in the stormy tides of Brecan's whirlpool; sitting at the prow, he is raising both his hands to heaven, and he blesses the disturbed and formidable sea. Yet the Lord only frightens him, as the ship, in which he sails, shall not be wrecked by the waves; but this is to excite him to pray more fervently, that by God's favour he may come to us, after the danger has been passed over."† This Columbanus, we are told, was the holy Bishop Colman.

BISHOP CRONAN.

One day a stranger from the province of Munster came to S. Columba. He was a bishop named Cronan, but he had disguised himself so that no one should know his Episcopal rank. Next Lord's Day, Cronan was invited by Columba to celebrate the Eucharistic service, and he called upon the Abbot, that as two presbyters they should break the bread of the Lord. Columba going to the altar, and looking on the face of the bishop, thus addressed him, "Christ bless thee, brother: do thou alone, according to the Episcopal rite, break this bread; now we know that thou art a bishop. Why didst thou attempt to hide thyself so long, that the honour due to thee should not be rendered by us?" On hearing the words of Columba, the humble stranger bishop worshipped Christ because of the saint, and all who were present, wondering greatly, glorified God.‡

* Adamnan, bk. iii., ch. xx.
† *Ibid.* bk. i., ch. v. ‡ *Ibid.* bk. i., ch. xxxv.

CONALL, BISHOP OF CULERATHIN (COLERAINE).

This bishop, having collected a great number of presents from the people of the plain of Eilne (Magh Elne, on the Bann), prepared a hospitable reception for Columba, whom a vast crowd accompanied to the place. Many presents were laid out for Columba to bless. Coming to the present of a wealthy man, he said, "May the mercy of God accompany the man whose present this is, for his pity of the poor, and his munificence." Pointing to another present, the saint declared that he would not partake of it, till the donor had come to a true repentance of his sin of avarice. These words being reported to the crowd, Columbus, the son of Aid, heard them, and, conscious of his guilt, sought repentance, and promised amendment of life. Brenden, the liberal rich man, also acknowledging his sinfulness, entreated Columba to pray for him.*

COLUMBANUS THE BISHOP.

The brethren one morning were putting on their sandals, and preparing to go to the various duties of the monastery, when Columba ordered them to rest that day and prepare the obsequies of the sacred oblation. At the same time he commanded some addition to be made to their repast, as on the Lord's Day. "I must," said the Abbot, "celebrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, on account of my veneration of that soul which this past night was carried mid sacred choirs of angels, and ascended beyond the stars to Paradise." After the sacred rite was prepared, the brethren, dressed in their white robes, proceeded to church as on a festival. When, among the chanting of the offices, the prayer was sung in which the name of S. Martin was commemorated, Columba, turning to the chanters at the mention of that name, said, "You must chant the prayer to-day for S. Columbanus the bishop." Those present understood from this that Columbanus, a bishop in Leinster, and the dear friend of the saint, had departed to his Lord. Some time afterwards, people, who had come to Iona from the Lagenian province, told that their bishop had died on that very night.†

* Adamnan, bk. i., ch. xxxv. † *Ibid.* bk. iii., ch. xiii.

IV.—DEATH OF S. COLUMBA.

"He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man, and bird, and beast:
He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things, both great and small:
For the dear God, Who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

COLERIDGE.

COLUMBA SPEAKS OF HIS DEATH.

It was the month of May, and the monks were working on the western side of Iona, when Columba, seated in a wagon, was taken to visit them. They were busy at their labours, and he said to them, "In the late Paschal solemnity of the month of April, now past, I desired greatly to depart to the Lord Christ, as He would have allowed me, had I wished it; but, lest the festival of joy should be turned into sadness to you, I wished, rather, to postpone a little longer the day of my departure from this world."

COLUMBA REJOICES AT THE APPROACH OF DEATH.

A few days after his visit to the monks at their labours, according to his custom on the Lord's Day, Columba was celebrating the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist. His face, upraised to heaven, appeared suffused with a ruddy glow, for "a glad heart makes a cheerful countenance." When asked about the cause that inspired him, he replied, "Wonderful beyond compare is the subtilty of the angelic nature! For lo, an angel of the Lord, sent to demand a certain deposit dear to God, after looking down upon us within this church, and blessing us, has returned through the roof of the church, and has left no trace of his departure." This was six days before Columba's death, and he knew that the deposit required was his own soul.

S. COLUMBA TELLS THE BRETHREN OF THE NEARNESS OF HIS DEATH.

On the Sabbath following, the Abbot, accompanied by his attendant, Diormitius, proceeded to bless the barn that was near. Two heaps of corn were in the barn, and Columba said, "I greatly congratulate my beloved monks, because this year also, if I must depart from you, you will have sufficient for the year." Then Diormitius became very

sad, and said, "At this time of the year, O father, thou often makest us sad, because thou so frequently speakest of thy departure." Columba replied to him, "I have a little secret, by which, if thou promise me faithfully to tell to no one before my death, I shall be able to intimate more clearly to thee something about my departure." Diormitius having on his bended knees made the required promise, the blessed man continued, "This day, in the sacred volumes, is called the Sabbath, which means rest. A Sabbath to me this day is indeed, because it is the last day of my laborious life, in which I rest after the fatigues of my toils; and on this midnight, before the solemn Lord's Day, according to the sayings of the Holy Scriptures, I shall go the way of my fathers. For already my Lord Jesus Christ condescends to invite me, and to Him, I say, at the middle of this night, I shall depart at His invitation. For so, by the Lord Himself, has it been revealed to me." Diormitius, beginning to weep at these affecting words, the saint did his utmost to console him.

S. COLUMBA AND THE PONY OF THE MONASTERY.

On his return from the barn to the monastery, the aged Abbot rested mid-way on the spot, where afterwards a cross was seen on the edge of the road, fixed on a millstone. When resting there, wearied with old age, there came up to him a white pony, which, like a willing servant, used to carry the milk-vessels from the cattle-shed to the monastery. The dumb animal, as if knowing that its master was about to depart, and that it would see him again no more, began, of its own accord, to weep copiously, and to shed tears on the saint's bosom, foaming and wailing. As the attendant was about to drive the dumb mourner away, Columba stopped him, saying, "Permit it, permit this lover of mine, that it may shed forth its weeping of bitter grief upon my bosom. Behold, seeing thou art a man, and hast a natural soul, thou wert in no way able to know of my departure, unless what I myself have lately shown to thee. But to this brute beast, with an irrational spirit, the Creator, in what way He wished, has revealed that its master is about to leave it." Having said this, the holy man blessed the work-horse, which sadly turned away.

S. COLUMBA BLESSES HIS MONASTERY.

Ascending the little hill that overlooked the monastery, Columba stood for a little while on its summit, and, raising both hands, he blessed his monastery, saying, "To this place, though small and mean,

great and unusual honour will be brought, not only by the kings of the Scots and their peoples, but also by the rulers of foreign and barbarous nations and their subjects. Exceeding great reverence will be conferred upon it by the rulers of other Churches also."

LAST WORK OF S. COLUMBA.

The dying Abbot, having descended from the hill and returned to the monastery, sat in his cell transcribing the psalter. When he had come to that verse of the Psalm xxxiii., where it is written, "They who seek the Lord, shall want no manner of thing that is good," he said, "I must stop at the end of the page, and what follows let Baithenus write." (Psalm xxxiv. 10, English Version.) To no one more than the departing saint, did this verse apply, for to him the eternal riches were never wanting. They, who elected his successor, Baithen, felt they were led to do so by the words following the tenth verse of the same Psalm—"Come, ye children, and hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord."

LAST INSTRUCTIONS OF THE DYING SAINT.

When Columba had inscribed his last verse in the psalter, he went into the church to the vesper services preceding the Lord's Day. These being over, the dying Abbot returned to his cell, and spent the rest of the night on his bed. His couch was but a bare flag, and his pillow a stone, which afterwards stood for a long time as a monument beside his grave. Reclining on his stony couch, S. Columba gave his last instructions to the brethren. His voice being weak, they were heard only by his attendant. "O, my children," he said, "I commend to you my last words, that ye have mutual and unfeigned charity, with peace, among yourselves. And if you will live thus according to the examples of the holy fathers, God the Comforter of the good will help you, and I, remaining with Him, will intercede for you. And he will not only give you sufficient for the wants of this life, but also will give you the rewards of the eternal riches prepared for those who observe His laws."

LAST MOMENTS OF COLUMBA'S LIFE.

As the happy hour of his departure to his Lord drew near, Columba became silent. The monastery bell having been tolled for prayers at the midnight hour, he rose hastily and went into the church. Going more quickly than the others, the dying saint

entered the church alone, and fell low on his bended knees in silent prayer before the altar. Diormitius, his attendant, who followed him slowly, saw that the whole church was filled with a heavenly light, but when he drew nearer, the light most quickly disappeared. The light was seen, adds the chronicler, by a few of the brethren standing at a distance. Entering the church, Diormitius said, with a sorrowful voice, "Where art thou, father?" Feeling his way in the darkness, while the others were bringing in lights, he found Columba reclining before the altar. When he had raised him a little he sat down beside him, and placed his dying head upon his bosom. The company of the monks hurried in with lights, and finding their best earthly friend at the point of death, began to lament. Columba opening his eyes, as his soul was about to depart, looked round upon those present with a radiant and cheerful countenance. Diormitius having raised the right hand of Columba to bless the weeping band of monks, the venerable father himself, as much as he was able, moved his hand at the same time. Unable, when his soul was departing, to bless his brethren with his voice, the dying man tried to do so by the motion of his hand. Having thus blessed his companions for the last time, his holy soul departed. After death the face of Columba remained bright and radiant, so that he appeared not to be dead, but sleeping. Sad were the lamentations that filled the island church after the soul of the great spiritual teacher had departed. Iona had lost its loved and venerated abbot, and Scotland her first primate. Thus died the great evangelist of the northern Picts.

FUNERAL OF S. COLUMBA.

The matin hymns having been finished, the monks removed the blessed remains of the saint from the church to the cell, from which, a little while ago, their master had come forth alive. His funeral rites were celebrated duly and honourably for three days and three nights, and, in sweet but sad psalmody, the praises of God were sung. Then, having wrapped the body of their patron in fine linen, they placed it in the coffin prepared for it. The loving hands of his own monks laid Columba's body in the grave, in sure hope of rising again in lustrous and eternal brightness.

COLUMBA'S PREDICTION ABOUT HIS OWN FUNERAL.

Once upon a time, one of Columba's monks had said to him, "After thy death the people of these provinces, rowing over to Iona, will

entirely fill the island to celebrate thy obsequies." To this Columba answered, "O my son, the event will not take place as thou sayest; for a mixed throng of people shall in no way be able to come to my funeral. Only the monks of my monastery will complete my burial rites and perform the last offices." When Columba died, a violent storm arose and continued for three days, so that no one could cross the sound to Iona during that time.

Adamnan concludes his account of Columba in these words:—"According to the sentence of the Holy Scripture, sharing in eternal triumphs, added to the patriarchs, numbered with the apostles and prophets, and counted among the number of the white-robed thousands, who have washed their robes and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb, he follows the Lamb, his Leader. He is pure and immaculate now, free from all stain, our Lord Jesus Christ Himself making him worthy; to Whom, with the Father, be honour, virtue, praise, glory, and eternal dominion, through all the ages." * S. Columba died, according to some authorities, on June 9th, 597.

V.—THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE COLUMBAN CHURCH.

From the preceding narrative, it is undoubtedly established that there were in the Columban Church three distinct orders of ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons. Columba himself was educated by bishops, ordained by bishops, and reckoned bishops among his dearest friends. On one occasion, as we have seen, he remonstrated with Bishop Cronan for concealing his exalted rank, so as to prevent himself from receiving the honour which he deemed its due. The saint promptly gave place to Bishop Cronan, as his ecclesiastical superior, desiring him to bless the Eucharist "with the Episcopal rite." There was indeed something peculiar in the position of the bishops in the Columban Church, the reason of which is given us by the Venerable Bede. He says of Iona: "The island has for its rule an abbot, who is a presbyter, to whose direction all the province, and even the bishops, by an unusual constitution, ought to be subject, according to the example of their first doctor, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk." † In other words, bishops residing in the

* Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbæ*, bk. iii. ch. xxiv. † Bede, lib. iii., ch. iv.

monastery and in the province, were, by an unusual rule, subject as monks to the presbyter-abbot of Iona. Columba acted as primate of the province which he had converted, the bishops by this arrangement being stripped of their rightful prerogative of jurisdiction. From motives of humility, Columba had no wish to be a bishop, and his successors for generations thought they were bound to follow his example. There were in the Columban Church no diocesan bishops. But why then did bishops reside in the Columban monasteries at all? Were they there for use, or were they there for ornament? Under such a practical abbot as S. Columba, bishops were resident in his monasteries to perform distinctly Episcopal functions; we cannot for one moment believe they were there for ornament. When we are told that Findchan called in a bishop to ordain one Aidus the Black as presbyter, we see at once that ordination was the reserved prerogative of bishops; it was an essential element of their office which was not taken away from them, even under the provisional arrangement of the Columban Church. Aidus the Black was a murderer, and his uncanonical ordination null and void. But all the same a bishop had to be called in to ordain him, and he requested Findchan also to lay his hand on the candidate's head, simply *pro confirmatione.* At the present day, the rubric in the English Ordinal directs that at the ordination of a priest "the bishop with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the Order of Priesthood." This co-operation of the priests is not essential, the bishop, according to the primitive custom, acting as the head of his college of presbyters.* In the present ecclesiastical arrangement of the Church of England, we have in the suffragan-bishops instances of prelates exercising the essential prerogatives of the Episcopal order, but subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. The first abbots of the Columban Church were eminently apostolical and evangelical; they wished for no higher order in the Church than that which enabled them to conduct the ordinary services and to administer the sacraments. At that time in the rest of western Christendom, the bishop was in his rightful place in jurisdiction, as well as in the essential prerogative of order. Farther on in this work we shall be told that Colman, a bishop from Iona, when he found it his duty to consecrate Cedd, thought it necessary to call in two other bishops to assist in his consecration. In Adamnan's life of the saint there

* Bishop Barry's *Notes on the Ordinal.*

is no record of Columba or any other presbyter consecrating or ordaining any one to the sacred ministry. Had there been such a departure from the practice of the western Church, the Roman ecclesiastics would certainly have taken advantage of it in the Paschal controversy. As it was, the exceptional system of Iona, and the want of diocesan bishops and a diocesan system, caused a doubt to be cast upon the validity of Scottish orders in after days. At a council of the English bishops held at Calcuith in A.D. 816, one of the canons enacted "forbade any of the nations of the Scots to be allowed to celebrate the sacraments or minister otherwise in the offices of the Church." This unjust prohibition included all the Scottish clergy, whether they lived in England or Scotland. Towards the end of the seventh century, Archbishop Theodore introduced the parochial system into England, and did much to perfect the diocesan system. Bishops in the Columban Church do not appear to have given letters of orders to the parties they ordained.

At a much later period in the history of the Church, the Scottish bishops gave up all diocesan jurisdiction, and limited themselves, in the exercise of their Episcopal functions, to the ordination of deacons and presbyters, and the consecration of bishops. This took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the services of the Church were proscribed by law.*

VI.—THE COLUMBAN CLERGY AND THEIR TEACHING.

The life of Columba as related by his biographer, has told us of the dauntless courage of these missionaries and their burning love for souls. We have seen them crossing the rugged mountains and penetrating the vast forests of Caledonia to tell the "Black Picts" of the north the name of Jesus. We beheld them advancing to the closed gates of the royal castle, and in the same hour we saw them received within its walls. They were present in all the various scenes of human life. In the heathen village they raised their cross of wood, and preached the crucified Saviour to the listening pagans. When the savage warriors assembled for war and battle, the messengers of peace were there, telling them of the advent of the Prince of Peace. They sang their hymns of praise as their light coracles rose and fell on the

* History of eighteenth century in this book.

dancing waves, and when the raging storm threatened to overwhelm their tiny craft, they cried for aid to Him, Who said to the angry waters, "Peace, be still." They were the true friends of the captive and the poor, and were hated by the Druids, and the remorseless tyrants of northern Pictland. On every Lord's Day, and on the festivals of saints, the presbyters of the Columban Church celebrated the Holy Communion. They felt that the invisible God was present in their humble sanctuaries, and that angels and archangels joined in their *Gloria in Excelsis.* Their rule of faith they found in the Word of God, and summarised in the creeds of the Church. Columba and his followers valued the Holy Scriptures as priceless treasures. They believed in the efficacy of Christian baptism, old and young being baptized by them. Columba baptized Virolecus and all his house. Chants, introduced probably from Gaul, were used in the Eucharistic services. The Church of Iona observed the forty days of Lent, Easter being a festival of prime importance, and every Sunday being a day of holy joy. Adamnan does not mention Confirmation, but the Venerable Bede tells us of the laying on of hands. Columba thought the single life the most perfect, but recognised at the same time the holy and indissoluble nature of the marriage bond.* In the Columban Church great reverence was paid to the bodies of the departed, more than ordinary ceremonial being observed in the sepulture of those renowned for holiness. Without doubt, in S. Columba's time, Christian churches were solemnly consecrated and dedicated to God.†

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF S. COLUMBA TO THE REMOVAL OF THE PRIMACY TO DUNKELD.

COLUMBA'S FIRST SUCCESSORS.

THE monastery of Iona, after the death of its founder, continued to be the ecclesiastical capital of the Pictish and Scottish Churches. It was a rule at Iona, that the abbot should be a priest, and not a bishop. In point of jurisdiction, the presbyter-abbots of Iona

* Adamnan, bk. ii. ch. xlii. † *Ibid.* bk. iii., ch. xxiii.

continued for many years to be the primates of north Pictland, and the country of the Scots.

Looking upon Columba's dying words as being prophetic, the monks elected Baithen to be his successor at Iona. After him, there followed Lisrean and Virgnous, already mentioned. During the abbacy of Virgnous, Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswy, and other sons of Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, fled for refuge to Scotland on their father's death. These Northumbrian princes probably resided at Iona to receive instruction in the Christian faith before their baptism.

COLUMBAN MISSIONARIES IN ENGLAND.

After S. Columba's death, the bright light of the Gospel shone steadily forth from his beloved isle, and Columban missionaries entered upon a career of spiritual conquest beyond the Tweed. A bishop, Corman by name, was sent to Northumbria from Iona at the request of King Oswald, the Bretwalda, who, as already stated, was converted and baptized in Scotland. Corman's ministry was unsuccessful, because of his unconciliatory disposition, and S. Aidan, consecrated bishop at Iona, was sent to Northumbria in his stead.*

S. Aidan arrived in Northumbria in A.D. 635. Taking up his abode at Lindisfarne, an island about the same size as Iona, he began his arduous work of restoring Christianity to the position in Northumbria from which it had been cast down by the Saxon invasions. One difference there was from the rule at Iona; the abbot at Lindisfarne now took his proper place of subordination to the bishop of the diocese. The youth of Northumbria were educated at Lindisfarne to carry the glad news of the Gospel to their fellow-countrymen. Oswald fell in battle, fighting against the heathen King of Mercia; and, nine years afterwards, in 651, S. Aidan followed his royal friend and patron to the grave. The Scottish saint was a beautiful character. Historians extol "his love of peace and charity"; "his mind superior to anger and covetousness, and despising pride and vainglory"; "his authority becoming a priest in reproving the haughty and the powerful, and relieving and protecting the poor." †

The stream of spiritual conquest from Iona rolled on towards the south, gathering volume in its course. S. Finan, a Columban

* Bede, bk. iii., ch. v. † *Ibid.* bk. iii., ch. xvii. and xxv.

bishop, who succeeded S. Aidan at Lindisfarne, sent Christian missionaries to other parts of the English nation. He baptized Peada, a Mercian prince, who came to ask Oswy, King of Northumbria, for his daughter's hand. Peada returned to his province, accompanied by four Columban presbyters—Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, a Scot. So successful were their ministrations, that Diuma the Scot was consecrated by S. Finan as bishop of the Mercians and Middle Angles. Cedd was consecrated as bishop of the East Saxons, S. Finan summoning to Lindisfarne two other bishops to assist him in the consecration. This circumstance is a clear proof that S. Finan had himself been consecrated by bishops at Iona. Had he himself been consecrated by presbyters, there would have been no need for him to summon other two bishops to join in the consecration of Cedd. The standard of the cross was now planted by the Columban evangelists on the banks of the Thames. Cuminius Albus, the biographer of Columba, became Abbot of Iona in A.D. 657. S. Finan died in A.D. 661.*

When Bishop Colman succeeded S. Finan at Lindisfarne, Columban influence in Great Britain had reached its zenith height. But the Paschal controversy now began to be agitated with greater vehemence, and, from this time, there can be noted the marks of its decline and fall. Disputes had arisen about the time of keeping Easter in the ancient Church. These were settled by the Council of Nicæa, after which, all who persisted in keeping Easter on whatever day of the week it fell, were called schismatics and quarto-decimans. At that time, also, more correct modes of computing the time of Easter were followed in Western Europe. The Christians of North Pictland and Dalriada were no quarto-decimans, for they always kept Easter upon the Sunday that fell between the 14th and 20th day of the month. S. Augustine, when he landed in Kent in 597, found that the rule of the British Church, in calculating the time of Easter, differed entirely from the Continental mode. Bishop Colman and the clergy of Iona strongly advocated the Scottish use, while the Roman mode was ably defended by the English Wilfrid. Another vexatious source of disturbance was the difference of ecclesiastical tonsure. From the time of Gregory the Great, the Roman clergy shaved the crown of the head, symbolical, as some said, of the Saviour's crown of thorns. The British and Irish ecclesiastics shaved the fore-part of the head in a semi-circular form.

* Bede, bk. iii., ch. xxi.-xxv.

In 664, a Synod, summoned to settle the disputed points, met at Whitby, in S. Hilda's monastery. Colman and his clergy were there to defend the Scottish practices; but they were no match for the able and enthusiastic Wilfrid, who was seconded by Romanus, the Queen's chaplain, and James, formerly deacon to Paulinus. The question was practically settled by the State, and not by the Church, for, after King Oswy had spoken to the Synod in defence of the Roman use, the meeting gave decision in its favour. When the Synod rose, Colman, having resigned his see, returned to Iona to consult with his brethren. All the Scottish monks, and some of the English, followed him to Iona. This was the end of the Columban ecclesiastical supremacy in England. The Venerable Bede lauds the high character of these Scottish missionaries. "They served God," he said, "and not the world; their care was to satisfy the soul, and not the body. On Sundays they flocked eagerly to church to hear the Word of God. Lands or possessions for building monasteries they would not receive, till compelled to do so by the great and powerful."* Colman died in Ireland in A.D. 676. Tuda, who succeeded him at Lindisfarne, died of the plague in the year of the Whitby Synod.

Adamnan, who wrote S. Columba's life, became Abbot of Iona in A.D. 679. He was the most accomplished of the presbyter-abbots who sat in S. Columba's chair. Having occasion, several times, to visit Northumbria, he there, in A.D. 701, became convinced that the Scottish mode of calculating the time of Easter was wrong, and that the Roman use was right. He was converted to this opinion, it was supposed, by the abbot and monks of Jarrow; but his example was not followed at once by his subordinates at Iona. He kept Easter in Ireland after the western practice in A.D. 704, and died at Iona in September of that year.

In Scotland, as well as in England, the State decided the Paschal question, and not the Church. Before Columba's day the religious element in Pictland held the civil power in complete subjection. After the death of S. Columba, the Pictish kings entirely over-ruled the Church. Nectan, the King of the Picts, having applied to the abbot and monks of Jarrow for more enlightenment on the Easter question, summoned a council of his clergy and nobles to discuss the answer he received from that monastery. At the council, King Nectan decided the matter in a summary way. He there declared, "I openly vow and protest to you, who are here present, that it is my will to observe for

* Bede, lib. iii., ch. xxvi.

ever this time of Easter with my whole nation; and I decree that this tonsure, which as we have now heard, is most reasonable, shall be received by all the clergy of my kingdom." All the Columbites, who refused to obey this command, were banished from the Pictish dominions. For a time the abbot and monks of Iona refused to obey Nectan's decree. But Egbert, an English presbyter, accomplished what Adamnan and Nectan had failed to do. He, while a guest at Iona, persuaded the abbot and his brethren to renounce the Scottish rite. Egbert died at Iona in 729, having celebrated the Holy Eucharist on the day of his death. The Venerable Bede died in A.D. 735.* While it is difficult to see why the Scots had so much objection to the more correct calculation of the time of Easter, the arrogance of the advocates of the Roman practices cannot be excused. This arrogance was seen in their calling the Columban tonsure the "Simon-Magus tonsure."

THE INVASIONS OF THE DANES.

"Grim Vikings and their rapture
In the sea-fight and the capture."
LONGFELLOW.

The Danes began to ravage the coasts of Britain at the beginning of the ninth century. These wild sea-rovers, called also Vikings, the men of the fiords or bays, after taking possession of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, seized upon Caithness, Sutherland, and parts of Ross and Moray. For centuries, the Scandinavian pirates were the scourge of England and Scotland. They plundered and destroyed wherever they went, carrying off bands of Scottish captives, whom they sold as slaves in the markets of Sweden and Norway. Churches and monasteries were attacked by the Northmen for the treasure supposed to be concealed there. Iona was plundered by the Danes when Kellach was abbot. He fled to Ireland, and was succeeded in 814 by Diermit. During his abbacy, the Vikings appeared again at Iona. Blaithmac, an Irish abbot, was in the island when the pirates landed, and, refusing to flee, he advised the rest of the brethren to provide for their own safety. The ruthless pagans, bursting into the church as Blaithmac was celebrating the Holy Communion, slew the brave priest before the altar, because he would not deliver to them the precious shrine containing S. Columba's relics. He died commending his soul to God.

* Bede, lib. v., ch. xxi. and lib. iii., ch. iv.-xxvii

Indrect was the last abbot of Iona who was primate of the Scoto-Celtic Church. He was slain by the Saxons in 854, while on a pilgrimage to Rome.

THE UNION OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS.

Kenneth Macalpin, under whom the Picts and Scots were united, became king of the Albanian Scots in 836. He was the lineal descendant of Aidan, whose ascension to his throne had been inaugurated by S. Columba. By the Pictish law of succession, which was a singular one, Kenneth Macalpin inherited the Pictish throne through the female line. In 843 he became King of the Picts, and, from that time, one sovereign reigned over all the country north of the Forth and Clyde. Kenneth was crowned on the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, now in Westminster Abbey. One hundred years after this, the name of Scotland was given to North Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REMOVAL OF THE PRIMACY TO DUNKELD TO THE ACCESSION OF MALCOLM CANMORE.

Kenneth Macalpin resided at Forteviot in Stratherne. Thinking it necessary under the altered circumstances to remove the ecclesiastical metropolis from Iona to the mainland, he translated to Dunkeld part of the relics of S. Columba, and placed them in the church which he had built. This new church at Dunkeld, in all probability, took the place of the church erected there by Urgust, King of the Picts. Henceforth the abbots of Iona acknowledged the bishops of Dunkeld as their ecclesiastical superiors, and not the neighbouring bishops of Argyll and the Isles.

The union of the Picts and Scots under one sovereign has in Scottish history only two other events of parallel importance—the introduction of the Saxons into Scotland by King David, and the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England. The fusion of these two nations has been beneficial in every respect. Resolute monarchs were required to draw together the clans of Caledonia, and oppose the invasions of the Danes. The defence of

the southern frontier, also, helped to consolidate the nationality of Scotland by uniting against a common foe the various tribes and clans.

Kenneth Macalpin's reign was marked by continual wars against the Northmen, who at one time penetrated as far inland as Dunkeld. The "Stone of Destiny" was supposed to have been removed by him from Iona to Scone. He died at Forteviot in A.D. 859, and most likely was buried at Iona. The next sovereigns of the Scoto-Pictish nation were Donald, Constantine, Aodh, Grig, and Eocha. To one of these, Grig—an usurper, as is thought—the Scoto-Pictish Church was said to be indebted for the precious boon of spiritual freedom. Pictish kings before the time of Kenneth Macalpin held the spiritual power in continual bondage.

The abbots of Dunkeld were the primates of the Church of North Britain for more than half a century. Their line cannot be traced with certainty, the Irish annalists mentioning them only occasionally. Tuathal, the son of Artegusa, was primus-episcopus of the Picts in A.D. 865. Flaithbertach was Abbot of Dunkeld during part of the first Constantine's reign. The next kings were Donald and Constantine II.*

THE REMOVAL OF THE PRIMACY TO S. ANDREWS.

Constantine II. ascended the Scoto-Pictish throne in A.D. 904. The Scottish primacy is supposed to have been transferred from Dunkeld to S. Andrews during his reign. When he had been six years on the throne, he was present at a memorable assembly held at Scone. Then the King himself, Kellach, the Bishop of S. Andrews, and the Scots who were present "swore to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospel." Since that day the hill on which the meeting took place has been called the "Hill of Belief." From the prominent part taken by the Bishop of S. Andrews at this remarkable profession of faith, it is evident that he was the chief bishop of the Scots. The Scottish primacy must therefore have been translated to S. Andrews previous to A.D. 910. Scotland now received a more complete form of ecclesiastical government than ever it had before. Now, at all events, if not previously at Dunkeld, there was an end in Scoto-Pictland of the anomalous system which gave a presbyter episcopal and even primatial jurisdiction. The authority of Bishop Kellach and his successors extended over all the bishops and clergy in northern Britain. In a sense the

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., pp. 162, 165, 166.

bishops of S. Andrews had at first no diocese of their own; then all Scotland was their diocese. They were called *Episcopi Scotorum*, and in the Celtic language *Escop Alban*. Kellach's successor as primate and Bishop of S. Andrews was Fothad.

Almost the whole life of Constantine II. was spent in continual conflict with the Danish marauders. At last that hoary warrior, wearied with his many battles, resigned his crown and sceptre, to adopt the monastic life. He became Superior of a Culdee monastery at S. Andrews.

The immediate successors of Constantine II. were Malcolm I. and Indulf. The Scoto-Pictish realm was now called Scotland. During Malcolm's reign, which began in 944, Cumberland was ceded to Scotland, on the conditions of friendship and alliance. When Indulf was king, the English abandoned Edinburgh, thus giving up to Scotland her future metropolis. Of the five succeeding sovereigns, we know little more than their names. They were Duff, Culen, Kenneth, Constantine III., and then another Kenneth. These may appear to us as but the names of shadowy forms in the far-distant past. But they were resolute monarchs, with rough but glorious work to do; they were the defenders, as well as the moulders and framers, of a nation. The first-named Kenneth was an able king. Edgar, the English king, ceded the Lothians to Scotland during his reign, which ended in 974. Malcolm II. began to reign in 1003. It was a stormy period, for the Danes still infested Scotland. Fordun appears to be wrong in asserting that Malcolm II. founded the see of Mortlach as a thanksgiving offering for a victory obtained over the Danes at that place. The mistake arose from the substitution of Malcolm II. for Malcolm III.

Fothad, for some reason unknown to us, was expelled from his see by Indulf. Then followed Maelbrigid, and a second Kellach, in succession as primates of Scotland. This Kellach was the first Scottish bishop who went to Rome to be confirmed in his appointment. In Malcolm II.'s reign the Bishops of S. Andrews were Alwin and Malduin. Then came Tuathal and a second Fothad, who held the primacy till 1093.

Duncan succeeded his grandfather, Malcolm II., as King of Scotland. In 1039, he was murdered by Macbeth at Bothgowanan, near Elgin. Shakespeare's immortal play has invested Macbeth with a character not borne out by the facts of history. Macbeth, the maormor of Ross and lord of Moray, succeeded the king he had defeated

and slain. The gifts of Macbeth to the Church were munificent. He is the only Scottish king who is said to have made a pilgrimage to Rome. Able monarch though he was, he did not win the affections of the people. Macbeth was defeated and slain by Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan, who was assisted in the effort to gain his father's throne by the army of Siward, Earl of Northumberland. The reign of Malcolm III. began in 1057. He was surnamed Can-more, or Big-head.*

THE CULDEE PERIOD.

"The dark attired Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
Ere yet an island of her seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod."

CAMPBELL.

If we look upon the time between S. Columba's arrival in Britain and the ninth century as the Columban period, then the interval between the ninth and eleventh centuries must be termed the Culdee period. When the first Columbites had passed away, their successors were called Culdees. Some say the word "Culdees" is a contraction of Cultores Dei, worshippers of God. Celtic scholars, on the other hand, have interpreted the same word in various ways, as meaning "servants of God," "men living in community," and "men living in cells." Culdees existed in Ireland and Wales as well as in Scotland. They were the successors of the first monks of Iona; but, after the Columban influence began to decline, their discipline became relaxed, and their system corrupt. Most of the Scottish monasteries were, probably, occupied first by Culdees. The later Culdees submitted to Rome, thus paving the way for the introduction of the new system, introduced by Malcolm Canmore and his successors. The corruptions of the later Culdee Church called for the adoption of the new organisation, which proved so beneficial to Scotland. From the change, there was loss as well as gain: the later Culdees and their successors surrendered the independence of the Scottish Church.

Concerning the Culdees, there is little authentic information. Many literary works, that might have thrown light upon the condition of the Culdee communities, were destroyed by the Danes and by Edward I. of England in the plundering of the monasteries. In the

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., pp. 166-187.

burning of Elgin Cathedral, too, by the Wolf of Badenoch, documents were destroyed which might have told us something about the Culdee brotherhoods in Morayland. Bishops resided in the Culdee monasteries, and, as we have seen, a Scottish king, laying aside his crown, retired to the Culdee monastery of S. Andrews. After the ecclesiastical capital was removed to Dunkeld, the Church of Morayland was subject to the abbot-primates of Dunkeld; but, about A.D. 900, it came under the primatial rule of the bishops of S. Andrews.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

IN THE

DIOCESE OF MORAY

FROM MALCOLM CANMORE TO KING ROBERT THE BRUCE.

CHAPTER V.

SCOTO-SAXON ECCLESIASTICISM.

SAXON AND NORMAN IMMIGRATIONS.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, colonies of Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Morayland, as well as in other parts of Scotland. The people in Morayland—which extended from the River Spey to the Atlantic Ocean—did not tamely submit to the invaders, but often rose in rebellion against the King, who, to strengthen his own position, introduced Saxon monks into the district. Powerful religious communities were therefore for this, if not for a higher purpose, established at Elgin, Kinloss, Inverness, and Pluscardyn. These formed a valuable help to the Scottish kings in their subjugation of the disturbed province.

Malcolm Canmore was crowned King of the Scots at Scone in 1057. During his reign, crowds of Saxons, fleeing from the oppressive rule of William the Conqueror, took refuge in Scotland. Among these were Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon kings of England, and his sisters, Margaret and Christina. Margaret was married at Dunfermline to the Scottish king, the officiating prelate being Fothad, Bishop of S. Andrews. The new queen was a paragon of true queenly patriotism and Christian piety. She completely won the heart of her Celtic husband, moulding and refining his brave but rough nature. In his councils her word was a law that could not be disregarded.

"What she disliked," wrote her biographer, Turgot, "he disliked; and what she loved, he loved, for the love of her." The saintly queen bestowed munificent gifts upon the Scottish Church, and set to work to remove its many corruptions. The feeble and worn out Culdee system was utterly unfit to cope with the evil practices of the times. Under the influence of her early training, she supported the tendency towards unification with the see of Rome, as the means of reform. One custom, complained of by Queen Margaret, was that of beginning Lent on a Monday after the first Sunday in Lent, and not on Ash Wednesday. Far more serious was the neglect of the Holy Communion in the later Culdee Church; it was not the universal practice to partake of the Holy Eucharist even on Easter Day. To the Celtic clergy, when making the excuse of unworthiness, Margaret replied—"What then, shall all who are sinners refuse to partake of that holy mystery? But if no one is to receive it, whence the voice of our Lord in the Gospel: 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you'?" Another flagrant abuse was the neglect of the Sunday, the people working as on other days. It required the strong resolute will of Malcolm and the pleadings of his saintly queen to induce the Culdee clergy to submit to the new order of things. Margaret must have been convinced that the only remedy was the introduction of a new order of clergy into the Scottish Church.*

In all probability, the see of Mortlach was founded by Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret. This diocese, which, in the reign of David I., became that of Aberdeen, extended from the Dee to the Spey. The first bishop was the saintly Bean, who resided in the monastery at Mortlach.†

Malcolm Canmore was slain in 1093 at the siege of Alnwick Castle, and his royal consort died in the following November. It was 1250 before the remains of both were transferred to the choir of Dunfermline Church.

Donald Bane, Duncan, and Edgar were, in succession, the occupants of the Scottish throne. Edgar was the fourth son of Malcolm Canmore, and, in conformity with the policy of his royal parents, he encouraged Saxons and Normans to settle in his realm. He also inherited his mother's love for the Scottish Church, giving large grants of money and land for ecclesiastical purposes. Edgar died in

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., pp. 185-198.

† *Regist. Episcopat. Aberdon.*, ch. ii., pp. 125-246.

1107, and was buried at Dunfermline. Alexander I., who succeeded his brother Edgar, appointed Turgot, his mother's counsellor and confessor, Bishop of S. Andrews. The right to consecrate the Scottish primate was now claimed for the first time by the Archbishop of York; but the Scottish king and clergy nobly resisted these claims. Turgot was ultimately consecrated by the Archbishop of York, the rights of both Churches being reserved. On Turgot's death in A.D. 1115, the English claims were again renewed. Eadmer, the bishop-designate of S. Andrews complicated the whole question by asserting that the Archbishop of Canterbury had primatial rights over all the British Isles.* Eadmer had to leave Scotland without being consecrated.

FOUNDATION OF THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

This diocese was founded probably in the reign of Alexander I., although Bishop Keith ascribes the foundation of it to the time of Malcolm Canmore. Alexander appears to have formed the diocese of Moray from all the Scottish provinces north and west of the Spey. From this time, therefore, we have records of the Bishops of Moray.†

GREGORY, BISHOP OF MORAY.

The history of these early bishops is to be gleaned chiefly from charters granted in favour of religious houses. Bishop Gregory's name occurs in a charter of Alexander I., in favour of the monastery of Scone.‡ The name of the same bishop is also to be found in a charter granted to Dunfermline by David I.§ Scone received its foundation charter in 1114 or 1115. We may, therefore, conclude that the bishopric of Moray was erected before that time. This does not exclude the supposition that the see was founded in the reign of Malcolm Canmore; though the probabilities are all in favour of the time of Alexander I.

The diocese of S. Andrews at first embraced the whole of Scotland, and the bishop was styled the Bishop of the Scots. The first bishops of Moray were under the primatial jurisdiction of the bishops of S. Andrews, as Moray was taken out of that see.

David I., the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, became King of Scotland in A.D. 1124. He earned, in after days, the sobriquet of the "sore saint to the Scottish crown," from the princely benefactions

* *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 65. † Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 218.
‡ *Liber de Scone*, pp. 3 and 4. § *Registrum de Dunfermline*, p. 4.

he made to the Church. He ruled the principality of Cumbria before he ascended the Scottish throne. David's character was pure and upright, though in his youth he sometimes forgot the lessons of ascetic piety taught by his saintly mother. In an invasion of England, his troops practised merciless barbarity, and were completely routed at the Battle of the Standard. The Scottish king and the remnant of his army fled to Carlisle, leaving 10,000 dead upon the field.

David's great work was the continued reformation of the Scottish Church. The dioceses of S. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Moray were in existence when he became king. Six other dioceses were founded by him, and new cathedrals were built at S. Andrews and Glasgow. Pope Innocent III., at this time, having ordered all the Scottish prelates to acknowledge the supremacy of Thurstan, Archbishop of York, found his imperious commands resolutely disregarded. David was found dead in his chamber, at Carlisle, in the attitude of prayer. In the diocese of Moray, he founded the priory of Urquhart and the abbey of Kinloss.

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF MORAY.

How long Gregory's episcopate lasted is not known. He was succeeded by William about the middle of David's reign. Bishop William's episcopate lasted to the time of Malcolm IV. This bishop, along with Nicolaus, King Malcolm's secretary, was sent by that monarch on an embassy to Rome to complain about the pretensions of the Archbishop of York. Pope Alexander did not redress the wrong, but he received the envoys with great honour, and conferred on the Bishop of Moray the office of legate in Scotland. In 1160 William consecrated Arnold, Bishop of S. Andrews, and his death took place in 1163.*

Malcolm IV., called the Maiden, who succeeded his grandfather, David I., imitated him in founding many religious houses. He was succeeded by his brother, William I., in 1165. To this monarch there was given the cognomen of the Lion. Northumberland was invaded by this king, but he was surprised and taken prisoner by a body of English horsemen near Alnwick. Henry II., the astute English king, released the Scottish monarch on condition that he should do homage to him for the whole of his dominions. The compact, signed at Falaise

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 287; *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 77, 78.

in Normandy in 1174, was most hurtful to the Scottish Church and nation. When the English king proposed to subject the Scottish Church to the authority of York and Canterbury, the Scottish nobles and clergy who were present, cleverly evaded the difficulty by inserting in the treaty a clause, "that the supremacy should be such as in right the English Church ought to have over Scotland." "A memorable clause" this was, as Lord Hailes remarked. It left entire the whole question of the independence of the Church of Scotland. A dispute between this strong-willed Scottish king and Pope Alexander led to the country being placed under an interdict. The next Pope, Lucius III., removed the interdict and sent the lion-hearted monarch the golden rose. William the Lion lived to see the restoration of Scottish independence. Richard I. of England, resolving to join the red cross knights, in the time of the Crusades, gave up to William all rights of superiority over Scotland for the payment of 10,000 silver merks, a sum equal to £10,000 at the present day. This brave-hearted King of Scotland died in 1214.

FELIX, BISHOP OF MORAY.

In a charter by William the Lion,* we find the name of Felix as witness. His episcopate lasted from 1162 to 1171.

SIMEON DE TONEI, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Simeon, a monk of Melrose, became Bishop of Moray in 1171. Previously he had been Abbot of Coggeshall in Essex. In all probability this Bishop was an Englishman, as some bearing the name "de Tonei" came over from Normandy with William the Conqueror.† Simeon de Tonei was contemporary with Andrew, Matthew, and Gregory, Bishops of Aberdeen, Dunblane, Caithness, and Ross respectively. This was in the time of William the Lion. Simeon was co-witness in a deed with Robert de Quincey and Philip de Valoniis.

SIMEON PRESENT AT THE COUNCIL OF NORTHAMPTON.

Simeon must have been the Bishop of Moray present at this Council in 1176. A formal discussion of the ecclesiastical conditions of the treaty of Falaise was held at the meeting, at which there were

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 80.

† Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 303; Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 80.

also present Cardinal Hugueeio Petrileoni, the papal legate, the Kings of England and Seotland, and the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Galloway, and Caithness. The King of England insisted that the Seottish Chureh should yield obedienee to England in terms of the Falaise treaty. Perplexed by the eonflieting elaims of Canterbury and York, both of whom demanded subordination from the Seottish Chureh, King Henry dissolved the Coueil without arriving at any formal deeision.

Simeon de Toei died in 1184. He was buried at Birnie, whieh plaee, as well as Kineddar, was oeeasionally the residenee of the Bishops of Moray.*

RICHARD, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Riehard, one of King William's elerks, sueeeeded Simeon de Toei as Bishop of Moray. He was eonseerated by Hugh, Bishop of S. Andrews.† King William's eonfirmation of a donation to the abbey of Kinloss was witnessed to by Bishop Riehard and H. Caneellarius, the Chaneellor, who was Bishop of Glasgow.‡ William the Lion was most beneficent to the dioeese during Riehard's episeopate. He ordered the revenues given to the see by his royal aneestors to be paid punetually, and he made over to it a portion of land, eommonly called "a toft," in the towns of Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness. Besides this, the dioeese reeeived the teinds of all the King's rents, ordinary and extraordinary, whieh had not formerly been set apart for the Church there. Bishop Riehard granted a eharter of protection to the abbot and monks of Kinloss for themselves and all their possessions. This prelate eonseerated Roger, Bishop of S. Andrews. He died in 1201, and was buried at Spynie.§

* *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 84, 85, 93, 95.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85, 93, 95; *Registrum Episcopat. Moraviense*, p. 359.

‡ Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 81.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 81; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 105.

MONASTICISM AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

"We need not bid, for cloister'd cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky.

"The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask;
Room to deny ourselves; a road
To bring us, daily, nearer God."

KEBLE.

RISE OF MONASTICISM.

To understand the nature and origin of the religious houses that arose at Elgin, Pluscardyn, Kinloss, Urquhart, and Inverness, in the diocese of Moray, it will be useful to give a short account of monasticism and the religious orders.

The desert of the Thebaid in Egypt was the first home of monasticism. Paul of Alexandria, the first Christian hermit, retired to that solitude in A.D. 251. At that time the Roman Emperor, Decius, was trying to extinguish the Christian faith by forcing its professors to recant.

Antony of Coma, a village in the Thebaid, was a still more celebrated hermit. In A.D. 275 he shut himself up in a tomb, and ten years later he occupied a ruined castle near the Red Sea. His next abode was a mountain cave, near a spring of cold water and a cluster of palm trees. He left his cell to attend upon the sufferers in the persecution under Maximin. Numbers flocked to see the celebrated hermit, and to imitate his mode of life. Antony died in A.D. 356. At the beginning of the fourth century the Christian ascetics began to live in communities. This system, called cœnobitic (from κοινὸς—common, and βίος—life), was first devised by Pachomius, who was born in 292. His monastery, situated on an island of the Nile, called Tabenne, contained 8000 inmates. In time the number rose to 50,000, presided over by an Abbot or Archimandrite.* Pachomius built a monastery for his sister, who became its Abbess. Its female inmates were styled nuns.† Pachomius

* *Abbot*, derived from a Syriac word, means "Father." *Archimandrite* means "head of the sheep-fold," from ἀρχὸς, chief, and μάνδρα, a sheep-fold.

† *Nun* means "good, beautiful," from the Coptic *nane* or *nanu*, or from the late Greek νόννα.

died in A.D. 348. Coëval with Pachomius, another ascetic, Macarius, established communities of monks in the desert of Scetis.

Other noted leaders in the monastic life were Hilarion in Syria, S. Ephrem the Mystic in Mesopotamia, Bishop Eustathius in Armenia, S. Basil in Pontus and Cappadocia, Athanasius, who in 340 visited Rome, accompanied by wild-looking monks from the deserts of Egypt, and S. Martin at Poitiers and Tours in Gaul.

But it was the authority of S. Augustine that gave monasticism a strong footing on the dark continent. Well known is the story of his conversion in answer to his mother's prayers. Plato's works kindled in the heart of the zealous student an "incredible conflagration," but could not satisfy. S. Paul's epistles accomplished what Platonism could not do, and S. Augustine was converted and baptized by S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. Elected Bishop of Hippo in 395, he held that post till his death in 430. His greatest work was "On the City of God." The Augustinian Order of Monks, named after the great scholar, was founded in 388, and in the course of centuries spread over the Old and New Worlds. These recluses, called popularly Austin Friars and White Friars, reached the United States in 1790.

S. Jerome, whose strange and contradictory character strikes us with wonder, exercised in the fourth century a powerful influence upon monastic institutions. Being told in a dream that "he was not a Christian, but a Ciceronian," he resolved never again to open a heathen book. S. Jerome did not keep this resolve. When acting as secretary to Pope Damasus at Rome he had many opportunities of forwarding the cause of monasticism. Jerome died in 420. The Stylites, or pillar saints, the examples of extravagant enthusiasm in monastic life, appeared first in the fifth, and disappeared in the twelfth century.

The first hermits wished to be patterns of the highest Christian life. Imperial persecutions being over, Christians were not called upon to be confessors and martyrs. Many at that time thought that spiritual distinction was to be gained by separation from the world. They did not observe that the more courageous part was to remain in the world and fight against its evils. The inmates of the cloistered cell took Elijah, the Rechabites, and S. John the Baptist as examples of the recluse life. There was a beautiful idea in the thought of a life dedicated to prayer and holy contemplation. When his battles were over, the hoary warrior found

rest in the cloister. There, too, the wanderer and the weary exile sought for peace.

The severe rules of the various orders had often to be relaxed; and when corruption had taken hold of a religious society, the zealous reformer appeared to start a new order with stricter rules. The solitaries did not at first belong to the clerical order, but gradually they assumed more and more of the ministerial character. Degeneracy arose principally from people entering the convent who were not adapted for the religious life. All monasteries were placed under the bishop's control by the Council of Chalcedon. They did not always strengthen the hands of the bishop of the diocese, being sometimes independent of his control.*

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

All the churches in Scotland belonged at one time either to the Regular or the Secular Clergy. The Regular Clergy followed the rule of some famous founder of a monastic order. Such founders were S. Augustine, S. Benedict, S. Bernard, and others. The Regulars, under the names of monks, canons, or friars, lived together in houses called abbeys, priories, or convents. Their rules were usually approved of by the Bishop of Rome.† The principal Regular orders were the Augustinian and the Benedictine. S. Augustine's rule was followed by the Regular Canons of S. Augustine, the Præmonstantenses, the Red Friars, called also *Friars de redemptione captivorum*, the Dominicans or Black Friars, the Lazarites, and the Canons of S. Anthony. The Cistercians and the monks of Vallis Caulium were orders reformed from the Benedictine rule. The Carmelites or White Friars looked upon Elijah and Elisha as their first founders. Albert, Bishop of Jerusalem, persuaded them to dwell in cloisters, and gave them a code of statutes in 1205.

The Franciscans were founded by S. Francis of Assisi in Italy. After a dangerous illness this young and wealthy Italian renounced his gay life to be a preacher of repentance, and to attend upon the sick and the dying. Associates gathered round him, for whom he composed the rules of the order called Franciscan. These rules were confirmed in A.D. 1209, by Pope Honorius. The Franciscans were mendicant friars, living upon the alms of the people. The Black, Grey, and White Friars were mendicants, while the Augustinians,

* Robertson's *Hist. of the Christian Church*, vol. i., pp. 325-353, 577-579.

† Keith's *Religious Houses*, p. 235.

Benedictines, Cistercians, Carthusians, the Red Friars, and the monks of Vallis Caulium possessed endowments.* The Augustinians first came into Scotland at the request of Alexander I.

The order of Augustinian monks called Red Friars, gave up a third part of their income to redeem Christian captives from Turkish slavery. They wore a scapular, or sleeveless tunic, upon which was marked a red and blue cross.

S. Benedict founded the order of Benedictines, or Black Monks. He was a rich and well-educated Italian, for whom the barren philosophy and vices of the period had no charms. Having withdrawn from Roman society and adopted the monastic life, he in A.D. 528 founded the famous monastery of Monte Casino, about 70 miles from Rome. Henceforth monasteries became homes of learning as well as of piety. The Benedictine rule was stricter than the Augustinian, being a reformation of the same. S. Benedict died in A.D. 543.

The Cistercians or Bernardines were an order of Benedictine monks, reformed and established by S. Bernard. He was born of a knightly family in 1091, at Fontaine, in Burgundy. Deep religious feelings moved Bernard from his early youth. His monastery was called Clairvaux or Clara Vallis, because the valley in which it was situated was cleared of the robbers who once infested it. Bernard reproved those who cared too much for dress and outward ceremonial. The inward spiritual life was his principal care, seraphic love of the blessed Jesus filling his heart and prompting his every action. His sanctity became so eminent that he had a loftier authority at the time than the wearer of the triple tiara. He died in A.D. 1153.

The Carthusians were founded by Bruno in the Carthusian mountains of Dauphiné. Born at Cologne in 1030, Bruno in early life became renowned for scholarship. He founded his famous Carthusian Order at Chartreuse, in the diocese of Grenoble, with stricter rules than those of S. Benedict. These monks practised great austerity, wearing gown and scapular with hair-cloth next to the skin. Bruno died in 1084. Other reforms of the Benedictine system were the Trappists and the monks of Cluny.

The monks of Vallis Caulium were first established in the Val de Choux, or Vallis Caulium, in Burgundy. There is some uncertainty about the founder's name, some saying that it was Guido or Viard, and others that it was Odo. Probably the founder was a lay Carthusian brother, who adopted the usual plan of correcting the

* Keith's *Religious Houses*, pp. 236, 241.

defects of his order by starting another with stricter rules. The rule of the Val de Choux, or "Kale Glen" in Scottish phraseology, was a combination of the Cistercian and Carthusian, with the strictness of the latter predominating. The statute book of the order enacted that all daughter-houses should be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and to S. John the Baptist. The rules confirmed by Pope Innocent III., in A.D. 1205, had to be relaxed by Pope Honorius III., in A.D. 1223. Situated in the midst of the Chatillon forest, the mother-house of this order possessed granges, farm-steads, and other property bestowed upon it by the ducal house of Burgundy. The Commendator of the monastery received the revenues, but might or might not reside in the priory. Strict seclusion was the rule of the order, only the Prior being permitted to visit the outside world, and that on the business of the order. The Priory of Pluscardyn, in Morayshire, was a daughter-house of Vallis Caulium.*

The Dominicans, or Black Friars, an order of mendicants, had for their founder S. Dominic, who was born at Calahorra, in Old Castile, in 1170. Dominic, descended from a noble house, after receiving an expensive education, was ordained priest at the age of 29. He, with some Cistercians, undertook a mission to the Albigenses. When argument failed to convince the separatists, Pope Innocent III. called in the aid of the secular arm. Forgetting that the Son of Man came not "to destroy men's lives but to save them" (Luke ix. 55, 56), Dominic and the cruel Simon de Montfort headed the crusade against the Albigenses, in which frightful massacres took place. Poverty and contempt of worldly wealth characterised these preaching friars. Their first general, S. Dominic, died in 1221. The last part of his life was spent at Bologna. Alexander II. founded Dominican convents at Elgin and Inverness. King David confirmed the Inverness monks in their privileges.† The Dominicans, from their being an order of preaching brothers, were not forbidden to cross the bounds of their monastery like the monks of Pluscardyn. The Elgin Dominican monastery stood on the north-east of Murdoch's Wynd, on the land of Burgh Brigs. Nothing is known of its style or architecture. They may occasionally have given trouble to the Bishops of Moray, as they were independent of Episcopal control.‡

The Franciscans at Elgin were mendicant Grey Friars, who went bare-footed and wore no shirts. Their grey gowns and cowls, with

* Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, p. 30. † Keith's *Religious Houses*, p. 271.
‡ Young's *Elgin*, p. 431 ; and Keith's *Religious Houses*, pp. 271-273.

a rope about their waist, must have been familiar in Moray. They were first brought to Elgin by Alexander II., who was there with his Queen in A.D. 1242. These Grey Friars were of the original order of Franciscans. Bishop Innes, probably between 1406 and 1409, introduced a reformed order of Franciscans called Observantines into the new Grey Friars' monastery he erected at Elgin. The fraternity possessed nothing but the lands on which their houses stood. They carried wallets, or "pocks," on their shoulders for the reception of the food they received from the faithful.*

BRICIUS, BRITIUS, OR BRICE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Bricius or Brice belonged to the noble house of Douglas, at the beginning of the thirteenth century an obscure family in Clydesdale. The Douglas family first rose to eminence from their connection with this prelate. Bricius was Prior of Lesmahagow, a cell in Clydesdale, before he was elected to the see of Moray. Lesmahagow belonged to the abbey of Kelso. The Bishops of Moray had hitherto resided at Birnie, Spynie, or Kineddar, there being then no cathedral church in the diocese. Bricius, with the consent of Pope Honorius III., fixed the seat of his see at the church of the Holy Trinity, Spynie. There he appointed a chapter of eight canons, including a dean, precentor, treasurer, chancellor, and archdeacon. Privileges and immunities were given to them like those enjoyed by the Canons of Lincoln. To each canon there was given a prebend or maintenance from the estate of the cathedral. The Dean and Chancellor of Moray proceeded to Lincoln with the object of ascertaining fully its rules.†

The mother of Bricius was sister to Fristinus de Kerdal of Kerdal, on the River Spey. This information is obtained from a charter of the church of Deveth (Daviot probably), granted by the bishop for supporting the fabric of the church of Spey. The following words are found in this charter:—"Ad instantiam et petitionem, Fristini de Kerdal avunculi nostri." Bishop Keith thought that Bricius was Dean of Moray during the episcopate of Richard, his predecessor. Bricius had brothers, Henry, Alexander, Archibald, and Hugo de Douglas. He was present at the Lateran Council of 1215, along with the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow. Britius died in 1222, and was buried at Spynie.‡

* *Relig. Houses*, p. 277; Young's *Elgin*, pp. 88, 111, 124, 281, 384, 385.
† *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.*, p. 359; and *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 138.
‡ Keith's *Cat. of Bishops*, p. 81; and Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 303.

THE BISHOP'S SEE AT SPYNIE.

SPYNIE AND KINTRAE.

Spynie, where Bishop Bricius fixed his episcopal seat, is a parish in the county of Moray. At its southern part the parish of Elgin is separated from Spynie by the Lossie. Kintrae, as the *Moray Chartulary* tells us, had once a church as well as Spynie. The constitution of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, called this church "Ecclesiam de Kintray." The same church is mentioned in the deed of foundation of a chaplainry in the castle of Duffus by Bricius, Bishop of Moray, in favour of Hugh de Moravia, Lord of Duffus. "We assign to that chapel," says Bricius, "all the tithes of the produce of the land which is called Aldetown, which is between *the ancient church* of Kyntra, *i.e.*, from Langaphage through the dry land which goes from the northern part of the Brinhill as far as the marsh, which is between *the old church* and the Aldeton, and as that marsh goes as far as to Blynd Wollis, and so as far as to the new ditch as far as to the road which goes from *the old church of Kyntra* as far as to the castle." *

THE LOCH OF SPYNIE.

The parish of Spynie once possessed a loch five miles long, which was open to the sea. This lake was well stocked with salmon and other fish, and was much frequented by swans. A rare herb grew there called olorina, because it greatly delighted the swans. This root, said Leslie, "diffuses itself so widely, that in our memory it has already caused five miles of Spynie itself, where formerly the salmon used to abound, to be completely fordable."† The lake, in the course of time becoming shallower, was unfit for navigation. When it became a fresh water lake the proprietors, the bishops of the diocese, tried to drain it. On the death of Bishop Hepburn, the temporalities of the diocese fell to the crown. James VI. conferred them upon Alexander Lindsay, son of the Earl of Crawford, who was made Lord Spynie, and who held this title and the castle and lands

* The original of the deed is in Latin. *Moray Chartulary*, pp. 94, 273; Young's *Spynie*, pp. 3, 4.

† Leslie's *History*, p. 27; Young's *Spynie*, p. 8.

of Spynie till 1606.* Dilapidated as they were, the temporalities were restored to Alexander Douglas, the first Spottiswoode Bishop of Moray. He and the neighbouring proprietors improved the drainage of the loch, and excluded from it the River Lossie.† Bishop Guthrie granted to Sir Robert Gordon, son of the Earl of Sutherland, a charter of resignation and *novodamus* of the lands of Meikle Drainy, Newton, Ardwot, Muirton, Whiteley, and Salterfield, "together with the passage or ferry boat in the loch of Spynie, with the privileges, liberties, profits, and duties of the same, all lying in the barony of Kineddar, regality of Spynie, and shire of Elgin and Forres." A crown charter of 1699 secured to Sir Robert Gordon, third baronet of Gordonstown, certain lands and the profits of the ferry boat. The struggles between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century made it impossible for either party to make further improvements on the loch of Spynie. The Morayshire families of Brodie and Innes took the side of the Presbyterians, while the Earl of Moray and Lord Duffus upheld the cause of Episcopacy.‡

SPYNIE CASTLE AFTER THE DAYS OF BRICIUS.

Bishop Bricius saw the advantages of making Spynie the seat of his episcopate. At that time the place had a convenient harbour, the loch of Spynie being then a salt-water loch in communication with the sea. Spynie had also the advantage of being near to the town of Elgin, and the Bishops of Moray continued to reside there even after the cathedral church of Moray was removed to Elgin itself. The bishops were powerful proprietors, and dispensed hospitality on a lavish scale. Bishop Hepburn was the great dilapidator of the bishopric. He gave the best of the lands to the Earl of Moray to secure for himself the power of giving other parts of them to his own illegitimate children. When that immoral prelate died, the lands that remained fell to the crown. George Douglas, the Protestant titular bishop, appointed in 1573, did not receive the full revenues of the bishopric.§ Alexander Douglas, consecrated Bishop of Moray in 1606, resided mainly at Elgin, and was seldom at Spynie. Before his death he conveyed the lands of Spynie, Morriston, and Burgh Briggs to his own son, Alexander Douglas. All that remained for the Bishops of Moray at Spynie were the

* Young's *Spynie*, p. 10.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 12.
‡ Young's *Elgin*, pp. 14, 15.
§ Young's *Spynie*, pp. 38-42.

precincts round the castle.* Bishop Guthrie lived at Spynie Palace in great state, till compelled to surrender it to General Munro. Bishop Colin Falconar was the last bishop who resided at Spynie. He died there in 1686. In after days the palatial buildings were allowed to fall into ruins, and finally came into the hands of the Earl of Fife.†

ALEXANDER II.

Alexander II. having supported Stephen Langton and the English barons against King John, was for that reason excommunicated by the papal legate, Gualo. The excommunication was afterwards removed. In 1221, Alexander was married to Joan, sister of the youthful Henry III. of England.

LETTER OF POPE HONORIUS.

This letter affected the diocese of Moray and all the Scottish Church. Honorius wrote it in 1218, to confirm the immunities of the Church of Scotland, as his predecessors Clement, Celestine, and Innocent had done. The want of a Scottish metropolitan made it difficult to call provincial councils, and no ready means were at hand to correct abuses and promulgate canons. The bishops had on this account to resort to papal authority, which required them to hold a synod.‡

Acting on the letter of Honorius, the Scottish prelates met and established rules for the convocation of synods. A conservator, appointed by and from the bishops, was to act from the date of his appointment till the meeting of the next provincial synod, which was to consist of bishops, abbots, and priors presiding over distinct priories. The council was to meet each year on a day to be named by the conservator, and was to last three days if necessary. The Bishop of S. Andrews still continued to be the first in rank, but he was bound to obey the mandate of the conservator as much as the other bishops. From this time till the erection of S. Andrews into a metropolitical see, the Scottish Church was subject under the Pope to her own national synods and their conservators.§

* Young's *Elgin*, pp. 43, 44. † Young's *Spynie*, p. 47-50.

‡ See Letter of Honorius in the *Chartulary of Moray*.

§ Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 310; Innes's *Critical Essay*, pp. 590-592.

ANDREW DE MORAVIA OR MORAY, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Andrew de Moravia belonged to the family of Duffus. His election, the date of which is not known, took place very soon after the death of Bricius. This is known from a writ by Pope Honorius, written on the 12th day of May and in the twelfth year of his papacy, being directed to the elect of Moray.* Andrew de Moravia, if not the most eminent, was one of the greatest of the bishops of Moray. He was a favourite with Alexander II., who gave him a level piece of ground near the fair city of Elgin. On this picturesque spot, close to the River Lossie, he built the noble fane which was to be celebrated over all the land. This he dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and ordained it to be for ever the Cathedral Church of Moray. The dedication took place on July 15th, 1224, by authority of Pope Honorius, there being present also the Bishop of Caithness and the Dean of Ross. Bricius had established eight canons at Spynie, and when Bishop Andrew removed his cathedral to Elgin he added twenty more. He also bestowed munificent endowments upon the Elgin chapter, and attached one of them to the episcopate of Moray. In that chapter the Bishop of Moray sat as a simple canon, and was as such subordinate to the Dean. Andrew de Moravia granted the earliest original charter of Pluscardyn, which is dated 1233. The bishop in this deed took under his episcopal protection the house of Pluscardyn and all that belonged to it. He names especially the forest and land of Hochertyre, and all that hereafter should be gifted to the priory by the faithful. At the same time certain tithes were surrendered to the fraternity by the Bishop of Moray, and the charter was "written on parchment with the bishop's seal impressed on green wax or white."† King Alexander II., as the true patron, had commanded Bishop Andrew to confer upon the Pluscardyn monastery the church of Durres. The second charter of Pluscardyn, given by Alexander II., has the names of Andrew de Moravia, and the members of the Elgin chapter appended to it. Alexander II. also gave to this prelate a charter of exchange for lands, the latter had surrendered in favour of Pluscardyn.‡ In Dr. Stuart's collection there was an instrument of transumpt, by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and his chapter, of charters by Alexander II., in favour of the Vallis Caulium monks of Pluscardyn. There was also a charter of confirmation by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, in favour of these monks.§ Another charter is extant, being "a

* *Moray Chartulary.* † Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 69, 70.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 72. § *Ibid.*

release" by Bishop Andrew and his chapter of the teinds due from the mills and lands granted by the King to the Pluscardyn brothers. On the other hand, in the *Registrum Moraviense*, there is a charter of Alexander II., granting the lands of Tulychen and Rothenan to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, for his surrender of annual payment due to the diocese from lands given by the King to Pluscardyn. The date of this deed is February, 1236. Bishop Andrew de Moravia died in 1242, and his remains were deposited in the south side of Elgin Cathedral, under a stone of blue marble. His episcopate of twenty years was marked by a prudent and vigorous administration of his diocese. Before his appointment to the see of Moray, Andrew de Moravia refused the bishoprie of Ross.

SIMON, BISHOP OF MORAY, 1242.

This bishop was, in all probability, Dean of Moray during the episcopate of Andrew de Moravia. He died in 1257, and was buried in the choir of Elgin Cathedral.

HISTORY OF ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

"The abbeys and the arches,
The old cathedral piles,
Oh, weep to see the ivy
And the grass in all their aisles;
The vaulted roof is fallen,
And the bat and owl repose,
Where once the people knelt them,
And the high *Te Deum* rose."—BISHOP COXE.

FOUNDING OF ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

Elgin Cathedral, founded by Andrew de Moravia, came to be looked upon as the light of the north and the ornament of Scotland. The cathedral chapter was presided over by a dean, under whom the chief dignitaries were the archdeacon, chancellor, precentor, and treasurer. The constitution was borrowed from that of Lincoln.

Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, having been reproved for immorality by Alexander Bar, Bishop of Moray, in revenge, took possession of the bishop's lands in Badenoch. Being excommunicated for this offence, the Earl, called for his rapacity the Wolf of Badenoch, burned the town of Forres and the city and cathedral of Elgin. The *Moray Chartulary* thus describes the outrage:—

"In that year, before said coronation,* Alexander Stewart, son of the deceased king,† in the end of the month of May, burned the church of Forres, and the choir of the church of S. Lawrence, also the manor of the archdeacon, near the town; and, in the month of June following, in the feast of the blessed Botolph Abbot, the said Lord Alexander being present, they burned the whole town of Elgin, and the church of S. Giles in the same, the House of God (*Domus Dei*), near Elgyn, eighteen noble and beautiful manses of the canons and chaplains, and, what is most grievously to be lamented, the noble and highly adorned church of Moray, the delight of the country, and ornament of the kingdom, with all the books, charters, and other goods of the country, placed therein."

The Wolf was, on September 28th, 1396, solemnly absolved by Walter Trail, Bishop of S. Andrews, on his expressing sorrow for the great sacrilege he had committed. The ceremony took place in the church of the Dominicans at Perth, Bishop Alexander Bar having previously granted a commission for the same. There were present: the King, Robert III., the Earl of Fife, Lord William de Keith, Mal-

* Coronation of Robert III. † Robert II.

colm de Drummond, Lord of Mar, Lord Thomas de Erskyne, and many others. The penitent was released from the sentence of excommunication, first before the doors of the church, and then at the high altar. The repentant Earl promised to make satisfaction to the church of Moray, and send for absolution from his former sentence of excommunication to the Pope.*

Another calamity came upon the cathedral on October 6th, 1402, when the chanonry was plundered by Alexander, third son of the Lord of the Isles. The robbers afterwards expressed contrition for the sacrilege, and were absolved by William Spynie, Bishop of Moray.

The great tower fell in 1506, during the episcopate of Bishop Forman, who began to rebuild it. Bishop Hepburn, in 1538, completed its re-erection. On one occasion the cathedral was the scene of bloodshed, eighty of the Innes family having attacked Alexander Dunbar, Prior of Pluscardyn, David Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and some laymen of the same family, "in presence of the holy sacraments," and within the sacred walls.

The charge of dilapidating the Elgin Cathedral lies at the door, not of the people of Elgin, but at that of the Scottish Privy Council. On February 14th, 1567 or 1568, an order was issued by the council to strip the cathedral of its lead, which was to be sold for the maintenance of the men of war. A proposal to restore the cathedral, in 1569, came to nothing, on account of the death of the "Good Regent," who favoured the plan. The rafters were blown down by a fearful storm of wind on December 4th, 1637.† The Rev. Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, the young laird of Brodie, and others, on December 28th, 1640, and without authority, broke down the timber partition wall which divided the choir from the nave of the cathedral. This partition had remained intact since the Reformation, eighty years before. There was painted on the west side of the partition, in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the Crucifixion of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. So well had the picture been painted, that the colours and stars never faded, but kept whole and sound, although the roof had been wanting to the college and chanonry kirk since the Reformation, and there was not a whole window to save the same from the snow, sleet, and wet. On the other side of the partition was depicted the Day of Judgment.

* The Earl of Buchan, Alexander Stewart, was the fourth son of Robert II. by his first wife, Elizabeth Muir. See *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 381, 382.

† Young's *Elgin*, pp. 117, 122.

All these the dilapidators threw to the ground, and the minister caused the wood to be taken to his own house for kitchen and other uses. But every night the servants were astonished to find that the fire was extinguished, and could not be kept burning to kindle the morning fire. The minister being told of this, forbore to bring more timber from the cathedral ruins for use in his house.*

The *Moray Chartulary* calls Elgin Cathedral—"Nobilis et decora ecclesia Moraviensis, speculum patriæ, et decus regni." In Fordun's *Scotichronicon* it is called—"Ecclesiam Cathedralem Moraviæ de Elgyn, decus tunc totius patriæ." Buchanan says of it—"Omnium quæ tum in Scotia erant, pulcherrima." †

Cromwell's soldiers amused themselves with destroying the tracery work of the western window in their zeal against idolatry. The great steeple fell in 1711, crushing in, with its fall, the side aisles and the double row of pillars. In 1807, a keeper's lodge was built, and the cathedral grounds inclosed. The Barons of the Exchequer caused many useful repairs to be made in 1816. What remains of the building is supposed to be the real work done by Andrew de Moravia in the thirteenth century. ‡

DR. ARTHUR JOHNSTON'S POEM ON ELGIN.

Dr. Arthur Johnston, the poet of the Church in the seventeenth century, and physician to Charles I., has left behind him some Latin verses about Elgin, of which the following is a translation :—

"The vale of Tempe, with its Penean stream, ancient Baiae, and the grove of the Hesperides, give the preference to the praises of Elgin. On one side thou beholdest the waters of the sea, and, on the other, the expanse of very rich cornland, the latter making glad the hearts of the people with the fruits of the earth, and the former with the fish of the sea. Hither the Phaeaces have sent their apples, nor are there wanting here the plums of Damascus, or the cherries of Cerasus. Your Attic homes have ye left, ye honey-making bees, and it delights you to gather here your honey in well-filled combs, rivalling silver in their brightness. The Lossie wanders through the fertile fields, and creeps, with winding waters, to the sea. With the glittering towers of heroes the city is encircled, and, within, there gleam the houses of the poor and the mansions of the great. But, while thou beholdest, O Scotia, the broken stones of thy ancient Temple, tinge thy cheek with tears."

* Spalding's *History*, vol. i., pp. 376, 377.

† *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 381 ; Fordun, vol. ii., pp. 416 ; Buchanan, vol. i., pp. 177.

‡ Young's *Elgin*, pp. 422-424.

KINLOSS AND ITS ABBOTS.

S. WALTHEOF.

King David founded the abbey of Kinloss in 1150, at the suggestion of S. Waltheof. Queen Matilda, having been a widow when she was married to King David, had two sons by her first husband, the Earl of Northampton. The elder of these was Simeon, and the younger Waltheof. Simeon was a brave warrior, and delighted in the pleasures of the chase; Waltheof adopted the monastic life, and spent his time in prayer and meditation. One day when the King was hunting, he found Waltheof in the thickest part of the forest engaged in prayer. Returning home King David said to Matilda, "Your son is not as one of us. The world has no attractions for him. He will soon either be taken from us altogether or retire to a monastery." In 1148, Waltheof became Abbot of Melrose, and after his death his relics there became as famous as those of S. Cuthbert at Durham. By Waltheof's advice, "the sore saint" founded the abbey of Kinloss in the diocese of Moray.*

THE NAME "KINLOSS."

Kinloss derives its name from its situation, being at the time of its foundation placed at the head of a little loch or inlet of the sea, into which there flows the River Findhorn.† Some writers called the place Killoss, and gave a legendary account of the origin of the name. "Killoss in Moray," they said, "has its name from the flowers which, contrary to the season of the year, sprang up suddenly in the neighbouring field so that the body of King Duffus should be revealed." Nearly two centuries after this miracle, according to this account, the monastery of Kinloss was founded.‡ Another form of the legend was that Duffus was concealed under a bridge, and that the village under the bridge was called "Kilflos," or "Temple of Flowers."

FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY.

David I. was wont to establish religious houses in the districts conquered by his arms. Legendary lore states that the King having

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 281.
† Kinloss = Keanloch. ‡ See Dempster.

lost his way in the chase came to a wood near Forres. In answer to his prayer, the monarch was led by a white dove to a spot where he found two shepherds tending their flocks. The King, who was kindly treated by the shepherds, was warned in a dream to erect a church in honour of the Virgin Mary.

ASCELINUS, THE FIRST ABBOT.

King David having begun the work on Waltheof's advice, called in, to complete it, a Cistercian monk from Melrose. This was Ascelinus, who brought with him to Kinloss some Cistercian brethren. Ascelinus died in 1174.

REINERIUS, THE SECOND ABBOT.

In those credulous days many events were ascribed to miraculous intervention. Reinerius was said to have recalled to life two pilgrims, who had been slain either by mutual combat or by robbers. These pilgrims had been wandering to holy places in Scotland, and thus it came to pass that other pilgrims when in distress used to invoke the aid of Reinerius.

LANDS GIFTED TO KINLOSS.

David I. and his grandson, Malcolm, conferred many gifts upon Kinloss. King William the Lion gave to the abbey the barony of Strathisla in Banffshire, stretching from the Knock to the Balloch, the lands of Burgie, between Elgin and Forres, and the lands of Invereren.*

CHARTER GRANTED BY WILLIAM THE LION.

William the Lion reigned from 1165 to 1214, and in that time he gave many gifts to the Church. The lands of Strathylaf (Strathisla) were given over to the abbey of Kinloss in the following terms :—

"William, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, counts, barons, justiciaries, viscounts, provost, ministers, and all good men, clerical and laic, of his land, health. Let them present and future know that by the consideration of Divine charity, for the salvation of my soul and of the souls of all my predecessors and successors Kings of Scotland, and of the souls of all the faithful departed, I have given and granted, and have confirmed by this my present charter, to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and to all the holy abbots, and monks of Kinloss, serving God there and about to serve perpetually, all the lands of Strathylaf," &c.

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. ix, x, and xi.

PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED IN THE CHARTER.

The charter states that the bounds of the land so gifted had been perambulated from the place where Lagyn (Millegan) descends into Hylaf (Isla) by ascending through the white scurf on the red moss to the summit of the eastern Belach (Balloch) and by the summit of the other Belach as far as beyond the spring which is called Lesking Ewin (probably Leskingowin), and from the same spring as the burn of the fountain itself descends by Gradokis (Grodok) into Hylef (Isla) as far as Geth (Keith), where Forgyn (Forgie) descends into Hylef. And thence by ascending by Forgyn as far as Algars, and so as far as Aldrochin, and from thence as far as Algargadin, and so as far as Fertheken (Fearnkeen) [and as far as Telinire and Badnagir, and so by the ascent of the stream as far as Hachindalig, and so as far as Polenterf, and thence as far as Clargynloy and so] Tubvianearn, and as far as Clochindiston, and from thence by descending by the Lagyn into Hylef.* The lands perambulated as stated were to be held by the Cistercian monks of Kinloss and their successors in perpetuity, in free and perpetual offering, in wood and plain, in land and water, in meadow and pasture, in moor and marsh, in plantations and hunting, in fowling and fishing, in standing pools and in mills, and in all other things pertaining rightly to the aforesaid land, as freely, peacefully, fully, and honourably as the aforesaid monks or other religious men of the aforesaid order, or of any other rule, hold and possess their charitable property in my kingdom, more freely, peacefully, fully, and honourably. The witnesses of King William's charter were R., Bishop of Moray, J., Bishop of Caithness, R., Bishop of Ross, H., the King's Chancellor, and others. The charter was subscribed and witnessed at Elgin in the last day of July.†

NAMES OF PLACES ON THE RENT-ROLL OF KINLOSS.

Some of these names, with a slight difference in spelling, are to be found in use at the present day. They are, The Clerk Sett (Clerset pronounced), Boglugy, Thornetown (Thornton), Hauches (Haughs of Grange), Murifald (Muryfold), Brakhall (Braco), Carinhillis, Craigleithe, Auchendanery, Over Mylne, Nethir Mylne (Nethermills), and Mylne Lands of the same. Also the lands of Millegin, Garwotwood (Garrowwood), Eister and Wester Cranokis (Easter and Wester Cranach), Eister and Wester Croylettis (Easter and Wester Croylet

* The names given without their modern equivalents are unknown.

† Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. xxiii, xxvi, 110.

on the estate of Edingight), Newland thereof (of Cranach), Ethres the half-lands of Ballnamene, Fostrie, over sett and nether sett of Kilmanitie, the lands of the Clerk saitt of the west side of the burn, the lands of the 19 Oxengange of the Knok, the remnant of the Knok. Also the lands of Achinhovis (Auchinhove), with the pendicles Glengarock (Glengerrock) and Mengreowis (Montgrew). Also the lands of the haughs of Kilmyntutie (Haughs of Kilminitie), Kelliesmonth (Killiemonth), Toirmoir (Tarmore), Nether Kylmanedy, the lands of Pethnik (Paithnick). Also the lands of Edingeith (Edingight). The lands of Over and Nether Cantlie (Over and Nether Cantlies). Also the lands of Fluris (Floors), and the lands of the "auld town" of Ballarnene. Also the lands of Windhillis (Windyhill) called the "Sauchytouan." Also the Over Hauchis of Kelleismouth. Also the lands of Lynnache. Also the new lands of Millegin called Jonettis Scheill with Straib-know. Also the Lady Land.*

THE LANDS OF BURGIE CONFIRMED TO KINLOSS.

Alexander II. confirmed to the abbot and monks of Kinloss "the land of Burgyn" (Burgie). The lands were perambulated by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, Gillebert, Archdeacon of Moray, Andrew, the son of William Freskin, Archibald of Duffus, Alexander and Henry, brothers of Bricius, Bishop of Moray, and others, good men of the King. The charter gives in detail the boundaries of the Burgie lands.† Dr. Stuart's opinion was that the land whose boundaries are defined in the charter of Alexander II. was the ploughgate in the landella of Burgin lawfully measured, granted to the monks of Kinloss by Malcolm IV., and confirmed to them by Richard, Bishop of Moray. The same lands were confirmed to them a second time in 1225, three or four years after the perambulation mentioned in the *Moray Register*. These lay on the south side of the present road to Forres, the land granted by William the Lion being on the north side of the same road. King Robert's charter to Kinloss was confirmed by James I. and James IV., the last named king having erected the town of Kinloss into a burgh of barony.‡

DISPUTE ABOUT THE TITHES OF STRATHISLA.

The abbot and monks of Kinloss claimed exemption from tithes in terms of the confirmation of their rights by Bishop Richard. A

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. xxv, xxvi, 155, 156.

† *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii-xxxvii; *Registrum Morav.* ‡ Stuart's *Kinloss*, p. xxxviii.

compromise was agreed to; but the prebends of Forbes, Rathed, and Alvays, and the rectors of the church at Keith, laid a claim to a share of the said tithes. The archdeacon and precentor of the church of Moray, on behalf of the said prebends and the rector of Keith, had carried on the controversy with the abbot and monks of Kinloss. The dispute was settled in 1229, the archdeacon and precentor of the Cathedral of Moray, on certain conditions, renouncing the rights which they had claimed. All former instruments completed concerning the subjects in dispute, unless they were indulgences or privileges, were declared to be null and void. By the agreement effected the abbot and monks of Kinloss were to be exempted from all exactions of tithes in the parishes of Forres, Alvays, Rathed, and Keith, on condition that they paid, as a debt to the bishops of Moray, three shillings and fourpence; to the archdeaconry, three marks; to the precentorship, ten shillings; and to the church of Keith, six marks, yearly. The Cistercian fraternity at Kinloss were, however, not to be understood by this agreement to be paying the above sums in regard to any lands given to them for a perpetual possession and unencumbered with such obligations. This settlement was agreed to by the Bishop of Moray and all the parties concerned. There were appended to the document the seals of Alexander II., the bishop and chapter of Moray, the dean, archdeacon, and the precentor of the Cathedral of Moray, and the subscriptions of the canons of the said cathedral. To the part of the document which was to be the possession of the bishop and chapter of Moray, there were appended the seals of the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, Cupar, S. Servanus, Deer, and S. Edward. To the same part there were affixed the seal of the abbot of Kinloss and the subscriptions of his monks. Those transgressing the obligations of the agreement were bound down to pay the penalty of 100 marks to the parties that kept it. The conclusion of this document ran as follows:—

"Done in the year 1229, on the 21st of September, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Lord Alexander, King of Scotland, at Kinloss, by the hands of Robert, sub-prior of the same place. I, brother Herbert, the said Abbot of Kinloss, subscribe by the hand of brother the sub-prior. I, brother Simon, prior, subscribe. I, brother Robert of Aberdeen, subscribe. I, brother Alketinus of Pethmus, subscribe. I, brother Robert of Sante, subscribe. I, brother Benedict Augustini, subscribe. I, brother Teodicus of Jarrow, subscribe. I, brother William of Invernar, subscribe. I, brother David of Lynton. I,

brother Richard of Jenico. I, brother Roger of Muy. I, brother Robert of Duffus. I, brother Henry of Kyntessoc. I, brother Hugo of Aberdeen. I, brother Thomas of Fife. I, brother Robert of Elgin. I, brother Alan of Forays. I, brother Rudolph of Aberdeen. I, brother Henry of Gyseburn. I, brother Richard of Addun. I, brother William of Dundee. I, brother Alexander of Inverness. I, brother Robert of Addun. I, brother Serlo of Anegus, subscribe." *

JOHN FERRERIUS.

John Ferrerius was a native of Piedmont. When pursuing his studies at the University of Paris, he met Robert Reid, who was returning from Rome to Scotland with the papal bulls making him Abbot of Kinloss. Arriving at Kinloss, Ferrerius spent five years there instructing the monks and preparing commentaries. Intending to return to Piedmont in 1537, he wrote an account of his lectures, and gave a list of the authors upon whose works he had discoursed. These included the works of Cicero, Aristotle, Virgil, Plutarch, Augustine, and others.† Abbot Robert Reid, having been appointed Bishop of Orkney in 1540, earnestly urged Ferrerius to return to Scotland. A pension of forty pounds Scotch, with a servant and two horses, was settled upon this Piedmontese monk when he did return. Ferrerius accompanied Bishop Reid to Orkney, and, on his way back, through Ross-shire, brought with him to Kinloss five young monks from Beauly. For three years the Beauly monks remained at Kinloss, receiving instruction from their Italian patron. Ferrerius was himself an author, two of his works being dedicated to Abbot Robert Reid, and another to James v., and Cardinal David Beaton.‡ After the death of James v., the five monks were sent back to Beauly, and their instructor departed to France.

HISTORY OF THE KINLOSS ABBOTS BY FERRERIUS.

When about to write his history of the Kinloss abbots, Ferrerius applied for materials to the abbots of Melrose, Culross, and Cupar. Abbot Richard, he tells, was the fourteenth abbot who presided over Kinloss. He died in 1317. John, the fifteenth abbot of the monastery, was deposed for his evil life by his successor, William Blair. The latter died in 1445, his abbacy lasting from 1401 to 1430. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Scottish monasteries had become very corrupt. With a view to their reformation, the heads of the

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. 116-119. † *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 56. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xxiii.

Cistercian Order sent a mission to Scotland, "ut tum forte collapsam religionem instauraret." But the restoration of a purer religious life in the monastery was found to be no easy task. Probably a result of the Cistercian mission was that Sir John Flutere, Abbot of Kinloss, was degraded, "ob parum pudicam vitam." Two of the Cistercians, banished from Pluscardyn, took refuge in Kinloss, but it cannot be proved that they introduced a more corrupt way of living into that monastery. John Ellam, the eighteenth abbot, built a vaulted entrance over the cloisters, and bestowed some valuable gifts upon the abbey. He died in 1467. His successor, John Guthry, being guilty of simony, was compelled to leave, and died at Forfar in 1482. The laird of Kilravock imprisoned William Galbraith, the twentieth abbot, but the appearance of the sheriff with an armed band forced him to release him. This abbot died in 1491. William Culross, the twenty-first abbot, died in 1504. He led a depraved life.*

THOMAS CRYSTALL.

Ferrerius was contemporary with Abbot Crystall and his successor, so that what he says about these two abbots must be most interesting. Thomas Crystall was born at Culross. He was a young man of great promise, and, entering Kinloss, he adopted the religious life of the Cistercians. His abilities soon attracted the notice of William Culross, the abbot, who entrusted to him the entire administration of the monastery. Having been appointed the abbot's successor, he received the full charge of the abbey in 1499. At once, Abbot Crystall began to contend with those who were endeavouring to deprive Kinloss of some of its rights. The people of Forres having taken possession of some fishings at the mouth of the Findhorn, Abbot Crystall regained them for the abbey after a law-suit of four years. Certain of the neighbouring proprietors had seized upon some of the possessions of the monastery, throwing its financial affairs into a very enfeebled state. Thomas Crystall loved study better than legal disputes, and became Abbot of Kinloss much against his will. The Prior of Pluscardyn had seized some of the abbey fishings at Fernaner, and these Abbot Thomas soon compelled him to relinquish. Then there followed the settlement of another dispute between Hugh Martinson and John Cumming of Ernshede. Another legal victory gained by this active ecclesiastic was over Alexander Bannerman of Waterton, Sheriff of Aberdeen, concerning the church lands of Ellon.

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. xxxix-xliii.

Some of the church lands of the Balloch in Strathisla were claimed by the Earl of Huntly. A law-suit of seven years forced the Earl to renounce these demands. Agnes, the Earl's sister, laid claim to the land of Hawinthfe, in Strathisla, but the abbot's vigilance being too much for her, she pressed her supposed rights no further. The Abbot of Deer and the Earl of Moray were equally unsuccessful in their litigations with the determined abbot. The latter endeavoured also to raise the tone of the religious life of the monastery, which had fallen as low as its finances. The number of monks was increased from fourteen to twenty, a tower was erected on the barony of Strathisla, and the church of Ellon was repaired. Abbot Thomas built a house at Ellon, and ornamented the church there with a splendid altar-piece. To the abbey library he presented the works of S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, S. Bernard, S. Augustine, S. Thomas Aquinas, and others. Three times this abbot declined valuable preferment, the abbacies of Dryburgh and Melrose, and the bishopric of Ross. In obedience to the command of James IV., Crystall deposed William Turnbull, the Abbot of Melrose.* The Cistercians under Abbot Thomas were carefully instructed. Sir John Pont was sent by him to the school of the Black Friars at Aberdeen. Pont was an excellent student, and he profited so much from the teaching there that another monk, Walter Hethon, was sent from Kinloss to the same school. The teacher at the Aberdeen school was John Adamson, a Dominican doctor, famed for his piety and scholastic learning. Pont afterwards taught divinity at Kinloss, and Hethon became Cantor there. All, both rich and poor, used to flock to Abbot Thomas when they were in trouble, and Dominican and Franciscan brothers alike received his aid. This abbot spent his last days in the tower he had erected at Strathisla. Being at that time afflicted with dropsy, he was visited by Hector Boece, the celebrated Principal of King's College and University. Recovery being pronounced hopeless, the pious abbot prepared for death, and often called upon the Lord Jesus to cleanse him from all his sins. Thomas Crystall died on December 30th, 1535. On the next day his body was taken to Kinloss, and buried in the tomb he had prepared in his lifetime.

ROBERT REID.

Seven years before he died, Abbot Crystall caused Robert Reid to be elected as his successor. Robert Reid was born at Akynhead,

* See Stuart's *Kinloss;* and *Life of Crystall* in Latin, by Ferrerius.

his father being John Reid, who fell at Flodden, and his mother, Bessie Schanwell. He was educated at S. Andrews, residing there with his uncle, who was official of the diocese. Robert Reid, becoming sub-dean and official of Moray, was acceptable in that capacity to two bishops of the see, James Hepburn and Robert Schaw. He also became successively vicar of Gartly and Bruntkirk, and vicar of Kirkcaldy. Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, anointed him Abbot of Kinloss in 1528 in Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. Abbot Reid, like his predecessor, had a lawsuit with the people of Forres. During his abbacy, the abbey lands of Kinloss were erected into a burgh of barony, and in 1530 the abbey of Beauly was given to him *in commendam.* William Stuart, Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Abbot of Kinloss were, in 1533, sent on an embassy to Henry VIII. of England, in which they were entirely successful. At another time Reid went alone to Henry, and succeeded in the object of his embassy. He was twice sent to the court of the French king, Francis I., to negotiate about the marriage of James V. of Scotland.* James V. sent a letter to Rome desiring that Reid should be appointed Bishop of Orkney, with the right to retain his present appointments. This preferment was burdened with the condition that the abbot should provide a pension of 800 marks for the King's natural son, John Stewart.

A charter was granted by Abbot Reid on November 28th, 1537, to Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater, about some debatable lands in Strathisla. In the following year, the abbot gained a law-suit over Findlater, and erected a fire-proof library at Kinloss. Reid was a patron of fine art and horticulture. He invited to Kinloss, in 1538, the celebrated painter, Andrew Bairhum, to paint some beautiful altar-pieces. An expert gardener also was brought by him from France to plant and graft fruit-trees. In the arbitration about the English and Scottish boundary-line, in 1542, the Abbot of Kinloss was one of the judges. We find him, in A.D. 1544, preparing to sail from Kinloss to his northern diocese. He was, in A.D. 1551, one of the commissioners nominated to arrange a peace between England and Scotland. Bishop Reid improved the buildings of S. Magnus' Cathedral, Kirkwall, and added a tower to the episcopal palace there. S. Olaf's Church, in Kirkwall, was erected by him as a college to instruct the young men of the islands in grammar and philosophy. The Bishop of Orkney was again a commissioner in 1556, to arrange some Border disputes between England and Scotland. In 1558 he

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. xlix, l; and *Life of Robert Reid*, by Ferrerius.

was sent to France, with power to consent to the marriage contract between the Princess Mary of Scotland and the Dauphin of France. Bishop Reid's name must never be forgotten, on account of the money he left to found the Edinburgh University. When, in 1581, the magistrates of the city bought from the last provost of the Kirk of Field, the ground, on which now stand the present buildings of the Edinburgh University, the sum of 8000 merks, left by Bishop Reid for that purpose, was the purchase-money of the site. Bishop Reid was present at the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France. He died at Dieppe, on his return journey, on September 15th, 1558.*

WALTER REID.

Walter Reid was the last canonical Abbot of Kinloss. He was the nephew of his predecessor, and was raised to the abbatial office in 1553, five years before his uncle's death. Walter Reid must have been appointed to Kinloss when young, for in 1558 he was a student in the schools of Paris. He signed the first Covenant in 1560, his object in doing so being, most likely, the retention for himself of the abbey lands. Abbot Walter was a most unprincipled man, alienating a great part of the lands of Kinloss and of the Beauly Priory. He married Margaret Collace, a daughter of the Balnamoon family, and several children were born of the marriage. Walter Reid, on July, 1583, granted a deed of demission of the abbacy of Kinloss, along with the teinds, fishings, and profits, that a provision might be made for Edward Bruce, the parson of Torie. He, however, reserved his own life-rent. † On April 16th, 1585, the same dilapidator of the Church granted a charter of some acres of land to Thomas Dundas. The former left by written deeds the Abbey of Kinloss, with some of the lands and salmon fishings, to his relict, Margaret Collace. She, in respect of 3600 merks paid to her by Mr. Edward Bruce, transferred to him the right to the salmon fishings on the Findhorn called the Stells. In the same document she agreed to hand over to Mr. Bruce the mansion and mansion-place of the Abbey of Kinloss. Walter Reid conveyed to Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and Katherine Reid, his spouse, the sister of the abbot, the lands of Meikle Burgie, in the barony and regality of Kinloss.‡ The Kinloss abbots were mitred abbots, and Walter Reid was the last of the line. When he died is uncertain, but it must have been previous to 1589.

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, pp. lii, liv; and *Life of Robert Reid*, by Ferrerius.
† Stuart's *Kinloss*, p. lvi. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. lxi, lxii.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF KINLOSS.

James VI. of Scotland, on Febuary 2nd, 1601, granted a charter to Edward Bruce, the Commendator of Kinloss, erecting the barony of Kinloss and other lands of the abbey into a temporal lordship. Edward Bruce accompanied King James to England, and attained to a position of great importance, becoming Sir Edward Bruce, Master of the Rolls. In 1604 he became Lord Bruce of Kinloss, with a voice and seat in the Scottish Parliament. On April 16th, 1608, Margaret Collace gave up to him the mansion and manor-place of the abbey of Kinloss.*

* Stuart's *Kinloss*, lvi-lviii.

PLUSCARDYN AND ITS PRIORS.

"We dare not ask, nor Heaven would tell,
But sure from many a hidden dell,
From many a rural nook unthought of there,
Rises for that proud world the saints' prevailing prayer."

JOHN KEBLE.

FOUNDATION BY ALEXANDER II.

Pluscardyn Priory was founded by King Alexander II. in the year 1230, and was named Vallis Sancti Andreæ. The priory was situated in the diocese of Moray, about six miles from Elgin, and on the north side of the river Lochty, which falls into the Lossie at Pittenrich. The monks of Pluscardyn belonged to the order of Vallis Caulium, already described as combining in its rules the systems of Bernard and Bruno. William Malvoisin, Bishop of S. Andrews, first brought them to Scotland. A compilation of the earliest charters of the house claims to have been prepared at an episcopal synod held at Elgin on April 30th, 1240. The charters themselves and other valuable property belonging to Pluscardyn were said to have been destroyed in the burning of Elgin Cathedral by the Wolf of Badenoch. King Alexander founded Pluscardyn to strengthen his influence in Moray. Beauly Priory in Ross-shire, belonging to the same order of monks, was founded in the same year as Pluscardyn. Much anxiety was caused to Andrew de Moravia, Bishop of Moray, by the King altering the boundary-lines of the diocese to suit his own plans for giving lands to the monks. Probably it is for this reason that so much of the diocese of Moray is now on the east of the Spey. The date of the old charter of Pluscardyn is 1233. The Prior of Pluscardyn had at one time no superior in Scotland except the King. The house was dedicated to S. Mary and S. Andrew, though the rules of the order required the name of S. John the Baptist to be inserted in all dedications. Abbeys and priories, being frequently independent of the bishop of the diocese, were sometimes a cause of much anxiety to him in the management of his Diocese.

The following notarial instrument from the *Moray Register* supports the claim of the Bishop of Moray to visit the priory :—*

Notarial Instrument containing the grounds and evidence on the claim of the Bishop of Moray to visit the Priory of Pluscardyn, 20th October, 1345.

In nomine Domini amen . anno incarnationis ejusdem . M°. ccc°. xlv°. indictione . xiv . pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini domini Clementis papæ sexti anno quarto . vicesimo die mensis Octobris . in capitulo cathedrali ecclesiæ Moraviensis . in presentia reverendorum in Christo patrum dominorum Johannis et Richardi Dei gratia Moraviensis et Dunkeldensis ecclesiarum episcoporum . dominorum decani et capituli Moraviensis et mei notarii publici infrascripti presentia et testium subscriptorum personaliter constituti domini Johannes Wysi prior et Adam Mareschallus sub-prior . Wilhelmus de Innernys et Adam Yung monachi domus vallis Sancti Andreæ de Pluskardy Moraviensis dyoceseos a predicto domino Episcopo Moraviæ in virtute sancte obediente et sub pœna excommunicationis legitime moniti et interrogati ut super articulis infrascriptis plenam decerent veritatem . sponte confessi sunt et recognoverunt quod a prima fundatione dictæ domus de Pluscardy sicut a suis predecessoribus audierunt . et suis temporibus etiam viderunt . episcopi Moravienses qui pro tempore fuerunt quotienscunque videbatur eis expediens habuerunt et tenuerunt et exercuerunt visitationem et correctionem . institutionem et destitutionem in predicta domo prioribus et fratribus ejusdem . et procurationes receperunt . nullamque exemptionem seu privilegium contra hæc se habuisse vel habere recognoverunt Prior et monachi supradicti . et quod in possessione et exercitio predictorum omnium Moravienses episcopi singuli suis temporibus sunt et fuerunt a tempore de quo memoria non existit . Dominus etiam Wilhelmus de Longovico monachus Remundi vallis Tullensis dyoceseos ordinis Vallis Caulium nuncius et procurator prioris domus Vallis Caulium Lingonensis dyoceseos ut ipse dicebatur in presentia predictorum reverendorum in Christo patrum et mei notarii publici infrascripti et testium subscriptorum personaliter constitutus et interrogatus super articulis infrascriptis sponte confessus est et recognovit quod episcopi et archi-episcopi dyocesani tam in Almannia quam in aliis partibus

* *Reg. Moraviense*, pp. 156, 157.

transmarinis in quorum dyocisibus domus ordinis Vallis Caulium sitæ sunt hactenus habuerunt et habent singuli in suis Dyocisibus visitationem et correctionem in domibus supra-dictis . ac etiam procurationes receperunt et recipiunt . et quod nullam exemptionem vel privilegium habent vel habuerunt contra eadem . Acta sunt hæc anno . indictione . pontificatu . die . mense . et loco supradictis . presentibus prefatis reverendis in Christo patribus et magistro Johanne de Innernys cancellario et officiali Moraviensi . dominis Reginaldo de Ogiston cancellario Glasguensi . Johanne de Kynnaird Thesaurio Dunkeldensi . et canonicis ecclesiæ Moraviensis predictæ . testibus ad hoc specialiter vocatis et rogatis . quorum reverendorum in Christo patrum autentica sigilla una cum sigillo officialitatis curiæ Moraviensis presenti instrumento sunt appensa in testimonium premissorum .

Et ego Thomas Johannes Boner Rossensis Dyoceseos publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum per predictos ut premittitur sic agerentur una cum testibus prenominatis et cum supradictorum reverendorum in Christo patrum et officialitatis positione sigillorum presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi et in hanc publicam formam redegi signoque meo et nomine consuetis signavi in testimonium premissorum vocatus et rogatus sub anno indictione pontificatu die mense et loco predictis .

BISHOP JOHN PILMORE CLAIMS JURISDICTION OVER PLUSCARDYN.

This document is a claim by the Bishop of Moray of visitation, correction, and deprivation, over the Prior and monks of Pluscardyn. As stated in the deed itself, it was made out in the year A.D. 1345, on the 20th day of October, in the 14th indiction, and in the fourth year of the pontificate of Pope Clement VI. There were then present in the Moray Cathedral Chapter-house at Elgin: John Pilmore, Bishop of Moray; Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld; the Dean and Chapter of Moray; the Bishop of Moray's notary public; John Wys, Prior of Pluscardyn; Adam Marescallus, Sub-Prior of Pluscardyn; William of Inverness, and Adam Young, monks of Pluscardyn. These latter having been warned and interrogated by the Bishop of Moray under pain of excommunication unless they spoke the full truth, confessed and acknowledged that from the first foundation of the said house of Pluscardyn, and in their own times, the bishops of Moray, as often as seemed expedient to them, had held and exercised the rights of visitation,

correction, institution, and deprivation over the priors and monks of Pluscardyn. They also stated that the Prior and his monks had always received these visitations, and claimed no exemption from them on account of privilege from all time in their recollection. Sir William de Longovico, monk of the valley of Remund of the Tullensian diocese and of the order of Vallis Caulium, was present. He appeared before the reverend fathers at this meeting as the messenger and procurator of the Prior of the house of Vallis Caulium in the Lingonian diocese. This foreign monk confessed and acknowledged before all present that the diocesan bishops and archbishops in Almannia, and in other transmarine parts where houses of the order of Vallis Caulium had been planted, held in their several dioceses the rights of visitation and correction over all monasteries of the same order. William de Longovico further asserted that the foreign monks of the Vallis Caulium rule claimed no exemption from such episcopal visitations. There were also present at this Elgin meeting—Reginald de Ogiston, Chancellor of Glasgow and Official of Moray; John de Kynnaird, Treasurer of Dunkeld, and the Canons of the Elgin Cathedral, to bear witness to the validity of the claims above stated. Thomas John Boner of the diocese of Ross, public notary with Apostolic and Imperial authority, was present when the claims of the Bishops of Moray were substantiated. He it was who made out the deed in legal form, and affixed to it the seals of the aforesaid fathers in Christ, and of the officiality.* Bishop John Pilmore thus, after a strenuous effort, established his right of visitation, supervision, and deprivation at Pluscardyn. The claim, whether it was or was not a new one, was justified by the depraved life led by inmates of monasteries under no episcopal control.† John Wys, already mentioned, was Prior when the question arose. The mother-houses of Kinloss, Urquhart, and the monasteries in Elgin were in Scotland; but the mother-house of Pluscardyn was far away at Val des Choux in France. Accordingly, it was all the more necessary that the Bishop of Moray should have over Pluscardyn the rights now claimed. Prior John Wys, being a man of sagacity and truth, declared that these episcopal rights had always been understood and allowed. The Bishop's charter to Pluscardyn in 1233 undoubtedly took the house under episcopal protection. Moreover, the privilege claimed by the Bishop was in after days distinctly mentioned in a letter from James

* *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 156, 157.

† Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 67, 68.

Courtois* to the Prior of Beauly. After this controversy the bishops of Moray were the patrons and protectors of the Pluscardyn Priory.†

DISPUTE WITH ROBERT CHISHOLM ABOUT DUES TO THE PRIORY.

Alexander, Bishop of Moray, held a court at Rothes on January 25th, 1370. In this court a charge was brought against Robert Chisholm by Thomas, Prior of Pluscardyn, of refusing to the monastery some of its dues. Decision was given in favour of the prior, and Robert Chisholm was bound for himself and his heirs to render to the monks the dues upon their mills. The Chisholm, having denied the right of the bishop to act as judge in the case, left the court.‡

RESIGNATION OF PRIOR THOMAS AND ELECTION OF HIS SUCCESSOR.

The *Moray Register* gives an account of these two events, which is most interesting to the student of ecclesiastical history. William de Spynie was bishop of the diocese when they took place.§

Renunciatio Prioratus de Pluscardyn.

Reverendo in Christo patri domino Willelmo Dei gratia episcopo Moraviensi suus humilis et devotus Thomas prior prioratus vallis Sancti Andreæ de Pluscardyn ordinis Wallis Caulium reverenciam in omnibus et honorem. Licet dictum prioratum multis annis et duris temporibus ut melius potui gubernaverim. Jam tamen gravi ægritudine laborans et confractus senio sentiensque me insufficientem oneri regiminis ipsius prioratus. Non vi coactus nec dolo inductus sed ex ea mera et spontanea voluntate et quia hoc ipsi prioratui utile reputo . ipsum prioratum in manibus vestris pure liber et simpliciter per presentes renuncio et dimitto . paternitati vestræ reverendæ supplicando quatenus istam renunciationem meam velitis recipere . et mihi de provisione aliqua competenti pro tempore vitæ meæ in prioratu ipso de bonis ipsius de consilio et consensu conventus secundum facultates loci et juxta mea merita dignemini providere. In premissorum testimonium sigillum prioratus predicti presentibus apposui. Datum in prioratu predicto de Pluscardyn septimo die mensis Augusti anno Domini M°. ccc°. nonagesimo octavo.

* John Courtois was Prior of the mother-house of the order of Vallis Caulium in France.

† Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 82, 83.

‡ *Reg. Morav.*, pp. 167–170.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-358.

Translation of Prior Thomas's Renunciation.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, William, by the grace of God, Lord Bishop of Moray, his humble and devoted Thomas, prior of the priory of the rule of S. Andrew of Pluscardyn and of the order of Vallis Caulium, reverence and honour in all things. Although I have governed the said priory for many years and in hard times as I was best able, yet nevertheless labouring with severe sickness and broken by old age and feeling myself insufficient for the weight of the rule of the said priory, neither compelled by force, nor led by craft, but of my own pure and spontaneous freewill, and because I consider it a useful thing for the priory itself, I renounce and resign the said priory into your hands purely, freely, and simply by these presents, praying for the fatherly care of your reverence, so far as you wish to receive that resignation, that ye think fit to provide for me some competent provision for the time of my life in the priory, by counsel and consent, from the property of the priory itself according to the means of the place and my own deserts. In testimony of the premises I append to these presents the seal of the aforesaid priory. Given in the aforesaid priory of Pluscardyn on the 7th day of the month of August and in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and ninety-eight.

ELECTION OF PRIOR ALEXANDER DE PLUSCARDYN.

Bishop William at once accepted the resignation of Prior Thomas, seven days after which the monks proceeded to elect a new prior. In the following deed, Thomas Fullonis, senior monk of the monastery, acquainted the bishop with the fact that the monks had elected Alexander de Pluscardyn as their prior.

Decretum Electionis Prioratus de Pluscardyn.

Reverendo in Christo· patri domino Willelmo Dei gratia episcopo Moraviensi sui humiles et devoti Thomas Fullonis senior monachus prioratus de Pluscardyn et ejusdem loci conventus obedienciam . reverenciam et honorem. Vacante prioratu nostro predicto per renunciationem Prioris ultimi in manibus vestris factam et admissam . nos certa die ad hoc assignata infra tempus juris ad electionem futuri prioris per viam scrutinii processimus . et eo publicato invenimus fratrem Alexandrum de Pluscardyne monachum nostrum ab omnibus fuisse concorditer nominatum et electum . virum utique providum et discretum in spiritualibus et temporalibus circum-

spectum . regulam ordinis nostri expresse professum . in sacerdotio et ætate legitima constitum . de thoro legitimo procreatum . scientem et potentem jura et possessiones prioratus nostri predicti jam exiles et tenues defendere et melioriare . et ruinas ecclesiæ et habitationum reponere . quem servatis servandis senior nostrum vice et de mandato omnium nostrum elegit in hunc modum. Ego Thomas Fullonis senior monachus hujus conventus de Pluscardyn vice mea et totius conventus ac de mandato et potestate per conventum mihi traditis fratrem Alexandrum de Pluscardyn monachum hujus conventus nomino et eligo in Priorem de Pluscardyn. Quum electionem nos omnes approbamus . et statim cantando Te Deum Laudamus electum nostrum deduximus ad magnum altare . et electionem factam de ipso fecimus publicari . ac ipsi electo ad prestandum consensum suum presentari . qui per nos requisitus dictæ electioni consensit nolens divine resistere voluntati . quem nos paternitati vestræ reverendæ cum reverentia debita presentamus . supplicantes devote ut electionem sic per nos de ipso concorditer celebratam dignemini de vestro pontificali officio et auctoritate ordinaria ex certa scientia confirmare. Ut autem sciatis nos ipsum concorditer elegisse sigillum commune conventus nostri huic decreto sue electionis fecimus apponi. Datum in domo nostro capitulari . XIII die mensis Augusti anno &c. nonagesimo octavo.

Translation of Decree of Election to the Priorship of Pluscardyn.

To the Reverend Father in Christ, William, by the grace of God Lord Bishop of Moray, the obedience, reverence, and honour of his humble and devoted Thomas Fullonis, senior monk of the priory of Pluscardyn and of the convent of the same place. Our aforesaid priorship being vacant by the resignation of the last prior made and accepted in your hands on a certain day assigned for this purpose within the legal time, we proceeded to the election of a future prior by the method of scrutiny. And that having been proclaimed, we have found that brother Alexander de Pluscardyn, our monk, had been unanimously nominated and elected by all. He is a man undoubtedly sagacious and discreet, circumspect in spiritual and temporal things, who has expressly professed the rule of our order, and has been placed in the priesthood at a legal age, and born of parents honourably married. He has the knowledge and the power to defend and ameliorate the rights and possessions of our aforesaid priory, already poor and slender, and to repair the ruins

of the church and buildings. Him, our monk senior by succession over those who have served and are about to serve, and by the command of all our monks, has elected in this manner. I, Thomas Fullonis, senior monk of this convent of Pluscardyn, in my own turn, by the command of the whole convent, and by the power handed to me by the convent, nominate and elect to the priorship of Pluscardyn, Alexander de Pluscardyn, a monk of this convent. When we all approve of the election, immediately singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, we lead our elect to the high altar, and cause his election to be published, and to be made known to the elect himself to obtain his consent. He, having been asked by us, consented to the said election, unwilling to resist the Divine will. Him we present to your reverend fatherhood with the reverence due, beseeching devoutly that from your own pontifical authority you may think fit to confirm from certain knowledge the election thus unanimously celebrated by us. But that you may know that we have elected him unanimously we have caused to be affixed to this decree of his election the common seal of our convent. Given in our chapter-house on the 13th day of August, 1398.

MANDATE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE ELECTION OF ALEXANDER DE PLUSCARDYN.

Bishop William de Spynie having received this decree, forthwith issued a mandate for the proclamation of the election.

Mandatum de Proclamatione Electionis.

Wilhelmus miseratione divina episcopus Moraviensis domino . M. de D. capellano salutem. Ne celeritate confirmationis electionis . licet in concordia celebrat existat . de domino Alexandro monacho de Pluscardyn in priorem prioratus ejusdem contra doctrinam Apostoli scribentis ad Tymotheum, Nemini cito manus imponas . facere videamur vobis committimus et mandamus quatenus etsi nullus coelectus vel oppositor apparet generaliter in ecclesia prioratus de Pluscardyn in qua electio de ipso facta est intra missarum sollempnia publice proclametis in isto festo Assumptionis beate Marie Virginis et moneatis ut si qui sint quorum interest qui se volunt opponere sue electioni compareant coram nobis in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Moraviensi die Mecurii XXI . die hujus mensis Augusti . quem eis pro termino peremptorio assignamus . ea quæ opponere voluerint legitime probaturi . intimantes eisdem quod si in dicto termino non venerint

ipsos post lapsum illius termini ab audientia excludemus. In hujus mandati nostri testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus fecimus apponi . et vos in signum executionis per vos facte sigillum vestrum presentibus apponatis . nobis dictis die et loco presentantes easdem. Datum sub sigillo nostro apud. A. in vigilia Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ anno &c. nonagesimo octavo.

Translation of Decree of the Proclamation of the Election.

William, by Divine mercy Bishop of Moray, to Sir M. de D., chaplain, health. Lest in the quickness of the confirmation of the election, although it appears to be celebrated unanimously, of Sir Alexander, monk of Pluscardyn, to be prior of the same priory, we should seem to act contrary to the teaching of the Apostle writing to Timothy, Lay hands suddenly on no man, we commit to you and decree that although no co-elected party or opposer appears publicly in the church of the priory of Pluscardyn in which the election has been made concerning the priorship itself, that you proclaim publicly during the solemn celebration of the sacred mysteries on the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that you admonish that if there are any who wish to oppose the election, they should appear publicly before us in our cathedral church of Moray, on Wednesday, the 21st day of this month of August. That day we assign to them for a fixed limit to prove legally those things which they wish to put forward in opposition, intimating to the same, that if they come not within the said limit, we shall exclude them from an audience after the lapse of that time. In testimony of this our command we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents. And do you, as a mark of the deed completed by you, place your seal to these presents, presenting the same to us on the day and place appointed. Given under our seal on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary in the year 1398.

No opposers of the election having appeared at Elgin on August 21st, 1398, the Bishop of Moray confirmed the election of Alexander de Pluscardyn on the same day. The following is a copy of the deed of confirmation :—

Confirmatio Electionis.

Universis presentes literas inspecturis Wilhelmus miseratione divina episcopus Moraviensis eternam in Domino salutem. In vestrum

omnium deducimus notitiam quod nos . examinato electionis decreto celebratæ de religioso viro fratre Alexandro monacho de Pluscardyn in priorem prioratus ejusdem ut decuit . factaque proclamatione in ecclesia in qua electio exstitit celebrata si esset aliquis qui se vellet opponere huic electioni vel electo quod compareret hodie coram nobis in ecclesia Moraviensi oppositurus que vellet opponere contra electionem vel electum . et quia nullus contra ipsum comparuit . nos electionem ipsam auctoritate ordinaria et episcopali confirmamus . ac curam et administrationem bonorum dicti prioratus ipsi committimus et ipsum per annulum nostrum investivimus de eisdem . reservantes nobis et successoribus nostris visitationem annuam et correctionem in ipso prioratu . et omnia alia devoria et jura predecessoribus nostris prestita et nobis debita de consuetudine et de jure. In premissorum testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus fecimus apponi. Datum in ecclesia nostra Moraviensi . XXI . die mensis Augusti anno &c. nonagesimo octavo.

Translation of Confirmation of Election.

To all who shall inspect the present letters, William, by the Divine mercy Bishop of Moray, eternal health in the Lord. We have drawn the notice of you all, as was becoming to us, to the decree of the election proclaimed and examined, concerning the religious man, brother Alexander, monk of Pluscardyn, to be prior of the said priorship. Proclamation having been made in the church in which the election was celebrated, that if there was any who wished to oppose this election or the party elected, he should appear to-day in our presence in the cathedral church of Moray to oppose what he wishes to oppose against the election or the person elected; and because no one has compeared against him we confirm the election itself by our diocesan and episcopal authority. And we commit to him the care and administration of the goods of the said priory, and concerning the same we invest him with our ring itself, reserving to ourselves and our successors annual visitation and correction in the said priorship, and all other dues and rights rendered to our predecessors, and due to us from custom and legal right. In testimony of the premises, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents. Given in our church of Moray, on the 21st day of the month of August, 1398.*

* *Reg. Moraviense*, pp. 355-358.

SUMMARY OF THESE ELECTION PROCEEDINGS.

Prior Thomas, finding himself unable to cope with the difficulties of his position, resigned his priorship on August 7th, 1398, and Bishop William de Spynie at once accepted his resignation. A great part of the revenues of Pluscardyn, being taxes upon the industry and pursuits of others, was often either grudgingly paid or not paid at all. Such a falling-off in the revenue probably occurred in Prior Thomas's tenure of office, and led to his resignation. On the 13th of August, Thomas Fullonis, senior monk of the monastery, forwarded to the bishop the decree of the election of Alexander de Pluscardyn, who was a man of great prudence, and of considerable worldly means. This shows that the original Carthusian strictness of Pluscardyn had been relaxed, since this monk held possessions outside the priory. The prior-elect professed to be able to restore the ruined buildings. On receiving the decree, the bishop ordered his chaplain to prepare a mandate of the proclamation of Alexander de Pluscardyn's election. This mandate was read at Pluscardyn, and was dated August 14th, 1398. All objectors to the election, if there were any, were to appear at Elgin Cathedral on August 21st, 1398, as their last and final opportunity. No objectors having appeared, the Bishop of Moray confirmed the election, and instituted the new prior by placing on his finger his own episcopal ring. Prior Thomas's resignation and Alexander de Pluscardyn's election appear to have been arranged beforehand, so speedily were all the legal preliminaries performed.

UNION OF PLUSCARDYN AND URQUHART.

Urquhart Priory, in Moray, was a cell of Dunfermline, and was founded by King David in 1125. The Culdee element had for a long time appeared at Dunfermline on equal terms with the Roman, but at last gave way before the influence of the latter. Urquhart appears in papal bulls of confirmation of Dunfermline in 1163 and 1182.* The monks of Dunfermline belonged to the original unreformed rule of S. Benedict, otherwise called Black Monks. Thus it came to pass that while the brothers of Pluscardyn were White Monks, those of Urquhart were Black Monks. Urquhart was founded 105 years before Pluscardyn, in the time of Geoffrey, the first abbot of the new house of Dunfermline. The *Moray Chartulary* mentions many gifts bestowed upon Urquhart. The name of Prior Richard de Hurchard

* Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, p. 96; and *Reg. de Dunfermline*, pp. 152-154.

appears in the charter of Bricius when he fixed his cathedral at Spynie.*

JOHN DE BLACK, PRIOR OF URQUHART.

John de Black was elected Abbot of Dunfermline by the monks of that monastery in 1353. The Pope at the same time appointed John Strathmiglaw to the post. John de Black having resigned his claims to the preferment in favour of John Strathmiglaw, the latter appointed him Prior of Urquhart as soon as the first vacancy occurred in that priorship. A chapter meeting of the Moray Cathedral was held in 1358, at which John, Abbot of Dunfermline, asserted his rights of patronage at Urquhart. This was the occasion when John de Black became Prior of Urquhart. In 1388, Alexander Bar, Bishop of Moray, laid claim to the patronage of Urquhart, but could not establish his alleged right.†

CHARGES OF IMMORALITY AGAINST THE URQUHART MONKS.

About the middle of the 15th century the monks of Urquhart are said to have become very licentious. Their immorality is clearly proved by two letters of Columba, Bishop of Moray. One of these was addressed to the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the other was a summons to Prior Raeburn. In the letter sent to the Abbot of Dunfermline, the bishop tells him that he was willing to sanction a commission at Urquhart on account of "crimina, scelera, et flagitia" against the prior and monks there. This visitation of Urquhart had previously received the royal assent. The prior was summoned to appear in the chapter-house of the monastery on February 9th, 1454. Then investigation was to be made into the conduct of the monks, and judgment given either by the bishop himself or by John Schaw, procurator of the Abbey of Dunfermline. The result of the inquiry is not known, but the letters of the bishop show that there *were* charges of immorality against the Urquhart monks.‡

REASONS FOR UNITING PLUSCARDYN AND URQUHART.

The reason for uniting these two priories was likely the poverty of both. This appears from a bull of Pope Nicholas v., who had received the petition for union from John Benale, Prior of Urquhart. The prior in his petition stated that the monks of Urquhart were

* *Reg. Morav.*, pp. 43, and Tab. 46. † *Reg. de Dunfermline*, pp. 266, 267.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 283; and Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 106, 107.

reduced to two, while the number at Pluscardyn was seldom more than six. John Benale proposed that the brothers of Urquhart should remove to Pluscardyn, as the buildings there were more extensive and stately. The possessions and revenues of both priories were to be united, and the newly-combined fraternity was to adopt the rule and dress of Dunfermline. Andrew Haag, Prior of Pluscardyn, was a party to the arrangement, and agreed to retire upon a pension. William de Boyis, Sacristan of Dunfermline, was appointed to receive the professions of the united brothers, and to take formal possession of the house. Abbot Richard issued the commission to William de Boyis on November 8th, 1454.*

WILLIAM DE BOYIS AND JOHN BENALE EXCHANGE OFFICES.

On November 7th, 1456, Abbot Richard of Dunfermline wrote to John Benale, Prior of Pluscardyn, forwarding to him at the same time a commission in favour of William de Boyis to punish and reform the monks of Pluscardyn, as their religious life was not good. Good results had not followed from the change of rule at Pluscardyn. The old Benedictine rule was not more conducive to a pure religious life than the rule of Vallis Caulium. The sequel was that William de Boyis resigned his office of Sacristan of Dunfermline, and was appointed Prior of Pluscardyn, while John Benale, having demitted his priorship, was made Sacristan of Dunfermline.† The white monks of Pluscardyn were now entirely black monks of Dunfermline.

ALEXANDER DUNBAR, LAST CANONICAL PRIOR OF PLUSCARDYN.

As little can be said in favour of Alexander Dunbar as of Patrick Hepburn, his diocesan. They both led immoral lives, and alienated from the Church the property of which they were merely the custodians. Alexander Dunbar made and signed charters in 1559 and 1560 in favour of his own daughter Beatrix and her husband, Alexander Innes of Crombie. Instead of reforming their own lives, Patrick Hepburn and Alexander Dunbar were careful only to secure for their descendants as much of the Church's property as possible. This last monastic Prior of Pluscardyn died some time between September 12th, 1560, and February, 1561. The reformed religion was then predominant in Scotland.‡

* *Reg. de Dunfermline*, pp. 333-335.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 339, 353; and Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 106-110.

‡ Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 121-127.

LETTER OF JAMES COURTOIS.

James Courtois was prior of the monastery of Vallis Caulium in France, and head or general of the order there. A Scottish priest, William Thomson, had taken letters to the prior, neither signed nor sealed, inquiring about the bishop's jurisdiction over the monasteries of the order of Val des Choux. The Prior of Beauly seems to have objected to the visitation of the Bishop of Ross. Prior James Courtois, writing to the said Prior of Beauly, certifies that the monasteries of his order were not exempt from episcopal visitation.* In the reign of Alexander II., Gilbert de Moravia, Archdeacon of Moray, became Bishop of Caithness, and erected a cathedral at Dornoch, giving it a constitution framed on the model of Elgin. The bishop at Dornoch was the head of his cathedral chapter, whereas at Elgin the Bishop of Moray sat as a simple canon. Alexander II. died in A.D. 1249, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander III. This monarch became known as "the Tamer of the Ravens," having so crushed the power of the Norsemen in the battle of Largs that their dragon-shaped prows were no more seen on Scottish shores.

ARCHIBALD, BISHOP OF MORAY, 1253.

Ralph, a canon of Lincoln, was elected to the diocese of Moray after the death of Simon. He died before consecration, and then Archibald, the Dean of Moray, was elected to the vacant see. This bishop's name appears in the *Moray Chartulary* in the years 1256, 1258, 1260, 1268, 1269, and 1287. He built the palace of Kinnedar, and made it his principal residence. During Archibald's episcopate the Earl of Ross was compelled to atone for an outrage he had committed on the church of Petty. The fine he paid for this was a large one, being the cession to the diocese of the lands of Catboll, and other landed property in Ross-shire. The church of Petty always went with a canonry of the Moray Cathedral. Bishop Archibald died on December 8th, 1298, and was buried in the cathedral choir.†

DEATH OF ALEXANDER III.

One dark night in March, 1286, Alexander III., when riding along the Fife coast, fell over a cliff near Kinghorn. Next morning the

* Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, p. 195; or, *Macfarlane MSS.* in Advocates' Library.

† Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 82; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 334.

dead body of the King was found at the foot of the cliff. Alexander III. was a good King, and in the dark days that followed his subjects long remembered the noble qualities of "the Tamer of the Ravens." He was succeeded by his grand-daughter Margaret, whose father was Eric, King of Norway. She was known as the Maid of Norway, being only four years old when she became Queen of Scotland.

Ottobon, a papal legate, was, in Alexander III.'s reign, refused permission to enter Scotland, and the Scottish monarch and clergy declined to obey Pope Clement V., when they were ordered by him to contribute one-tenth of their benefices to assist Prince Edward of England in his crusade against the infidels.* All the Scottish prelates, with the exception of the Bishops of Moray and Dunkeld, were present at the Council of Lyons, in 1274.

The Maid of Norway, on her way home to be married to Edward, son of Edward I. of England, died at Orkney. This sad event postponed for 300 years the union of the English and Scottish crowns.

Twelve competitors now appeared for the Scottish throne, the two principal being John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Baliol was more in the direct line of descent than Bruce, but the latter was one generation nearer to David I. Edward I. of England, whose mediation was accepted by the Scottish nobles, awarded the crown to Baliol. Provoked by the demands of the grasping "Longshanks," Baliol renounced his allegiance. He afterwards showed his craven spirit by tamely submitting to Edward and renouncing the Scottish throne. The English King invaded Scotland, garrisoned the Scottish castles with his troops, and carried off to England the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny. To destroy all written proofs of Scottish independence he plundered the Scottish monasteries of their earliest charters and historical documents. Wallace, who nobly fought for Scotland's liberty, was at last defeated, and put to a barbarous death. The Scottish nation now welcomed as their King, Robert the Bruce, the son of Baliol's rival. Edward advanced with his army to put down the revolt, but died on his way close to the Scottish borders. His tyranny had implanted in Scottish breasts an indelible hatred of his name. Before the death of Alexander III., Scottish writers speak of him as the "gloriosus Christi miles"; after the war of independence he was "Edwardus Tyrannus," or "Malleus Scotorum."

* *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.*, p. 140.

FROM ROBERT THE BRUCE TO THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

"Scots, wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has often led;
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory."

"Now 's the day, and now 's the hour;
See the front of battle lower;
See approach proud Edward's power—
Chains and slavery!"

BURNS.

SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE POPE.

ROBERT THE BRUCE was crowned at Scone on March 27th, 1306, a coronal of gold being substituted for the crown, and the coronation robes being provided by the patriotic Bishop of Glasgow. It was midsummer, 1314, before Edward with an army entered Scotland to dispute the claim of Bruce. "Proud Edward's power" advanced, only to be overthrown. At Bannockburn his army of 100,000 men was totally routed, and 30,000 of England's bravest were left dead upon the field. The victory secured to Bruce the Scottish throne, and at the same time the liberty of Scotland. The English King was no more successful in his appeal to Rome than to arms. The Pope, having sent letters addressed to Bruce as the Governor, and not as the King of Scotland, the latter refused to read them. He said, "I will pay no attention to any bulls which are not addressed to me as the King of the Scots." England was in A.D. 1328 compelled to acknowledge the independence of Scotland, the sister of Edward III. being then betrothed to David, the only son of the Bruce. A bull of Pope John declared that the Scottish kings at their coronation were to receive the crown and the rite of unction from the Bishop of S. Andrews.*

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., pp. 340, 341, 347.

DAVID DE MORAVIA, BISHOP OF MORAY.

David de Moravia was consecrated at Anagiri on June 28th, 1299. He was a true Scotchman, and a zealous supporter of the Bruce. Edward I. charged him with consenting to the death of John Cumine. From the pulpit he stirred up the patriots of Moray to fight for their King and country, telling them that in doing so they were serving God as acceptably as if they were crusaders in the Holy Land. This bishop suffered for his patriotism, having at one time to flee for refuge to the Orkney Islands. Edward Longshanks demanded the surrender to England of the refugee, but the King of Norway refused to give him up.* Bishop David Moray founded the Scots College at Paris in 1325. This was at first an endowment in the Paris University for Scottish students, those from the diocese of Moray to have the preference. In August, 1326, Charles le Bel, King of France, confirmed the foundation, which afterwards became the Scots College.† The learned and patriotic prelate died on January 20th, 1326, before his foundation at Paris was fully established and confirmed. He was buried in the choir of Elgin Cathedral.

JOHN PILMORE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

John Pilmore was a son of Adam Pilmore, burgess of Dundee. This is proved by an indenture dated S. Valentine's Day, 1326. To this document Adam de Pilmore, burgess of Dundee, appended his seal along with the seal of the venerable father in Christ, John, by the grace of God Bishop of Moray, and son of the same Adam de Pilmore. This bishop was the elect of Ross when he was appointed to the see of Moray. His consecration by Pope John XXII. took place at Avignon on March 30th, 1326.‡ An authentic document dated 1333 shows that the bishop completed at Paris what his predecessor had begun. The Scots College continued in the University of Paris till the time of the Reformation. The foundation was administered chiefly by the bishops of Moray, who, as representing the founders and patrons, presented to the House, and arranged about the directors and superiors. John Pilmore died at his castle of Spynie on S. Michael's Eve, 1362.§ In another part of this volume it will be

* *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.*, p. 359.

† Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, pp. 82, 83; and Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii., pp. 6, 7.

‡ *Regis. Epis. Morav.*, pp. 359, 360.

§ Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 83; and Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii., pp. 6, 7.

seen how this prelate established his right of visitation at Pluscardyn.*

King Robert the Bruce died on June 7th, 1329, and his body was buried at Dunfermline. Douglas, who was commissioned by the dying monarch to carry his heart to the Holy Sepulchre, was slain in battle by the Moors of Spain, and the heart, brought back to Scotland, was deposited in Melrose Abbey.

David II., who succeeded to the Scottish Crown, was only five years of age when his father died. He and his Queen, Joan, were crowned at Scone on November 24th, 1331. Five times during his reign did Edward III. invade Scotland, penetrating at one time as far as Inverness. David having invaded England was, in 1346, taken prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. He was released in 1357 on the payment to England of £100,000. David, always ready to sacrifice his country's freedom, had neither principle nor ability. The unworthy son of a noble sire, he died at Edinburgh in 1371.

Robert II., the High Steward of Scotland, whose father, Walter, had married Marjory, the eldest daughter of Robert Bruce, succeeded his uncle, David. His reign was much disturbed by the turbulence of his barons. He was the founder of the Stewart line of Scottish kings, and died in 1390.

ALEXANDER BAR, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Alexander Bar, Decretorum Doctor and Licenciatus in Legibus, was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Urban V. in 1372. The name of this bishop appears on various charters in the 19th year of Robert II.† Alexander's name is mentioned in 1374, when Robert II. held a full Parliament at Scone. The Wolf of Badenoch, as related in the history of Elgin Cathedral, sorely harassed this bishop by burning his cathedral church and city. The bishop's demands brought the depredator to repentance and public confession of his sacrilege. Alexander began the work of restoration, appealing, as he said, "for assistance in building my church, which was the special ornament of our fatherland, the glory of the kingdom, the delight of strangers and of coming guests, the praise and exaltation of praise in foreign lands, in the multitude of those ministering, in most beautiful adornment, and in whatsoever, as is believed, God was rightly worshipped."‡ Sir Thomas Dick Lauder has told the story of the "Wolf of Badenoch" in a most

* *Ante*, p. 65. † *Moray Chartulary.*

‡ *Regis. Episcopat. Moravien.*, p. 204; Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 83.

entertaining work of fiction. Alexander Bar wrongly claimed the right to appoint the Prior of Urquhart in his diocese. In 1388, a complaint was made against the bishop for having appointed John Mason to the priory. William de Bushby, a monk of the convent, made the protest in the name of the prior, the brethren, and all it might concern. The appellant alleged that Adam de Hadyngton had been lawfully appointed head of the Urquhart house, and, in the cathedral church of Moray, he called to witness not only men on earth but also holy Apostles in heaven. The bishop sisted procedure, and referred the matter to the civil power. King Robert sent a letter to the bishop, and a parliamentary decree to the Viscount of Elgin, by which William de Bushby was ordered to resign the priorate to Adam de Hadyngton. An obvious mistake was made in substituting the name of William de Bushby for John Mason. The decision was against the bishop, and his nominee was rejected. Bishop Alexander died on March 15th, 1397, and was buried in the choir of his cathedral.

Robert III. succeeded his father in 1390. His original name, John, thought to be one of ill omen as being the same as the Christian name of Baliol, was changed to Robert. He was a mild and gentle King, but quite unfit to cope with the anarchy of his day. James, the only surviving son of the King, having been sent for safety to France, was captured by one of the cruisers of Henry IV. of England. This misfortune broke the heart of Robert III., and he died in 1406.

During a schism in the papacy, the Scottish Estates, in 1401, directed that, so long as the division lasted, appeals from sentences of excommunication might be made from the Bishop to the Conservator, and from the Conservator to the Provincial Synod.†

James I., afterwards called the Poet King, was a prisoner in England when his father died. Henry IV. gave him an excellent education. He knew Latin and French, was passionately fond of English poetry, and composed a poem called "The King's Quhair," or "The King's Book," during his captivity. Restored to his country in 1424, he did much to reduce it to rule and order. He exhorted the Benedictine and Augustinian Orders to prove themselves worthy of their magnificent endowments. In 1427, the Poet King was barbarously slain by conspirators at Perth.

* *Reg. Morav.*, 350-352 ; and Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 103, 104.

† Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 357.

WILLIAM DE SPYNIE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

William de Spynie, Chantor of Moray and Decretorum Doctor, was consecrated by Pope Benedict XIII. on September 16th, 1397. In the following year he took a prominent part in establishing the election of Alexander de Pluscardyn to the priorship of that monastery. He continued the restoration of Elgin Cathedral begun by Alexander Bar. In the *Moray Chartulary* the bishop names four of his predecessors, Archibald, David, John, and Alexander. William de Spynie died in the Chanonry of Elgin on August 2nd, 1406. He was buried in the choir of Elgin Cathedral.*

JOHN INNES, BISHOP OF MORAY.

John Innes, Bachelor of Laws, was parson of Duffus. He was consecrated on January 23rd, 1407, by Pope Benedict XIII. He went on with the restoration of his cathedral, which his predecessors had endeavoured to accomplish. He died on April 25th, 1414, and was buried in Elgin Cathedral at the base of the pillar which supported the main tower. The fall of the steeple in 1711 destroyed the inscription on his tomb. It ran as follows:—

"Hic jacet Reverendus in Christo Pater, D.D., Joannes de Innes, hujus ecclesiæ quondam Episcopus Moraviensis, qui hoc notabile opus extruxit, et per septennium Episcopale munus tenuit."†

("Here lies the Reverend Father in Christ, John Innes, D.D., formerly bishop of this church of Moray, who raised this memorable work and held the Episcopal office for seven years.")

HENRY LEIGHTON, BISHOP OF MORAY.

When the canons of the cathedral met to elect a successor to Bishop Innes, they agreed that he who should be elected to the episcopate out of their number, should set apart yearly one-third of the revenues of the see to continue the restoration of the Elgin Cathedral. On this understanding they elected Henry de Leighton, who, like his predecessor, had been parson of Duffus. The new bishop was also Chantor of Moray, Doctor of Laws, and Baccalaureus in Decretis. He belonged to Forfarshire, and was consecrated at Valencia on March 8th, 1415, by Benedict XIII. The same Pope had consecrated two of his predecessors. In 1423, Henry Leighton became Bishop of Aberdeen. He was one of the commissioners sent

* *Regist. Episcopat. Moravien.*, p. 360. † Young's *Elgin*, p. 670.

to London to negotiate the ransom of James I., and returned home with that King. Bishop Henry Leighton was one of the most eminent men of his day.*

DAVID, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Nothing is known of this bishop. He is named in Keith's *Catalogue* and in the *Moray Chartulary;* but Professor Grub thinks that both Bishop Keith and the editor of the *Moray Chartulary* were mistaken, and that there was no such Bishop of Moray as David at this time.†

COLUMBA DE DUNBAR, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Columba de Dunbar was of noble family, being descended from the Earls of Moray. He was designated "Decanus ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Dunbar," when he was Dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar. In 1429, he became Bishop of Moray. When, in 1433, this prelate was about to pay a visit to Rome, he received leave from the King of England to pass through that country on his way to the imperial city. The safe conduct allowed the Bishop of Moray to have a retinue of thirty servants. This permission shows that Columba was a wealthy prelate. He was again allowed to go through England the next year when proceeding to the Council of Basle. Columba de Dunbar died in his castle of Spynie in 1435, and was buried in the aisle of S. Thomas the Martyr.‡

APPEARANCE OF REFORMED OPINIONS.

Reformed opinions appeared in Scotland as early as the reign of James I., the Poet King. His injunctions to the religious orders were disregarded. A Provincial Council met at Perth in A.D. 1420, but made no definite effort to reform abuses. New preachers arose, crying loudly for a more earnest religion and a purer life. Instead of reforming their lives, the leading ecclesiastics were too ready to persecute and put to death the teachers of the new doctrines. Paul Resby, an English priest, was executed at Perth for contending that the Pope was not the Vicar of Christ, and, in 1433, Paul Crawar, a German, was put to death at S. Andrews for teaching Hussite doctrines.

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 67.
† *Ibid.*, p. 84; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 369.
‡ Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 84.

One bright spot there was in the darkness of this period, and that was the foundation of S. Andrews University in A.D. 1410. The want of a university had been a great drawback to the Scottish Church and nation. Forty years after this, Glasgow University was founded.

James II. of Scotland was seven years old when his father died. When he came of age, he was well qualified to curb the refractory spirits under his rule. The powerful house of Douglas was the main hindrance to the firm establishment of the royal authority. James was killed in 1460 at the siege of Roxburgh.

JOHN WINCHESTER, BISHOP OF MORAY.

John Winchester, an Englishman, came into Scotland in the retinue of James I. Soon after his arrival he became royal chaplain and prebendary of Dunkeld. He was a Bachelor of the Canon Law, and in the course of time became Provost of Lincluden and Lord Registrar. The charter of confirmation granted by James I. to the monastery of Aberbrothock, mentions the election and confirmation of John Winchester as Bishop of Moray. His consecration took place in 1437, within the monastery of Cambuskenneth. During the minority of James II. this bishop was frequently sent with the embassies to England. The following writ in the *Moray Chartulary* makes allusion to John Winchester:—

"Sciatis nos,—et propter grata obsequia quondam genitori nostro recolendæ memoriæ . per Reverend . in Christo Patrem Johannem Episcopum Moravien. consiliarum nostrum dilectum temporibus suis multipliciter impensa . et per eundem nobis fideliter continuata . et ad ejus preces et instantiam ipsi Episcopo—fecisse et infœdasse villam de Spynie, liberum burgum in baronia."

This writ, by which Spynie was made a burgh in barony, shows that the bishop was a great favourite at the court of the King. His death took place on April 1st, 1460, and S. Mary's Aisle in Elgin Cathedral was the place of his sepulture.*

James III., son of the late King, succeeded his father on the throne. He was married to Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark. This marriage caused the Orkney and Shetland diocese to become part of the Church of Scotland. King James was of a retiring and studious nature, and associated with favourites, one of whom, Cochrane, was hanged by the nobles over Lauder Bridge.

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 85.

An insurrection took place, and the son of the King was proclaimed sovereign instead of his father. The King was assassinated after his troops were defeated at Sauchie Burn.

S. ANDREWS MADE AN ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEE.

In 1472, S. Andrews was made an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, the first archbishop being Patrick Graham. The suffragan sees were Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Candida Casa, Argyll, The Isles, and Orkney.

JAMES STEWART, BISHOP OF MORAY.

James Stewart belonged to the noble family of Lorn. He was Dean of Moray and Lord Treasurer of Scotland. His consecration took place in 1460, but his episcopate lasted only for two years. He died in 1462, and was buried in S. Peter and S. Paul's Aisle, on the north side of Elgin Cathedral.*

DAVID STEWART, BISHOP OF MORAY.

David Stewart was the brother of the previous bishop, and parson of Spynie. His name is to be found in the Moray and Dunfermline chartularies. He built the great tower of Spynie Castle, which on that account was called David's Tower. The Earl of Huntly gave much trouble to this prelate by keeping back the feu-duties of the episcopal lands in Strathbogie. Huntly was excommunicated for his obstinacy and sacrilege. The Abbot of Kinloss and the Prior of Pluscardyn having combined in their efforts for reconciliation, the Earl submitted, and was absolved. David Stewart made some wise regulations for his diocese, and governed it for fourteen years. He died in 1476, and was buried at Elgin in the same aisle with his brother.†

WILLIAM TULLOCH, BISHOP OF MORAY.

William Tulloch was Bishop of Orkney in 1477, when he was elected to the see of Moray. He came from the family stock of the Tullochs of Bonnington, in Forfarshire. James III. sent him to Denmark in 1468, with other noble persons, to negotiate the marriage between the King and the Princess Margaret of Norway and

* *Regist. Epis. Moray.*, pp. 255, 256; Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 85.

† Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 85.

Denmark. Having succeeded in this embassy, he was appointed one of the administrators of the Exchequer and Lord Privy Seal. In 1471, he was one of the ambassadors sent to the English Court.* He governed the Moray diocese for five years, and died in 1482. His remains were laid in S. Mary's Aisle in the Chanonry Church of Moray.†

ANDREW STEWART, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Andrew Stewart was the third son of Sir James Stewart, who bore the surname of the Black Knight of Lorn, and married the widow of James I. He was successively Sub-dean of Glasgow, Rector of Monkland, Provost of Lincluden, and Dean of Faculty of Glasgow University, before he was elected to the diocese of Moray in 1482. In the same year he was appointed Lord Privy Seal. The rolls of Parliament of December, 1482, call him "Electus, confirmatus Moravien." In the same writ the King styles the bishop, "our beloved uncle, Andrew, elect of Moray and Keeper of the Privy Seal."‡

When, in 1483, Bishop Andrew Stewart was consecrated, he resigned the custody of the Privy Seal. His name appears as the elect of Moray in a charter to Alexander, Duke of Albany, Lord Lieutenant of Scotland, and High Admiral. There is no date to the charter, but it can be fixed from the fact that two of the bishop's co-witnesses were John, Bishop of Glasgow, and James, Bishop of Dunkeld. These two bishops died respectively in 1482 and 1483. In the year 1488, James III. granted a confirmation and enlargement of the burgh of Spynie. The following kind expressions occur in the writ:—"And for the special trust, cordial love, and singular favour which we bear towards the Reverend Father in Christ, our uncle, Andrew, now Bishop of Moray, for his faithful and thankworthy service, help, and counsel oftentimes paid and rendered to us in times past. At Aberdeen, 16th April, 1488."§ James III. signed this charter just two months before his assassination. In another place, Andrew, Bishop of Moray, is called "frater germanus Jacobi comitis de Buchan, 1501." The bishop died that same year, and his remains were carried to their last resting-place in the choir of Elgin Cathedral.‖

James of the Iron Belt, or James IV., succeeded his murdered

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, pp. 131, 132. † *Ibid.*, p. 86.

‡ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 118, 142; and Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 86.

§ The original writ is in Latin. ‖ Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 86.

father in 1488. He had not been a free agent when the insurrection raised him to the throne. Yet, struck with remorse for the part he acted, he wore around his waist a chain, or belt of iron, increasing the weight of it as the years went on.

Archbishop Graham was forbidden by the State to exercise the functions of metropolitan. He was not a favourite at court, and his exalted authority was resisted. The archbishop, having been found guilty of simony and schism by a papal legate, was deprived of all his dignities and banished. His successor, William Sheves, experienced no opposition to the exercise of his authority as Archbishop of S. Andrews.

GLASGOW MADE AN ARCHBISHOPRIC.

The see of Glasgow was erected into an archbishopric in 1492, the dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, Argyll, and Glasgow being withdrawn from the province of S. Andrews to that of the Archbishop of Glasgow. Afterwards Dunkeld and Dunblane were restored to S. Andrews, and The Isles was annexed to Glasgow. In this way was completed the hierarchical organisation of the Scottish Church.

The Lollards of Kyle, a party of Scottish reformers, were summoned before James IV. on a charge of heresy. They escaped punishment, probably from the King's aversion to persecution.

In A.D. 1513, James IV. was defeated and slain on the fatal field of Flodden. He was a strict administrator of the law, but was not blameless in his private life.

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY FOUNDED.

A happy event for Scotland, in the reign of James IV., was the foundation of Aberdeen University. King's College, Aberdeen, was founded in 1494, and the University was established on February 10th, 1495.

SECULARISATION OF THE CHURCH.

Secularisation was the dark blot upon the Scottish Church in the reign of James IV. Some were then appointed to the richest benefices who were neither qualified nor required to perform any ecclesiastical function. One glaring instance was the appointment to the Archbishopric of S. Andrews of the King's illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart. The young man was then sixteen years of age, and the disgraceful proceeding received the papal sanction. The young

archbishop was a favourite pupil of Erasmus. He died on Flodden field by the side of his royal father.

ANDREW FOREMAN, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Andrew Foreman was a son of the laird of Huttown, in Berwickshire. He was Proto-Notary Apostolic in Scotland in 1499, and in 1501 he was elected to the see of Moray. At the same time he held *in commendam* the priories of Pittenweem in Scotland and Cottingham in England. This prelate was sent to the English Court, with the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Bothwell, to arrange about the marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor. Bishop Andrew Foreman was one of another commission sent to settle the terms of a peace between Scotland and England. Writs and charters style him "Episcopus Moravien. et Commendatarius de Pittenweem in Scotia et Cottingham in Anglia." Once again the bishop went to England, at the desire of James IV., to procure a conferenee between the latter and King Henry. In the deed of this appointment, the King of England is called "frater et consanguineus noster amantissimus." The *Moray Chartulary* styles the bishop—"Andreas, miseratione divina, Moraviensis episcopus, commendatarius perpet . monasterium de Dryburgh et Pittinveme et Cottingham in Anglia, Sancti Andreæ et Eboracen . Diocesium." A treaty of confederation, made at Edinburgh in 1512, has the bishop's designations as Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Dryburgh. Louis XII. of France conferred upon Bishop Andrew Foreman the archbishopric of Bourges, in France; and so much did James IV. appreciate his services that he entreated Julius II. to raise him to the dignity of cardinal. This was probably prevented by the altered relations between Scotland and the court of Rome after the battle of Flodden.* After the youthful Archbishop Stewart fell upon Flodden field, there were three competitors for the archbishopric of S. Andrews. These were, Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Moray; John Hepburn, Prior of S. Andrews; and Gavin Douglas, Provost of S. Giles' Collegiate Church, Edinburgh. Pope Leo X., with whom Foreman as an able statesman possessed much influence, gave the preference to the Bishop of Moray. The latter, therefore, became Archbishop of S. Andrews and *legatus a latere*, and the other candidates withdrew from the unseemly contest. At the same time the abbacy of Dunfermline *in commendam* was conferred upon the new metropolitan.

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i., p. 402.

Archbishop Foreman died in 1522, and was buried in his own abbey of Dunfermline.*

JAMES HEPBURN, BISHOP OF MORAY.

James Hepburn was the third son of Adam, Lord Hailes, his brother being Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell. After being rector of Partoun, he was promoted to the abbacy of Dunfermline in 1513. He was constituted Lord Treasurer of Scotland three months before the fatal battle of Flodden. Becoming Bishop of Moray in 1516, James Hepburn resigned the Lord Treasurership. Then he was styled "Rector de Partoun, nunc Moravien. ecclesiæ postulato." His death took place in 1524, and he was buried in his own cathedral church of Moray, in St. Mary's Aisle. Bishop James Hepburn's tomb is near that of the Earl of Huntly.†

JAMES V. MARRIED TO MARY OF LORRAINE.

On the death of James IV. at Flodden the Queen-Dowager was entrusted with the regency. She married the Earl of Angus, the head of the Douglas family, thus throwing the education of the young King into the hands of the Douglases. In 1528, James, escaping from them, assumed the reins of government himself. He was strongly supported by James Beaton, Archbishop of S. Andrews, who was at the head of the French influence in Scotland. The King was helped by this prelate to resist the insidious attempts of King Henry of England against Scottish independence. James V., a year after the death of his first wife, was married to Mary of Lorraine.

ROBERT SHAW, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Robert Shaw, or Schaw, was a son of the laird of Sauchie in Stirlingshire, and succeeded his uncle, George, as Abbot of Paisley. The King's letters-patent for this appointment were dated March 1st, 1498. Shaw became Bishop of Moray in 1524. *Moray Chartulary* contains the following writ sent by this prelate to George Lokcart, Professor of Sacred Theology at the Scots College of Paris :—

"Robertus, miseratione divina, Moravien. episcopus, venerabili et egregio viro Magistro Georgio Lokcart, sacræ Theologiæ professori, ac præposito ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Crychtoun, Scoto-Parisiis, salutem, cum benedictione divina. De vestris prudentia, scientia et circum-

* Spottiswood, vol. i., p. 122 ; Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, pp. 22, 86, 87.

† Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 87 ; Preface to *Chartulary of Moray*, p. xv.

spectione, plurimam in Domino fiduciam habentes, bursas per quondam recolendæ memoriæ Moraviensem episcopum, prædecessorem nostrum Parisiis fundatas, de Gresie nuncupatas, ad nostramque et nostræ sedis cathedralis Moraviensis Prælati pro tempore, ex primæva sua fundatione, dispositionem; provisionem et donationem, pleno jure spectantantes eum per cessum, decessum, dimissionem, resignationem, seu alias quovismodo vacare contigerint, scolaribus studentibus, secundum fundationis tenorem, personis qualificatis et Scotis, et præcipue, Moraviensi diocesi oriundis providendi; disponendi; et conferendi, regendi; manutenendi; defendendi; eorum mores, et excessus corrigendi et reformandi et causantibus demeritis, deponendi et deprivandi. aliosque eorum locis imponendi, cæteraque omnia alia et singula quæ in præmissis nobis ex fundatione faciendа incumbunt et necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna agendi gerendi et exercendi nostram tenore præsentium, committimus potestatem, et facultatem in Domino impertimur specialem, præsentibus ad arbitrium nostrum duraturis; In cujus rei testimonium, hiis nostris commissionis literis, manuali subscriptione nostra munitis, sigillum nostrum rotundum affigi fecimus, apud oppidum Edinburgi, die decimo quinto mensis Januarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo sexto, et nostræ consecrationis anno secundo."*

The death of Bishop Shaw took place in 1527. He was buried in the Elgin Cathedral, between the tombs of Bishop Alexander Stewart and Bishop Andrew Stewart.

PROGRESS OF REFORMED OPINIONS.

Cardinal David Beaton succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of S. Andrews, and soon became the King's principal adviser. During his primacy there began that religious movement which was destined to overthrow the Pope's influence in Scotland. The tenets of the German reformers were much furthered by the art of printing, and the closer intercourse between Scotland and the continent of Europe. In February, 1528, Patrick Hamilton suffered death at the stake for preaching the new doctrines, and his execution at S. Andrews will be an everlasting stain upon the memory of Cardinal David Beaton. Other martyrs for Lutheran opinions in his episcopate were Henry Forrest, a Benedictine monk; Thomas Foret, vicar of Dollar; Kello and Beveridge, two Black Friars; Duncan Simon, a priest at Stirling; and Richard Forrester, a layman. Henry VIII. of England proceeded

* *Registrum Moraviense*, pp. 253, 254.

to York to meet the King of Scotland, whom he was anxious to secure as an ally in his struggle with the court of Rome. The English King waited in vain for the King of Scotland, who never came to the trysting place. James v. died in 1542, on hearing of the disgraceful rout of his army at Solway Moss. On his death-bed, at Falkland, he was told of the birth of his daughter, and, thinking of the way the Scottish crown had come to the Stewart family, the dying King exclaimed—"It cam wi' a lass, and it will gang wi' a lass."*

ALEXANDER STEWART, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Alexander Stewart was the son of Alexander, Duke of Albany,† and of Catherine Sinclair, his wife, daughter of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness. A Scottish Parliament in 1516 declared Alexander Stewart to be illegitimate, long after his parents were dead, because the marriage had been within the forbidden degrees of affinity. Soon after this he became an ecclesiastic, and received rapid promotion, from his aristocratic connection. He became Prior of Whitern, and then Abbot of Inchaffray. His brother, John, Duke of Albany, then Regent of Scotland, made him Abbot of Scone. In 1527, Alexander Stewart became Bishop of Moray, but still held the Abbey of Scone *in commendam.* During his episcopate, George, Prior of Pluscardyn, was appointed coadjutor and successor to Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen. Alexander Stewart died in 1534, and was buried in his own monastery of Scone.‡

PATRICK HEPBURN, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Patrick Hepburn was a son of Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell. He received his education from his uncle, John, Prior of S. Andrews, and, in 1522, became his successor in that priory. When he was advanced to the see of Moray in 1535, he held at the same time the Abbey of Scone *in commendam.* Patricius, Bishop of Moray, was one of those who, in the name of the community of Scotland, subscribed the letters giving power to treat of the marriage of Queen Mary with Francis, the Dauphin of France. This Bishop of Moray became notorious as the great despoiler of the Church. He cast his covetous eyes upon some of the possessions belonging to the Priory of Pluscardyn, and was, on that account, engaged in constant litigation with

* Knox, vol. i., appendix, pp. 512-514.

† Alexander, Duke of Albany, was son of James II.

‡ Keith's *Catal. of Bishops*, p. 88; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 4.

Alexander Dunbar, the last monastic prior. In 1549, the bishop and prior agreed to submit the cases in dispute to arbitration, but the grasping prelate would never fix a convenient time and place for the meeting of the arbitrators. The submission agreed to by the contending parties contained the following words—"The said Reverend Father shall make no pursuit nor diligence, nor demand any commission or rescript from the court of Rome in any cause or causes of appeal or appeals interposed by him."* In these words Bishop Hepburn bound himself to make no appeal to the Pope. The same prelate feued the lands of Inchbrook in Western Alves to Alexander Anderson and others.† In 1566 Patrick Hepburn granted a charter of the lands called "the Bishopric's Mylne," and other property, to James Innes of Drainie and his wife. The same ecclesiastical depredator granted a charter of confirmation in 1570 of the lands of Morriston in favour of John Annand, Provost of Elgin. Hepburn resided at that time in Spynie Castle. Charters for the same lands had previously been given by William de Spynie and David, bishops of Moray. In after days Bishop Alexander Douglas recovered these lands for the Church, but they came in the course of time into the possession of Robert Martin, whose right was confirmed by Bishop Murdoch Mackenzie in 1672. The rapacious bishop also granted to John Annand, Provost of Elgin, a charter of confirmation for the lands of Burgh Briggs. The worst feature of the spoliation of Church lands by Hepburn was his giving the same to his illegitimate children. Thus he granted the estate of Aldroughty to David and Thomas Hepburn in liferent. These were illegitimate children of the bishop. These same lands and others he afterwards conveyed to the Earl of Moray, to gain in that way the power to possess himself of the rest. At the Reformation Patrick Hepburn shared the fate of the other bishops of the old *régime*. He cared little for his Church, and was allowed to keep possession of his episcopal palace till his death. Some idea of the great change about to take place in ecclesiastical affairs must have occurred to Bishop Hepburn's mind, for as early as 1540 he began to lease out the lands belonging to the bishopric. In the various deeds he is styled "Monasterii de Scona commendatarius perpetuus," as well as "Episcopus Moraviensis." During his episcopate, John Bellenden, the well-known translator of Boece's History, was made Archdeacon of Moray. Patrick Hepburn ended his ill-spent

* Macphail's *Pluscardyn*, pp. 124, 125, 242, 243.
† *Registrum Moraviense*, p. 408.

life at Spynie Castle on June 20th, 1573. His remains were interred in the choir of the cathedral church of Moray.*

THE CHURCH LANDS OF MORAY.

These lands, which Bishop Patrick Hepburn sold or gave away, were, in 1451, erected into the barony of Spynie by James II. Next year the barony was made a free regality or royalty in favour of the Bishop of Moray and his successors. This dangerous jurisdiction lasted till the middle of the eighteenth century, and gave to the lord of regality the right to try any tenant or vassal brought before another court. The legal authority of the bishop extended to all his lands in Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Banff, and Aberdeen. It also comprised the nine baronies of Kineddar, Spynie, Birnie, Rafford, Ardclach, Keith, Kilmylies, Strathspey, and Minmore.†

SPREAD OF THE NEW DOCTRINES.

The new doctrines continued to spread, and were openly favoured by the Regent, the Earl of Arran. He was the head of the powerful house of Hamilton, and was raised to the dignity of Regent in opposition to Cardinal David Beaton. The Scottish Parliament in 1543 passed an Act allowing the Scriptures to be translated into the English or Scottish language.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

Mary Queen of Scots was five days old when her father died. She was crowned at Stirling, in 1543, by the Archbishop of S. Andrews. Arran, the Regent, ratified a marriage treaty, by which the infant Queen was to be married to Edward, the son of Henry VIII. of England. On the other hand the Scottish Estates, refusing to be bound by the treaty, wished to renew the ancient league with France. In retaliation for this the Earl of Hertford entered Scotland, and pillaged the great abbeys of Holyrood, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh.

George Wishart, a preacher of the Reformed doctrines, was put to death at S. Andrews in 1546. He had led an exemplary life, and his death was a greater blow to the Church of Rome in Scotland than to the progress of the Reformation. Three months after the burning of Wishart, a party of reformers burst into S. Andrews Castle, put Cardinal Beaton to death, and suspended his bleeding body from the

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 88. † Young's *Spynie*, pp. 129, 130.

battlements in the sight of all the citizens. Beaton was an able statesman, but did not lead a blameless life. After the murder of the cardinal, the reformers seized the castle of S. Andrews, where John Rough, an ex-Dominican friar, and John Knox, the great Scottish reformer, preached the new doctrines to the garrison. The castle was taken on the arrival of a French fleet, and Knox and his associates were carried prisoners to France.

MARY OF LORRAINE BECOMES REGENT.

The Scottish Parliament in A.D. 1548 decided that the young Queen of Scots was to be married to the Dauphin of France, and sent to that country for safety. Mary of Lorraine, the queen-mother, became Regent in A.D. 1554, and her daughter was publicly married to the Dauphin in A.D. 1558.

John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld, succeeded Cardinal David Beaton as Archbishop of S. Andrews, and in A.D. 1551 James Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, became Archbishop of Glasgow.

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

A Provincial Council met at Linlithgow in A.D. 1549. Among those present there were Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, Robert, Bishop of Orkney and Commendator of Kinloss, the Prior of Pluseardyn, and James, the young Earl of Moray, who was only eighteen years of age, as Commendator of the Priory of S. Andrews. The Council, knowing that the calamities which had come upon the Church were due mainly to the ignorance and corrupt lives of the clergy, enacted fifty-seven new canons to correct the prevailing abuses. All this was of no avail, so long as such men as Patrick Hepburn and the Prior of Pluscardyn did not begin the reformation with an amendment of their own depraved lives.

Another Provincial Council, which met in A.D. 1552, ordered the publication of the catechism on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

The ecclesiastical authorities resorted to persecution instead of self-reformation. Adam Wallace was executed on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, exclaiming, when the first fagot was lighted, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake. The disciple is not above his Master."*

But persecution and the enactment of canons could not stay the

* Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.*

advancement of the tide of Reformation. Onwards that tide was rolling with gathering force; and was there no Augustine nor Benedict, no Bernard nor Waltheof, to rouse the bishops and clergy to a sense of the doom impending upon their Church and order?

Mary of Lorraine, a princess of great ability, wished to tolerate the Reformation party as long as they acted peacefully towards the government. Her authority was supported by French troops, and her preference for foreigners did not conciliate the Scottish mind, ever jealous for Scotland's independence.

JOHN KNOX.

John Knox, who was taken prisoner at S. Andrews, was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in A.D. 1505. He pursued his studies at the Universities of Glasgow and S. Andrews, under the famous John Mair. The preaching of Thomas Guilliam, a Black Friar, made a deep impression upon his mind, and led him to join the Reformed party. In A.D. 1549, he was released from captivity on the intervention of Edward VI. of England, to whose court he at once repaired. Sent by that monarch to Berwick-on-Tweed, he there preached against the doctrines of Rome. Mary's accession to the English throne caused the re-enactment of the laws against heresy, and the flight of Knox. At Geneva the Scottish reformer met Calvin, and there and at Frankfort-on-the-Maine he ministered to the English congregations. His first wife was Marjory Bowes, descended from a good English family. When Knox returned to Scotland in A.D. 1555, the Lord James, Prior of S. Andrews, Lord Erskine, the Earl of Argyll, James Erskine of Dun, William Maitland of Lethington, and many other notables of the day, flocked to hear him preach. At the house of Erskine of Dun, most of the nobles of the Mearns attached themselves to Knox's party. Alarmed at the effect of the reformer's preaching, the Scottish bishops summoned him to appear at Edinburgh on May 15th, 1556. This citation was abandoned, and Knox publicly preached at Edinburgh upon that day. Again he was summoned before the bishops, and his effigy burned at Edinburgh. From Geneva, where he had gone on receiving a call from the English congregation there, the reformer issued a protest against the "most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland." In his absence William Harlaw and John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, advocated the reformed doctrines at Edinburgh.

FIRST COVENANT.

A document, afterwards styled the First Covenant, was signed at Edinburgh on December 3rd, 1557, by the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, the Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and other chief men of their party. The subscribers bound themselves to maintain the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation, and renounced the "Synagogue of Satan" and its idolatry.

On April 28th, there took place at S. Andrews the last execution in Scotland for Protestant opinions. The victim was Walter Mylne, a decrepit old man, a priest, and vicar of Lunan. He was carried to the stake by the primate's retainers, as the public officers refused to act. At the place of execution, he cried out in Latin, "I will go to the altar of the Lord." Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, was one of his judges. Such scenes and the evil lives of the clergy furnished the strongest arguments for the Reformation.

LAST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

A Provincial Council, which met at Edinburgh in 1559, refused to grant a request from the Reformed party that prayers should be said and the sacraments administered in the vulgar tongue. A document, evidently coming from a reforming party within the Church, urged reformation on the lines adopted by the Church of England. This was the last Provincial Synod of the Scottish Church under the old *régime*. Its half-measures were not sufficient to avert the more drastic Reformation that was close at hand.*

QUINTIN KENNEDY.

Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, and a younger son of the Earl of Cassilis, used his personal exertions to stop the progress of the Reformation. He defended his Church, but admitted the abuses that existed within it. A challenge to a public disputation was sent by him to John Willock, a Reformed preacher. The proposal came to nothing, as Willock would not accept the judgment of the ancient fathers in the interpretation of Scripture.

Events were fast hastening to a crisis, which was brought about by a proclamation of Mary of Lorraine, forbidding any one to preach or administer the sacraments without the authority of the bishops. For disregarding this order, the Reformed preachers were summoned

* Knox, pp. 125-274; Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., pp. 27-59.

to appear before the Justiciary Court at Stirling on May 10th, A.D. 1559. At this critical moment Knox returned to Scotland. "The hour had come and the man." He accompanied the Protestant barons to Perth, their intention evidently being to overawe the Government. When the preachers did not appear at Stirling on the appointed day, they were outlawed.

BURNING OF THE MONASTERIES.

On the day after this sentence had been pronounced, Knox preached a vehement sermon against idolatry, in the church of S. John the Baptist, Perth. The feelings of the people were roused to such an extent, that they destroyed the tabernacle and all the ornaments of the church. On this becoming known in the city, a disorderly mob attacked the Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite, and Carthusian monasteries, and continued the iconoclastic work for two long summer days. Nothing remained but the bare walls of the buildings, the magnificent Charter-house, containing the remains of Scotland's Poet King, being also levelled to the ground. Indignant at these proceedings, the Queen-regent prepared to march against Perth. But an accommodation was agreed to, and she entered Perth with her army on the 29th of May.

The citizens of S. Andrews, incited by a sermon of John Knox, despoiled the cathedral and the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries of the city. The mob rushing upon the magnificent abbey and palace of Scone, the monastery of which was held by Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, as its commendator, reduced the whole to a heap of ruins. At Cupar-in-Fife and Linlithgow the sacred buildings met the same fate, the Earl of Argyll and the Prior of S. Andrews being present at the latter town when the sacrilegious work was going on. Edinburgh, seized by the Lords of the Congregation, Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, were the scenes of like desecration.

Francis, the husband of Queen Mary, being now King of France, sent French troops to the assistance of Mary of Lorraine in Scotland. There was now open war between the Queen-regent and the Lords of the Congregation, who were forced, on November 6th, 1559, to abandon Edinburgh and Stirling. At this juncture help came to the Reformed party from Queen Elizabeth of England, and an English army entering Scotland advanced towards Edinburgh.

Mary of Lorraine, wearied with the cares of state and broken down by illness, died on June 11th, 1560. Her body was carried to France, as the Lords of the Congregation would not allow her to be buried according to the ritual of her own Church. Peace was established on July 8th, 1560, a few days after which, the English and French troops left Scotland. The Abbot of Kinloss was a party to the agreement, in virtue of which Queen Elizabeth had sent her soldiers to the aid of the reformers.

Many of the most eminent clergy were now on the side of the reformers, in whose ranks were enrolled Alexander Gordon, Archbishop of Athens and Bishop of Galloway, and John Winram, Subprior of S. Andrews. The Scottish Estates met on August 1st, 1560, to overthrow and disestablish the Roman hierarchy. A document was laid before this Parliament, called, "The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of the Realm of Scotland." While this was being done by the Reformed ministers, the primate and the other bishops present had not the courage to say a single word on behalf of their falling Church. It was only when the new Confession of Faith was put to the vote that the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane offered a feeble opposition. Laws were enacted by the Scottish Parliament on August 24th, 1560, which took away the power of the Pope, and forbade the prelates to do anything in his name. At the same time "all persons were forbidden to hear or say mass, under pain of confiscation of their goods and personal punishment at the discretion of the judge for the first offence, banishment from the kingdom for the second, and death for the third." A petition from the bishops for the restoration of their estates was rejected, and all rights to tithes, granted subsequently to March 6th by opponents of the Congregation, were declared to be of no avail. It will always be a matter of regret that this Parliament did not take the higher ground, and proclaim liberty of conscience to all professing Christians. As it was, neither party thought of religious toleration, the main object of the one, during this period, being the extinction of the other. The disestablishment was accomplished by the civil power. The rulers of the Church, having refused to listen to the voice of warning, were now powerless to avert the fatal blow. In one short year they saw everything swept away by the wave of Reformation—the consecrated buildings, peerless in the beauty of their architecture, the ordained priesthood, the regular observance of fast and festival, the ordered services of

the Church, and the Historic Episcopate, which in one form or another had existed in Scotland since the times of S. Ninian and S. Columba. How many of these blessings might have been preserved for Scotland, had the clergy and the hierarchy reformed their corrupt lives in time, and listened to the earnest voices calling upon them to repent? The religious houses of Morayshire were not overthrown in the first attack upon the monasteries, for there the adherents of the Roman Church were protected by the noble house of Gordon. With all their shortcomings, they had been a blessing to Morayland. Their hospitable doors had always been open to the wandering poor; they were the homes of learning and of piety; and, above all, their inmates handed us down the priceless treasure of the blessed Word of God. The rapacious nobles, who seized the lands, forgot the obligations that had always been connected with their possession—the maintenance of the poor, and the education of the people.

FROM THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION TO THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

CHAPTER VII.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF REFORMATION PERIOD.

"My Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop."
Saying of Titular ARCHBISHOP ADAMSON.

THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE DISESTABLISHED ROMAN CHURCH, TITULAR EPISCOPACY, AND THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM.

FORTY years elapsed between the Scottish Reformation and the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne. During that time many changes, civil and ecclesiastical, took place north of the Tweed. The religious contest of these forty years may be described as a triangular battle between the friends of the disestablished Church, titular Episcopacy, and the Presbyterian system of John Knox, Andrew Melville, and others. At the beginning of the period we shall see the gradual decay of the fallen *régime* and the domination of the State by the ministers of the new establishment; further on, we shall behold a looking back for the old paths in the setting up of titular Episcopacy; later still, we shall see titular Episcopacy overthrown by the Presbyterian system of Andrew Melville; and last of all, we shall be told that Melville's Presbyterian system had to give way to the Episcopacy of the Spottiswoode succession.

LAYING-ON OF HANDS ABOLISHED.

Spottiswoode and others compiled a Book of Discipline for the government of the new establishment. This volume, submitted to a convention of the nobility assembled at Edinburgh in January, 1561, was signed by the Bishop of Galloway, the Prior of S. Andrews, the Dean of Moray, and a number of temporal lords. It prohibited the observance of Christmas, Epiphany, and the festivals of the apostles and martyrs, and ordered abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, and colleges to be suppressed. Ecclesiastics were divided into superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers, and the laying-on of

hands at ordinations was forbidden. As a reason for this the Book of Discipline said—"Albeit the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet as the miracle had ceased, the using of the ceremony is judged not to be necessary." No ceremony was required at the institution of a minister save the approbation of the people, and the declaration that the person was appointed to a particular church. The superintendents had no independent jurisdiction, and were liable to be dismissed by the ministers and people.* The act for the demolition of the remaining monasteries could not be strictly enforced in the remote provinces, where the influence of the Roman Catholic nobles prevailed.

QUEEN MARY RETURNS TO SCOTLAND.

Queen Mary was left a widow by the death of her husband, the King of France, in A.D. 1561. Having escaped the cruisers of her jealous rival, Queen Elizabeth, the young Queen of Scots landed at Leith in August amid every demonstration of joy on the part of the people. Preparations were made on the following Sunday to celebrate mass in the private chapel at Holyrood. To this the Reformed preachers objected, some of them crying out, "Shall this idol be suffered again within the realm?" The Prior of S. Andrews, standing before the door of the chapel, prevented the service from interruption, and next day an order of the Privy Council declared that the reformed religion was to be protected, but the Queen and her attendants were allowed to worship God according to the ritual of their Church. At this time Knox complained that the people were kept quiet by Mary's flattering words, "Conscience, conscience, it is a sore thing to restrain the conscience."

VESTED INTERESTS OF DISESTABLISHED ECCLESIASTICS.

Mary entrusted the chief direction of her affairs to her brother, the Prior of S. Andrews. She refused to ratify the Book of Discipline when requested to do so by the General Assembly. The Privy Council enacted, "that one-third of the ecclesiastical benefices should be bestowed on the ministers and the crown, the other two-thirds remaining with the beneficiaries." The Roman Catholic prelates, having thus been allowed to secure the greater portion of their estates, made no effort to recover their lost influence.

* Knox, vol. i., pp. 315-473; and vol. ii., pp. 3-122.

CHAMPIONS OF THE OLD CHURCH.

Champions were not lacking for the fallen Church. Ninian Winzet, who held discussions with Knox, was expelled from Linlithgow for refusing to sign the new confession. In a tractate presented to the Queen, he addressed himself to the bishops, "denouncing in the strongest terms their evil lives and erroneous doctrines, whereby they had well-nigh destroyed the flock entrusted to their keeping." His last work was entitled, "The last Blast of the Trumpet of God's Word against the usurped authority of John Knox and his Calvinian brethren." The magistrates of Edinburgh seized and imprisoned the printer of the book, but Winzet escaped to the Low Countries. Quintin Kennedy, another advocate of the disestablished Church, died in A.D. 1562. Had the Scottish bishops resembled the Abbot of Crossraguel in virtues and attainments, the Scottish Reformation would have occurred sooner and in a different way.*

EARL OF HUNTLY SLAIN.

Queen Mary, by a mistaken policy, gave too much power into the hands of her half-brother, the Prior of S. Andrews. In 1562 she bestowed upon him the Earldom of Moray, endowed with lands taken from the Earl of Huntly. Angry at this and other rebuffs, Huntly rose in arms against the royal authority, and was defeated and slain at Corrichie by Mary's troops under the Earl of Moray. Further revenge was taken in the following year, when the Earl of Sutherland and eleven barons of the house of Gordon were attainted, and their estates confiscated to the crown. Huntly had been a staunch supporter of the disestablished Church and hierarchy. His death did not make the opposite party more tolerant of religious opinions different from their own. The time came when Mary regretted her treatment of the Gordons.

PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

In A.D. 1563, the Roman Catholics were persecuted in their turn, some of their priests being apprehended by the reformers for keeping the Easter festival. The rest were told that a repetition of the offence would bring punishment upon them in accordance with God's law against idolaters. Mary complained to Knox of this threat of the Reformed to take the law into their own hands. John Knox at this

* Knox, vol. ii., pp. 128-351; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., pp. 91-127.

time was really the unerowned King of Scotland, and the State was completely overruled by the Reformed ministers. John Willock, who was challenged to a discussion by Quintin Kennedy, was in A.D. 1563 appointed the first Moderator of the General Assembly.

MARRIAGE OF MARY.

Mary was married to her cousin, Lord Darnley, in July, 1565, John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, performing the ceremony according to the ritual of the Church of Rome. On the day after the marriage, Darnley was proclaimed King of the Scots at the market cross of Edinburgh. The Queen's marriage was followed by a revolt among the nobility, the principal rebels being the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, and Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and others. The insurgent lords fled to England as soon as Mary appeared at the head of her troops. The sympathies of John Knox were on the side of the rebels. This same year the General Assembly declared that baptism by a Roman Catholic priest was not to be repeated, since it had been celebrated with water and the proper form of words. The State at this time appointed John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, Bishop of Brechin, and John Leslie, Official of Aberdeen, Bishop of Ross. Probably they were consecrated in private by some of the disestablished bishops.

MURDER OF RICCIO.

David Riccio, the private secretary of the Queen, was murdered at Holyrood on 9th March, A.D. 1566. The unhappy man was dragged from the Queen's chamber by Lord Ruthven and others, who were instigated to the crime by Darnley. In the confusion, Black, a Dominican friar, was also slain. Next day, on the invitation of Darnley, Moray and the banished lords returned to Edinburgh.

John Knox says of this murder in his History:—"That great abuse of the commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave, Davie, was justly punished the 9th of March, 1565." Of the exiled conspirators, he added: they, "for their just act, and most worthy of all praise, are now unworthily left of their brethren, and suffer the bitterness of banishment and exile."

Mary escaped to Dunbar, where she was joined by the Archbishop of S. Andrews and the Earl of Huntly, the latter having been restored to his father's estates and title. The conspirators fled when Mary re-entered Edinburgh at the head of her army.

BAPTISM OF THE INFANT PRINCE.

A son was born to Mary on June 19th, 1566. The infant Prince was baptized by the name of Charles James by the Archbishop of S. Andrews, in the presence of the Queen and various Roman Catholic bishops and nobles. This was the last public act in Scotland in which the prelates of the ancient hierarchy officiated.

MURDER OF DARNLEY.

Edinburgh was again the scene of a dark tragedy. Darnley, who was recovering from small-pox, was lodged in a house belonging to the provost of the Collegiate Church of S. Mary-in-the-Fields. Early one February morning the city was startled by a terrible explosion, and the house where the King lodged was found to be blown up. The body of Darnley was found in a field near the spot. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the immediate agents in the crime were the retainers of the Earl of Bothwell, who had gained a fatal influence over the Queen. He was a handsome but profligate young man, and his trial for the murder of Darnley was a mock one on account of Mary's influence in his favour. It has never been proved that she knew about the plot against her husband's life, though her subsequent conduct exposed her to grave suspicion. Three months after Darnley's death, Mary was married to Bothwell, after the latter had been divorced from his first wife, a sister of the Earl of Huntly.

ABDICATION OF MARY.

The cry of vengeance arose throughout the land against the newly-married pair, and a league was formed against them. Mary's soldiers refused to fight for a murderer; Mary surrendered to the associated lords at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh; Bothwell fled from the field on horseback; and the Queen, led back to Edinburgh, was exposed to the insults of the soldiers and the people. Mary was imprisoned in the Castle of Lochleven, where, on the 24th of July, A.D. 1567, she was compelled to sign a deed of abdication.

JAMES VI. CROWNED.

The young Prince, under the title of James VI., was crowned at Stirling, the Earl of Morton, on his behalf, swearing "that he would maintain the true religion as now received in the realm, and extirpate

all heresy within his dominions." The Earl of Moray undertook the regency, after having had a personal interview with Mary at Lochleven.*

DEATH OF THE GOOD REGENT.

In May, A.D. 1568, Mary escaped from Lochleven, and was soon at the head of 6000 men. But at Langside, near Glasgow, the Queen's soldiers were driven from the field by the spearmen of Moray. Mary fled in terror to England, and gave herself up to Queen Elizabeth. From the first the English Queen acted as a judge, and not as a kinswoman, and Mary was detained a prisoner. Moray's regency did not last long. On January 23rd, 1570, he was shot, when passing through Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Moray, called the Good Regent, supported the Reformed party, and they supported him. He was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Lennox, father of the murdered Darnley. Kirkaldy of Grange defied the authority of the new Regent, and unfurled the standard of Queen Mary upon the lofty rock of Edinburgh Castle.†

Dumbarton Castle, held for Mary, was taken in A.D. 1571, by the officers of the Regent. Among the prisoners taken at its capture was John Hamilton, Archbishop of S. Andrews, whom Lennox caused to be hanged at Stirling without a regular trial. He was the last primate of the old *régime*. Five months after his death, some of Mary's adherents put the Regent to death in revenge for his cruelty to the Archbishop. Mar, who succeeded Lennox as Regent, died on October 28th, 1572.

The Earl of Morton was next Regent. Through his influence John Douglas, Rector of S. Andrews, was raised to the primatial see without the Assembly being consulted. Shortly afterwards other bishoprics were filled up in the same arbitrary way.‡ The practice drew forth from Erskine of Dun a protesting letter to the Regent. He insisted that to the bishops and superintendents, and not to the State, "belonged the examination and admission of men into benefices and offices of spiritual cure, whatever benefice it be, as well bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, as other inferior benefices." Erskine's protest against the interference of the civil power with spiritual things led to the summoning of a convention of superintendents, commissioners,

* Knox, vol. ii., pp. 330-574; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., pp. 127-163.

† Calderwood, vol. ii., pp. 490-544, and vol. iii., pp. 68-70.

‡ Douglas and other parties presented to bishoprics in this way, were called titular bishops, because they never received valid consecration.

and ministers. The Convention met at Leith on January 12th, 1572, and elected commissioners to meet with the Lords of the Council, and arrange about the ecclesiastical polity of the Church. Among these were John Erskine, Superintendent of Angus, and Robert Pont, Commissioner of Moray. The commissioners of the Assembly, having met with the committee appointed by the Privy Council, agreed to various points in the matter under dispute. The titles of archbishops and bishops, and the boundaries of their dioceses, were not to be altered, but to continue the same as before the Reformation, and the persons presented to these high offices were to have the qualities mentioned in S. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Archbishops and bishops were in the meantime to have no further jurisdiction than superintendents. Ministers were to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and readers, duly qualified, were to be entitled to solemnise marriages and to baptize.

LAYING-ON OF HANDS RESTORED.

All bishops were to be consecrated, and in the admission of ministers and readers forms were to be used like those formerly employed for the ordination of priests and deacons. One flaw there was, however, in the new ecclesiastical polity which made it little better than an empty form. The ministers who were first to consecrate the persons chosen, had never themselves received the gift which they were to bestow on others. The bishops and archbishops of the titular system were not members of the Historic Episcopate at all.* The Regent approved of the stipulations, and they were carried out without delay. John Douglas was elected archbishop by the chapter of the metropolitan see which met at S. Andrews. On the following Sunday he was admitted to his office by the laying-on of the hands of the Bishop of Caithness, the Superintendent of Lothian, and David Lindsay, minister at Leith. The Bishop of Caithness,† brother of the Earl of Lennox, had never been consecrated himself,

* Knox, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., pp. 782-823; Calderwood, vol. iii., pp. 168-208, 785-768; and Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., pp. 163-181.

† Robert, the Bishop of Caithness, was the second son of John, eleventh Earl of Lennox, and his Countess, Lady Elizabeth Stuart. He was provost of the collegiate church of Dumbarton, and was preferred to the bishopric of Caithness in 1542. While still bishop-elect, he was deprived of the dignity for joining with his brother against the Regent Arran. He was,

and the others had not even received priest's orders. This was the first occasion since the Reformation in which the laying-on of hands had been used at an ordination in the Reformed Church. John Knox petitioned the Assembly to fill up all the bishopries in terms of the agreement at Leith.

DEATH OF JOHN KNOX.

For about a year before his death, Knox resided at S. Andrews, his residence at Edinburgh not being considered safe so long as Kirkaldy of Grange held the castle for Mary. Having returned to Edinburgh, he officiated there for the last time on November 9th, 1572. Just before his death, which took place on November 24th, 1572, he requested his wife to read to him the 15th chapter of S. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. The Earl of Morton, who was elected Regent the day the Reformer died, attended his funeral. When they were laying Knox's body in the grave, the Regent said, "Here lieth a man who in his life never feared the face of man." One of the sons of John Knox became a clergyman in the Church of England.*

The Earl of Morton was strongly supported in his regency by the Earl of Huntly and the Hamiltons. Having received men and guns from Queen Elizabeth, the Regent captured Edinburgh Castle. Kirkaldy of Grange, who was among the prisoners, was hanged on August 3rd, 1572.

Complaints were now made in the Assembly against the titular bishops, one being accused of neglect of duty, and another of simony. The Regent, in a letter to the Assembly, promised to name a particular day for filling up the sees of Glasgow, Moray, Ross, and Dunblane.

GEORGE DOUGLAS, TITULAR BISHOP OF MORAY.

George Douglas was the natural son of Archibald, Earl of Angus. After the death of Patrick Hepburn, he was appointed Bishop of Moray by the Regent Morton. At the same time, in 1573, he was

therefore, never consecrated. This ecclesiastic, after having been in exile for twenty years, returned to his native land in 1563, and joined the party of the Reformers. He was appointed to the priory of S. Andrews, and in 1578 was himself created Earl of Lennox. Robert Stuart died at S. Andrews in March, 1586. He had previously resigned the Earldom of Lennox in favour of his nephew, Esmè, Lord d'Aubigny, and in exchange was made Earl of March. See *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. vi., p. 137.

* Calderwood, vol. iii., pp. 208-223, 230-242.

examined and elected to the same see by the chapter of Moray Cathedral. There are three papers in the *Register of Benefices* referring to this titular bishop. The first of these is a licence to choose a Bishop of Moray, the second is a direction concerning his consecration, and the third had regard to the restitution of the Bishop of Moray to the temporalities of his diocese. In the Register, George is called "son natural to unquhil Archibald, Earl of Angus, and Reverend Father George, Bishop of Moray, 27th October, 1574." There is no proof that any of his consecrators had themselves received a valid consecration. They were the titular archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and the titular bishops of Dunblane and Caithness. In the *Moray Chartulary* there is a writ of the year 1587 signed by "Georgius Moraviem. Episcopus," or by a notary public in his name. Another deed, signed by George Douglas, is a tack or lease of land, which begins, "George, by mercy of God Bishop of Moray, with the consent and assent of the Canons of our Chapter, anno 1580." George Douglas died in 1589, and was buried at Holyrood.

ARCHDEACON ROBERT GRÆME.

The Assembly of 1574 appointed a commission to visit the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, consisting of Robert Græme, Archdeacon of Ross, and John Robertson, treasurer of the same. Robert Stewart, titular Bishop of Caithness, did not reside in his diocese, but probably at his priory of S. Andrews. This shows the imperfect nature of the titular system. The commissioners were to visit the kirk, colleges, and schools in Caithness and Sutherland, and plant therein ministers, readers, elders, deacons, and schoolmasters, wherever they thought the appointments requisite.*

OBJECTIONS MADE TO TITULAR EPISCOPACY.

In the Assembly of A.D. 1574, objections were raised against the office of a bishop as not being founded on the Word of God. The discussion, which then arose, was the beginning of the struggle between titular Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Andrew Melville, who became the advocate of the Presbyterian system, renewed the attack upon titular Episcopacy in every Assembly after 1574, until

* Robert Græme, Archdeacon of Ross, Andrew Græme, titular Bishop of Dunkeld, and George Græme, Bishop of Orkney, all belonged to the same family stock as the famous Græme of Claverhouse, or "Bonnie Dundee," and the great Marquis of Montrose.

that ecclesiastical abuse was overthrown. Melville had been educated at S. Andrews University, and afterwards at Paris and Geneva. In A.D. 1574, he was Principal of the College of Glasgow. Two years after this, when it was declared by the Assembly that every bishop should have charge of a particular congregation, George Douglas, titular Bishop of Moray, agreed to accept any particular flock chosen for him by the Assembly.*

Patrick Adamson, lately minister at Paisley, was appointed Archbishop of S. Andrews by Regent Morton. He was duly elected by the chapter, and consecrated after the reformed manner by the Bishops of Caithness, Orkney, and other titular bishops and superintendents. It was said of him that, having been disappointed of the see of S. Andrews, when Douglas was appointed, he preached a sermon against Episcopacy. He then told the people that there were three sorts of bishops—"My lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop." "My lord bishop," he said, "was in the Papistry; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; and the Lord's bishop is the true minister of the Gospel."†

The Earl of Morton, who had never been popular, resigned the regency at the desire of the King. In A.D. 1581, he was put to death as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.

NEED FOR THE REFORMATION.

The Scottish establishment still adhered to the titular system, but sweeping changes were at hand. While the Reformed party were strengthening their position by improving the character and education of their ministers, the Roman communion in Scotland was falling into a state of hopeless ruin. With one exception all the disestablished bishops deserted their flocks. The Reformation in general roused the Scottish nation to a higher intellectual and spiritual life. The very fact that such depraved men as Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray; Alexander Dunbar, Prior of Pluscardyn; and Walter Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, held such high positions in the diocese of Moray, shows the pressing need of a Reformation.

ESMÈ STEWART.

Esmè Stewart, nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, returned from France to Scotland in A.D. 1579. He was received kindly by the

* Calderwood, vol. iii., pp. 272-357. † Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 198.

youthful monarch, and soon rose high in the royal favour. His uncle, the titular Bishop of Caithness, having resigned the Earldom of Lennox, that dignity was bestowed by the King upon Esmè Stewart. The new Earl of Lennox had been brought up a staunch adherent of the Church of Rome,* and he was therefore closely watched by the Protestant ministers. James, by the advice of Lennox, now began to correspond with his mother, and break off political intercourse with England. Lennox was created a Duke, and James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, was made Earl of Arran. Even when, in 1580, Lennox professed the Protestant religion, he was not trusted. The ministers were right in their surmises that he wished to deliver Mary from captivity and re-establish the authority of Rome in Scotland. Associated with the Duke in his dangerous plots were the deprived bishops of the ancient line.

TITULAR EPISCOPACY CONDEMNED.

Andrew Melville was moderator in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in April, 1578. In this meeting all bishops and others bearing ecclesiastical functions were ordered to be called by their own names as simply brethren. An Assembly that met at Dundee on June 12th, A.D. 1580, passed an Act by which Episcopacy, as then established in Scotland, was formally condemned as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant in the Word of God.

PRESBYTERIES APPOINTED.

Next year James prepared what was called the King's Confession, a document protesting indiscriminately against the errors of the Church of Rome. It was sanctioned by the Assembly which met at Glasgow in April of the same year. Suggestions of the King proposing the erection of presbyteries throughout the kingdom were approved of at this meeting, and the Dundee Act against titular Episcopacy was ratified and explained. The Glasgow Assembly sanctioned a "Second Book of Discipline," in which a higher view was taken of ordination, and the imposition of hands was declared to be one of the appointed ceremonies for conferring the ministerial character. The older book, however, spoke with more reverence of the Christian sacraments.

The scandalous system of appointing what became known as "Tulchan Bishops" now became common in Scotland. Lennox appointed Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, Archbishop of

* Calderwood, vol. iii., pp. 347-397 ; Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., 194 206.

Glasgow, on condition that he was to hand over to himself the most of the revenues of the see. Such simoniacal compacts were then too common, and earned for the ecclesiastics concerned the opprobrious name of "Tulchan Bishops." A titular bishop was one consecrated after the reformed manner adopted at Leith. A tulchan bishop possessed the title and the benefice without the office: he obtained the appointment by agreeing to give up the most of the revenues to the patron.* The Assembly refused to confirm Montgomery's appointment, and he was excommunicated by the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

RAID OF RUTHVEN.

The conspiracy called the Raid of Ruthven took place in A.D. 1582, when the King, residing at the castle of Ruthven, was seized and made prisoner by the Earl of Gowrie and some associated barons. Religious strife was the cause of most of the plots then disturbing the kingdom. The success of the Raid of Ruthven made Melville and his party masters of the situation. As a sequel to it the General Assembly of A.D. 1582 ordered several presbyteries to accuse and try for alleged offences the titular bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunkeld, S. Andrews, Dunblane, and The Isles.

The Duke of Lennox died an exile at Paris, A.D. 1583. He deserves the most severe condemnation for his pretended conversion to the Protestant religion. In that year, the King, having escaped from his captors, recalled the Earl of Arran, and proclaimed the Raid of Ruthven treason. The Earl of Gowrie was seized and beheaded, and Melville and several other ministers fled to England.

CÆSARISM.

A struggle now arose between the King and the Assembly for the supremacy in matters spiritual. The Scottish Parliament of A.D. 1584, in which the Archbishop of S. Andrews and seven other titular bishops took their seats, proclaimed the royal supremacy over all estates spiritual as well as temporal. Such claims for the authority of Cæsar, in things that were not his, were destined to be a fertile source of civil strife in days to come.

In A.D. 1585, a number of the barons having rebelled against the King, compelled him to surrender to them at Stirling. These

* "Tulchan" was explained to be a Scotch word in the Assembly of 1639. When a cow refused to let down her milk, a calf's skin full of straw was set down before the cow to induce her to give milk, and that was called a tulchan.

associated lords enforced the severe laws upon Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. Lord Maxwell was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle for causing mass to be sung, and James Gibson, a reformed minister, was detained in custody for comparing the King to Jeroboam.

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY.

Mary Queen of Scots was put to death in A.D. 1587 by order of the Queen of England. This execution will be an everlasting stain upon the name of Elizabeth. She had connived several times at Mary's assassination, and no one was deceived by her pretence that Mary's life was sacrificed against her will.

The King of Scotland was married in 1589 to Anne, daughter of the King of Denmark. The right of unction was used at the new Queen's coronation, in spite of the objections of several of the ministers.

The titular system could no longer withstand the attacks of Melville and his party in the General Assembly. The triumph of Presbyterianism over the opposing system would have been more complete at this time, had the orders of the Assembly been seconded by the State. There was now, however, a complete disconnection between the ministers and those who represented them in Parliament. In vain had the Assembly directed proceedings to be taken against the titular bishops; they still continued to hold their civil rank and privileges. *

The next two events of importance were the revolt of the Roman Catholic barons, and the birth of a son to Queen Anne. When the rebellion was subdued, James offended the ministers by refusing to proscribe all the adherents of the ancient religion. The young prince was baptized in A.D. 1594, by the titular Bishop of Aberdeen, under the name of Frederick Henry.

LAST ROMAN CATHOLIC SERVICE IN ELGIN CATHEDRAL.

The last Roman Catholic service in Elgin Cathedral took place in A.D. 1595. The Roman Catholic nobles were again in rebellion, and James, advancing northwards with his army, laid the castles of Strathbogie and of Slains in ruins. Mass was sung for the last time in Elgin Cathedral, when James Gordon, uncle of the Earl of Huntly, ascending the pulpit, vainly endeavoured to rouse his kinsmen to one

* Calderwood vol. v., pp. 17, 147, 261-309.

more effort for the ancient faith. Shortly after this the rebel lords sailed for the continent of Europe.

The struggle for supremacy still went on between the ministers and the State. David Black, minister of S. Andrews, having spoken disrespectfully of Queen Elizabeth and Anne of Denmark, was summoned before the Privy Council. His part was taken by a permanent committee of the ministers that sat at Edinburgh. A proclamation of the King declared the meetings of this committee to be illegal. James was engaged with the Lords of Session in the Tolbooth, when it was surrounded by a mob sympathising with the ministers. In the afternoon of the same day, the King refused the petition of some nobles and ministers who went to Holyrood to request the surrender to them of some obnoxious counsellors. James refused to receive the deputation, and departed next day to Linlithgow. On December 18th, 1596, the day after the riot, the King ordered the courts of law to be removed from Edinburgh. The ministers were denounced by James as the authors of the whole disturbance. Some of them having requested Lord Hamilton to head a revolt against the King, his majesty ordered the magistrates of Edinburgh to apprehend them. Thereupon the disaffected ministers left the capital, to which the King returned on January 1st, 1597, amid the rejoicings of the people.

ECCLESIASTICAL SYNOD AT PERTH.

By command of the King, the Scottish Estates and an Ecclesiastical Synod met at Perth on February 1st, 1597. Certain questions were prepared for this meeting about the jurisdiction and polity of the Church. The meeting was asked such questions as these:—Have any others than the pastors of the Church a voice in excommunication? Is it lawful to excommunicate such papists as have never professed the reformed religion? Has not a Christian King power to annul a notoriously unjust sentence of excommunication?

It was evident from the beginning of the proceedings that the ministers present from the north of Scotland were of a different mind from those of the metropolis, who were called "the Popes of Edinburgh." Those from Angus had been connected with Erskine of Dun, and those from Aberdeen and Moray were actuated by feelings of esteem to the house of Gordon. They were for these reasons disposed to be tolerant towards Episcopacy. Those present agreed in general to the thirteen articles laid before them by the King. Ministers were

not to be allowed to meddle with affairs of State in the pulpit, and, with the exception of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods, no meetings of pastors were to be held without the King's consent. At the request of the ministers present at Perth, the King allowed Bruce and his friends to return to Edinburgh.

THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.

An Assembly which met at Dundee ratified the Perth agreement, and ordered that all ministers should be ordained with imposition of hands. The Parliament, which met in December A.D. 1597, enacted that all ministers preferred by the King to the office of bishop or abbot should vote in Parliament as others holding the same office in former days. At this time James published a book, composed by himself, under the title of "*Basilikon Doron.*" The volume recommended the restoration of Episcopacy as conducive to the welfare of Church and State. The King's policy for restoring Episcopacy had as little to recommend it as the plots and political intrigues employed by Melville to abolish it. Another of these plots, called the Gowrie Conspiracy, took place about this time. The King was decoyed to Gowrie House, and there was threatened by Alexander Ruthven, and his brother, the Earl of Gowrie. The royal attendants, hearing the shouts of James, burst in and slew both the Earl and his brother. In this way was frustrated another attempt to hand over the government to Elizabeth and Melville's party.

VACANT BISHOPRICS FILLED UP.

Towards the end of the year 1600, several of the vacant bishoprics were filled up. Alexander Douglas was then nominated to the see of Moray, and took his seat that year in the Scottish Parliament along with others appointed to other sees.

TEMPORALITIES OF THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

James VI., after the death of George Douglas, titular Bishop of Moray, erected the remaining lands of the see into a temporal lordship. These lands were given to Alexander Lindsay, brother-german to David, Earl of Crawford, under the title and designation of Lord Spynie. In 1606, King James got a resignation of the property on behalf of the Church for a considerable sum of money.* These were restored to the Church in the episcopate of Alexander Douglas.

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 89.

DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Queen Elizabeth died on March 24th, 1603. The King of Scotland was at once acknowledged her successor, and became the monarch of both kingdoms. He entered London, welcomed by the joyful shouts of his English subjects.*

* Calderwood, vol. v., pp. 261-411, 577-647.

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY IN 1638.

CHAPTER VIII.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

"This is a true saying, If man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work."—1 TIMOTHY iii. 1.

CORONATION OF JAMES I. OF ENGLAND.

JOYFUL pæans were heard over all the land, when, in A.D. 1603, James VI. of Scotland was crowned in Westminster Abbey as the successor of Elizabeth Tudor. A Scottish monarch sat once again upon the "Stone of Destiny" which the "Hammer of the Scottish nation" had carried off from Scone. The union of the two nations was peacefully accomplished under the providence of God by the succession of a descendant of the Bruce to the English throne. But could any one at the time have made a forecast of the ecclesiastical occurrences that were to happen in Scotland during the seventeenth century, the rejoicings would have been mingled with an alloy of sadness and sorrow. That forecast would have enumerated, among other events, the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland by means of the secular arm; the signing of the National Covenant, and the abolition of Episcopacy in northern Britain in A.D. 1638; the civil war and the execution of Charles I.; the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland in A.D. 1660; the second disestablishment of Scottish Episcopacy in A.D. 1688; and the expulsion of the Stuart line of kings from the British throne.

THE SPOTTISWOODE BISHOPS.

England and Scotland were now one in a political sense, but it was to be a more difficult task to assimilate the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the two nations. It took a whole century to bring about the union of the English and Scottish Parliaments, while the various attempts to effect ecclesiastical unity between the two nations were to be utter failures. Impossible, it may be, to combine the

principles of the Church of Rome with those of the Anglican communion. But why should it be so difficult to unite the other Christian communities of northern and southern Britain? Unbelief and sin triumph by means of divisions among Christians, and God may yet bring about this spiritual concord in His own good time: "Man proposes, but God disposes."

One of the first actions of James as King of Great Britain was the attempt to assimilate the systems of Church government, north and south of the Cheviot Hills. Favouring Episcopacy, "as being more suitable to a monarchical form of government in the State," James very early took steps to restore Episcopal government in Scotland. A few days before his coronation at Westminster, James nominated John Spottiswoode to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow vacant, as the King said in his letter of nomination, by the decease of "James Beaton, late lawful archbishop thereof."* Spottiswoode, the royal nominee, was minister at Calder. George Gladstanes, formerly appointed titular Bishop of Caithness by the King, was now made Archbishop of S. Andrews, and Alexander Forbes, minister of Fettercairn, was named Bishop of Caithness. Also George Græme, minister at Scone, was declared titular Bishop of Dunblane. These appointments were made solely by royal authority, and without any reference to the clergy of the various districts or the General Assembly. When the Assembly met at Aberdeen in July, A.D. 1604, it was at once adjourned by the King's command. A royal mandate, forbidding the adjourned Assembly to meet again, was disregarded by a small number of the ministers. They met at Aberdeen on July 2nd, A.D. 1605, and elected a moderator. For this act of disobedience, John Forbes, minister of Alford, and John Welsh, minister of Ayr, were indicted before the Court of Justiciary, found guilty, and sent to prison. Nothing can justify these harsh proceedings, which were not calculated to commend the restored episcopate to the people of Scotland. At the time a truly Erastian spirit pervaded the whole State.†

But notwithstanding their appointments by the King, the new so-called bishops were not members of the Historic Episcopate at all. Far too much was made of the civil appointment to a bishopric; the

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 283.

† Thomas Erastus was a learned German physician, who maintained that the Church is a mere instrument of the State, and depended upon it for its existence and authority.

spiritual character of that apostolic office was for a time lost sight of altogether. The Parliament was held at Perth in July, A.D. 1606, and the two archbishops and the bishops of Moray, Dunkeld, Galloway, Ross, Dunblane, and Caithness rode to it in great state as prelates of the Church. As a matter of fact they were not bishops at all, having not then received consecration. Without consecration, the civil appointment was in itself of little value.

On October 21st, A.D. 1610, Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow; Andrew Lamb, Bishop of Brechin; and Gavin Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, were consecrated in the Chapel-Royal by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester, the two English metropolitans not being allowed to assist, lest any claim for jurisdiction might be set up by these prelates or their successors over the Scottish Church. The newly made bishops, on their return to Scotland, consecrated George Gladstanes Archbishop of S. Andrews, in that primatial city. Alexander Douglas was consecrated Bishop of Moray in March, A.D. 1611, and by the month of May of the same year all the bishops of the province of S. Andrews had received consecration.

The Spottiswoode succession of bishops was duly established in this way. A meeting of the bishops and some of the leading ministers was held at Edinburgh in February, A.D. 1611, at which certain directions issued by the King received approval. These directions ordered that no minister should be admitted without trial and imposition of hands by the bishop and two or three ministers, called in by him to assist.

The time for this re-introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland was most unfortunate, for the nation was about to enter upon a terrible struggle for civil and religious liberty. Had the new bishops crossed the Tweed with their spiritual commissions only, with their Bibles and Prayer Books in their hands, and the love of souls in their hearts, it would have been better far than entering, as they did, leaning on the secular arm. The Spottiswoode succession, unfortunate as was its origin, had much to be proud of in its history. It possessed both bishops and clergy who were bright and shining lights in their day and generation, and who shed a lustre not only over Scotland but over all Christendom. The first Spottiswoode Bishop of Moray was Alexander Douglas.

ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Alexander Douglas was minister of Elgin for seventeen years

before he was preferred to the diocese of Moray. He became titular bishop of the see as early as 1600, taking his seat as a spiritual peer in the Scottish Parliament before he had been actually consecrated. Archbishop Gladstanes, as already observed, was consecrated by the prelates who had themselves been consecrated in London. In March 1611, Gladstanes, no doubt assisted by other bishops, consecrated Alexander Douglas as Bishop of Moray in his own primatial city. Bishop Alexander Douglas was most assiduous in the performance of his episcopal duties, and was greatly beloved by his people. He died in 1623, and was buried in S. Giles' Church, Elgin. His widow built a vault in that church to receive her husband's remains. A monument erected there was afterwards removed to Elgin Cathedral. The following is a translation of the epitaph on this bishop's tomb :—

"Here sleeps in the Lord, the Reverend Father in Christ, Mr. Alexander Douglas, a Bishop most vigilant, because with the highest praise he did good, as pastor to this city, and as Bishop over the whole of Moray, and he was over them for 41 years. He died in the 62nd year of his age, on May 11th, 1623, having left behind him Alexander and Mary his children, and his wife, a grave woman, not less truly religious than generous, at whose expense this sepulchre was built.

"Always watch, that if thou knowest not when He shall come, He may find thee prepared ; Blessed are those who die in the Lord ; This corruption shall put on incorruption."

THE PERTH ARTICLES.

In 1615, Archbishop Spottiswoode was translated from Glasgow to S. Andrews on the death of Archbishop Gladstanes. A new confession of faith was agreed to in 1616 at a General Assembly, over which Archbishop Spottiswoode presided. The Scottish Parliament, in 1617, gave to the King the absolute right of nominating to vacant Scottish sees. James visited Scotland that same year. The year 1617 was also notable as being that of the famous Perth Assembly, which passed five articles enjoining (1) Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion ; (2) Private Communion for the sick ; (3) Baptism of young children ; (4) Confirmation ; (5) The observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. These articles, approved of by 86 members of the Assembly, against 45 who disapproved of them, were afterwards ratified by Parliament. A considerable number of ministers who refused to obey the Perth Articles were suspended or deprived by the High

Court of Commission. Such rash and hasty proceedings on the part of the State raised against Episcopacy in Scotland much of that prejudice from which it was to suffer most severely in after days. The best of causes must sustain loss when relying on the advocacy of the sword.

JOHN GUTHRIE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

"*Instruit exemplo populum Guthræus et ore;*
Pellicit hoc, illo saxea corda trahit."

("Guthrie preached Christ by life and voice,
Luring hard hearts to better choice.")

DR. ARTHUR JOHNSON.

John Guthrie belonged to the family of Guthrie in Angus. He was educated at S. Andrews, and subsequently became minister at Perth. From the Fair City he was removed to a charge in Edinburgh, and was consecrated Bishop of Moray in A.D. 1623.

DEATH OF JAMES I. AND CORONATION OF CHARLES I.

James I. died in A.D. 1625, and was succeeded by Charles, his second son. Ecclesiastical parties in Scotland were then divided into those who supported the Perth Articles, and those who opposed them. Soon after Charles ascended the throne a practical toleration had been brought about regarding these articles.

CORONATION OF CHARLES I.

Charles I. was crowned King of Scotland at Holyrood in June, 1633, by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by the Bishops of Moray, Ross, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Brechin. On this occasion Bishop Guthrie, as "Lord Elymosinar," threw out of his hand, among the crowd of people within the church, certain pieces of silver, coined for the purpose, in token of joy.*

BISHOP GUTHRIE PREACHES BEFORE THE KING.

Two days after the coronation, the Scottish Estates went in procession from Holyrood to their place of meeting. Bishop Guthrie took his place in the cavalcade next to the Bishop of London, but nearer to the King. On the following Sunday the Bishop of Moray preached before the King in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh. The

* Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. i., p. 23.

preacher was, says Spalding, vested "in his rochet, which is a white linen or lawn drawn on above his coat, above the whilk his black gown was put on, and his arms through the gown sleeves, and above the gown sleeves is also white linen or lawn drawn on, shapen like a sleeve."*

BISHOP GUTHRIE'S LETTER ON THE DEATH OF BISHOP PATRICK FORBES.

Patrick Forbes, the learned and saintly Bishop of Aberdeen, was called to his rest on March 28th, 1635. Many panegyrics were pronounced upon his life of usefulness to the Scottish Church and nation. One of the best of these appeared in the form of a letter from the "Right Reverend Father in God, John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, to John Forbes of Corse, in recordation of his Father, Patrick Forbes of Corse, late Bishop of Aberdeen." The letter gives us an insight into the learning and intellectual ability of the writer, and reads as follows :—

"*To my Reverend and Dear Brother, John Forbes of Corse, Doctor in Divinity.*

"REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—

"The tidings of the departure of your most reverend father put a sore knell to my heart, and, doubtless, that wound had gone deeper if, with Job, the thing that I was afraid of had not come unto me. At my last loosing from him, which (ye remember) was few days, or rather hours, before his dissolution, I had no small wrestling in my breast betwixt joy and grief. Grief, I say, and no wonder, being to part from one who was to me in place of many, and see his face no more. Yet had I been unthankful to God, and undutiful to him with whose soul my soul was so nearly knit, if I had not rejoiced in that grace of God which I saw so abundantly in him, made manifest by the gracious speeches which, at that time, dropped from his lips: these two evils which have been accustomed in extremities to affect the strongest, moved him not at all. Not *acerbitas doloris*;—sleep had departed from his eyes—appetite to meat or drink was gone; thus nature had failed, and medicine could no more work, yet all so patiently endured; yea, so kindly and graciously accepted, as was wonderful. Neither did the fear of death, which is *omnium terribilium terribilissimum*, vex him. He was not, at that time, to begin his acquaintance with it, as he, at that instant, professed to our great

* Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. i., pp. 24, 26.

comfort who heard him; and thereupon called to mind a memorable story, which he deduced, at length, to our great admiration. Death was become familiar to him, and esteemed to be *in lucro.* He was not as a tree hewn down by violence, but as a sheaf of corn coming in due season into the barn. Having served his Master above seventy years, he could say with Hilarion—'Egredere anima mea, quomodo mortem formidabo, quæ me meo Creatori sit redditura.' What the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, prayed often for—'That he might die such a death as hindered not his speech,' was granted to your most reverend father; and more, having his speech articulate and distinct as ever, memory and judgment, above all that could have been expected. His last trust to me, which was his greatest care on earth, concerning the filling of that See with a man furnished as the necessity both of time and place requireth, hath been in part already, and shall yet more fully (when occasion shall offer) by the grace of God, be discharged by me. A great prelate is fallen in our Israel. The hole wherein that cedar stood argueth his greatness, and will not be easily filled. The Lord in His mercy provide. In calling these things to mind, I may be readily thought a miserable comforter; but, having to do with a man of understanding, I am confident to obtain leave to fix my tabernacle here a little, and communicate with you what have been the thoughts of my heart concerning him who was your father and mine; the man on earth, I must acknowledge, whose counsel availed me most in the manifold distresses which were common to us both. I had a reverent estimation of him while he was living, and know well how steadable he was both in Church and Commonwealth; but now being dead, I know how it is that my affection is more bended than when he was living. 'Dulciora videntur omnia, carentibus,' said Nicolas de Clamangis, upon the death of his dear friend. They who have been in their life profitable to others, and by whose life much more good may be expected, no marvel if they be still lamented. But he is gone. 'Abiit non obiit.' We have somewhat of him that remains after death; the body gone to the earth, there to rest under the hope of that blessed resurrection, *illo mane;* the spirit returned to Him who gave it. His good name, better then a good ointment, remaineth with us; and what he was, and hath done, shall be spoken of throughout the world for a remembrance of him, both for his commendation and incitation of others who shall hear of him. His memory is blessed. Those who truly fear God speak of your most reverend father with

all respect; they speak of him (to the great joy of my heart) what hath been observable in him from his very first beginning—a child of God—one who early sought Him; and a man of God, who being planted in the House of God, and flourishing in His courts, hath continued to bring forth fruit, even in his old age. Ye will excuse me if (falling on this subject) I enlarge myself a little, and make faithful relation to you of that which I have received from the mouths of those of best note in the kingdom, and whereto I myself, in the most part, have been privy.

"That blessed Apostle S. Paul, served God from his elders; from them he took his being, from them his piety and religion. Timothy, the first Bishop of Ephesus, had the like from his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice. And was not this a great mercy of God towards your most reverend father, that he was the son of your grandfather, whose name is great in the Church for his zeal towards God and his religion, his conversation being answerable thereto. His care in the education of his children, of whom God hath given good store, was not the least or last part of his commendation. Here from it came that your reverend father, who, as his first born, had right to the double portion, spent not the most and greatest part of his younger years, *in trivialibus et juvenilibus*, which being the case of that great Basil, was frequently deplored and lamented by him; but I remember when I was yet of very tender years to have seen him at S. Andrews, following the study of divinity with great approbation. Then was he laying a good foundation for the time to come. God Almighty had shaped him for another course of life than he intended; who loved always to be exercised in reading, writing, informing, and instructing others, by declining all public charge. That could not be. The Church had need of him, therefore he could not be hid. Herefrom came his employments public—first at the church of Keith, to the which he was in a manner forced by the earnest entreaties, yea, and obtestations, of those of the ministry of most respect in the Diocese of Moray, where that church lieth; and Aberdeen, who had no small either loss or gain by the plantation thereof. His labour there in the Lord was not in vain; *res ipsa loquitur*, and the posterity shall retain the monuments. But there might he not stay, howbeit as unwilling to leave, as he was first to undergo that charge. He pursued not honour, but honour pursued him, as Nazianzen said of St. Basil; or as Cyprian of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome—'Episcopatum ipsum, nec postulavit, nec voluit, nec ut cæteri quos arrogantiæ et

superbiæ suæ tumor inflat, invasit, sed quietus et modestus, et quales esse consueverunt, qui ad hunc locum divinitus eligutur.' And a little after—'Ipse vim passus est, ut Episcopatum coactus acciperet.' The like is recorded of S. Cyprian himself and others, who have done most good in the Church of God. I think in his translation to Aberdeen I see the worthy emperor Theodosius taking Nazianzen from the strait and little church wherein he taught, and putting him in a more large and famous, with these words—'Pater, tibi et sudoribus tuis, Deus per nos Ecclesiam tribuit.' What joy was to all honest minded men in his promotion, who thought no less of him than the great Constantine was accustomed to speak of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea—'Felicem Eusebium, qui non unius urbis, sed orbis prope totius Episcopatu dignus esset.' In him was the vive upset of the ancient renowned Bishops, Ambrose, Augustine, &c. No dumb dog, but endued with the tongue of the learned: he could speak a word in season. And it was seen in him what S. Augustine observed of S. Ambrose—'In populo verbum veritatis recte tractantem, omni die Dominico.' Wherein your most reverend father was so instant, that notwithstanding of his great age and multitude of affairs, for which scarcely any one man was sufficient, yet could he not hearken to them, who, pitying him, wished him to forbear preaching, and pity himself. Preaching was not all; he preached *viva voce*; that is, *vita et voce.* The course of his life and all his conversation was such as the devil himself, speaking against him, shall be quickly detected. With what wisdom, care, and authority he governed that See, there is none who knoweth not. *Bonis amabilis, improbis formidabilis, utrisque admirabilis.* It must be truly said of him as of that worthy Jehoiada—'He hath done good in Israel, and towards God and His House.' As there was no virtue requisite in an accomplished prelate which was not in an eminent degree to be found in him, so was there no state or person within his reach which did not partake of his good; that bishopric which, by injury of time, wickedness of some, and negligence of his predecessors, was almost brought to the last cast, had him a restorer. Your worthy and famous university, founded by Bishop Elphinstone, and hospital by Bishop Dunbar, may vaunt of him as of a second founder. Those churches in that Diocese which (I neither can nor will say, were united, but) knit together in couples, to the destruction of many thousand souls; and by his great wisdom and pains have been sundered, and severally planted, may cry—'Hosanna, blessed,' &c. The prophets, and children of the

prophets, to whom he was always most affable, and who came to him as a father and oracle, in all their doubts and distresses, may now cry—'My father! my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!' The country people, both nobility, gentry, and others, who had him a common arbiter for settling their questions and jars, have good reason now to take heed to themselves, and be more calm and quiet, they know not where to find an odsman* and composer of their affairs, so wise, faithful, and painful as he was. I will not mention his beneficence to poor friends and others in necessity. I have both overseen and overheard in my travels with him, when he hath done with the right hand what he would not have the left hand to know. This is not all yet. His good was not confined in these bounties; the most eminent seats in the kingdom found their loss in his fall. How modest and grave was his carriage! What wisdom and solemnity was in his advices! Such weight and authority was in all his speeches, that I may truly say, 'When he spake the princes stayed talk, and laid their hand on their mouth: after his words they replied not, and his talk dropped on them.' One thing graced all his doings at home and abroad, in public and private; his sincerity and godly pureness. It may be said most justly of him, that Nazianzen said of Basil, Ἔλαι γὰρ οὐ δοκεῖν ἐσπούδασεν ἄριστος—'He cared not for the applause of men.' The praise that Cicero gave to Brutus, and Marcelline to Prætextatus, is more competent to him, who 'did nothing to please, but whatsoever he did, pleased.' My affection hath drawn me farther than I intended; ye will pardon me. I must draw to that which hath withdrawn him from us. That peremptory question propounded by the royal prophet, 'What man liveth and shall not see death?' I acknowledge to be a triumphant negative, and will give no other answer than that of the great Apostle, 'Statutum est omnibus semel mori.' But I see under that, a singular providence of our God in the death of his secret ones, which he acknowledgeth to 'be precious in his sight.' How many have sought after the life of your most reverend father, laid their snares, consulted together in heart, and made a league against him, and others with him, not for his or their offence, but for righteousness sake; let this suffice for you who knoweth the guise. But God hath not given him over to the will of his adversaries; he is gone to his grave in peace, and in a full age, maugre their hearts; and that same God hath filled their faces with shame; they have

* *Odsman*=Arbiter.

begun to fall, and shall surely fall; a part of them hath been as stubble, and the rest will be found in their monethes. This is the Lord's work, and is marvellous in our eyes. He hath fought that good fight, finished his course, kept the faith, and now enjoyeth the crown. His departure is *aliorum majore damno quam suo.* Most justly may I say of him, as that famous P. Martyr wrote concerning the most learned Bucer, the two lights of those two glorious Universities of Cambridge and Oxford—'Nunc ille ad suum nostrumque Dominum Jesum Christum, in pace migravit. Magno omnium piorum luctu, et meo inter cæteros maximo.' And a little after—'Illi optime consultum est, nos miseri et infœlices habendi sumus, qui adhuc procellis calamitatum jactamur.' The taking away of the righteous and men of merit is a prognostication of evil to come. The Lord make us wise to prevent it, and careful, every man in his station, to prove faithful. Hereafter (dear brother) you must be to me instead of your father And my wish as my hope is, that this Church shall have a rod out of that stock, a younger Gregory Nazianzen to fill the room of the elder. In the meantime, let me entreat you to make use of me as one who, reverencing the grace of God in you, will study to prove himself your most affectionate loving brother in Christ, "Jo., *B. of Moray.*

"Edin., 4 Apr., 1635."

THE SCOTTISH SERVICE BOOK.

We can see from Bishop Guthrie's letter that he had a prognostication of evils that were soon to come upon the Church. Ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland were in a very disturbed state, and the publication of the Service Book was the event that brought matters to a crisis. Charles I. authorised the preparation of a new book of canons for Scotland on May 23rd, 1635. Such a course of action had always been deprecated by Bishop Patrick Forbes, and it was an irreparable misfortune for the Scottish Church that his wise counsels were so soon forgotten. The new book of canons mentioned expressly the Book of Common Prayer, Archbishop Laud having advised that only the English Service Book should be used in Scotland. Ever since the Court had been removed from Edinburgh to London, the Scottish people had been most jealous of English interference, and the Scottish bishops thought that a liturgy prepared in Scotland would be most acceptable to the nation. Laud's influence in the preparation of the Scottish book

was, however, so evident that it was fatal to the acceptance of the Liturgy. The sequel is well known. The Scottish Service Book was read for the first and last time in the High Kirk of Edinburgh on July 23rd, 1637, amid an unparalleled scene of tumult and disorder.

THE NEW SERVICE BOOK IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

Bishop Guthrie presided over the Synod of Moray on the first Tuesday of October, 1637. He then desired the ministers present to buy and use the Service Book as the King had commanded. Spalding tells us that some of the ministers did buy the book, that some took time to consider the matter, and others refused. The bishops had paid £4 each for the printing of the book, and every minister was expected to pay this sum for a copy of it.* A storm of wind having blown down the couples standing on the College Kirk of Elgin on December 4th, 1637, the superstitious regarded the misfortune as an omen of coming troubles. Early in March, 1638, Bishop Guthrie was joined by Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, who had fled from his diocese, after some scholars had destroyed the Service Books used by him in the Chanonry Church of Ross.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

On February 28th, 1638, the National Covenant, which had been drawn up by the opponents of Episcopacy, was signed at Edinburgh by an immense multitude of people. A like result took place in other parts of Scotland, the chief exceptions being the Universities of Aberdeen and S. Andrews, where the principles set forth in the National Covenant were formally condemned. The compact did not receive universal acceptance in the diocese of Moray, many in that district refusing to sign the agreement. In this state of matters the King sent down to Scotland the Marquis of Hamilton as Royal Commissioner, to attempt the difficult task of restoring order in the northern Church and kingdom. The Scottish bishops, seeing that the cause of Episcopacy was hopeless, fled to England, the noble exceptions being the Bishops of Moray and Aberdeen.†

* Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. i. pp. 59, 61.

† In a minute of the Strathbogie Presbytery Record of August 1st, 1638, Bishop Guthrie is mentioned for the last time as bishop; further on in the Record he is called the *late* Bishop of Moray.

THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY.

Charles, having vainly tried to stem the progress of the Covenant by commanding his subjects to sign a document called the Negative Confession, summoned a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow on November 21st, 1638. A meeting of the Presbytery of Strathbogie was convened to meet at Botary, on October 20th, to elect commissioners for the Assembly. This meeting having been held as arranged, the Rev. Joseph Brodie, of Keith, and the Rev. John Annand, of Kinnoir, were nominated and chosen as commissioners for the Glasgow Assembly. One of the commissioners chosen from another Presbytery of the diocese of Moray was the Rev. Murdoch Mackenzie, of Elgin.* When the Assembly met, the two Scottish Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin, sent in letters of declinature, protesting against the jurisdiction of the gathering. It was clear that nothing could save Episcopacy, and on the 28th of November, the Marquis of Hamilton, having declared the Assembly dissolved, left the meeting along with the Lords of the Council. Next day the brethren again met, as if no interruption had taken place, and declared that Episcopacy should be abolished. Sentences were pronounced against the bishops, and the most of them were excommunicated.

THE STRATHBOGIE COMMISSIONERS LEAVE THE ASSEMBLY.

The Glasgow Assembly continued to sit after the King's Commissioner had declared it dissolved, only a few members objecting. Among these were the commissioners from Strathbogie, the Rev. John Annand and the Rev. Joseph Brodie. The latter, who was the son-in-law of Bishop Guthrie, could scarcely be expected to vote for the deposition of his father-in-law. These two ministers went to the Marquis of Hamilton, at the close of the day's proceedings, on the 29th of November, and humbly desired him to tell them what they should do. "They were cast in two extremes," they said, "between disobedience to their King and disobedience to the other members of the Assembly." The Marquis told them they might sit still, and remain with the rest of the Assembly. "Oh, but," said the Rev. Joseph Brodie, "your Grace has commanded them to rise under pain of treason—how shall we do for that?" "That's true," said the Commissioner, "and I cannot but commend your loyalty

* *Strathbogie Presbytery Record* of Sept. 25th, and Oct. 20th, 1638.

and if you will let me know your names particularly, and where you live, I will make your fidelity and obedience known to his Majesty." Having taken a note of their names, Hamilton asked the two ministers if they wanted anything for their journey homeward. They replied that they wanted nothing, and took leave of his Grace. The Strathbogie commissioners returned home soon after this interview, without waiting for the close of the Assembly.*

DEPOSITION OF THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS.

The Glasgow Assembly deposed the Scottish Bishops and other ministers upon charges against them, either partially or entirely false. Accusations made by enemies in the absence of the accused, are not worth consideration.

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST BISHOP GUTHRIE.

Bishop Guthrie was accused of a breach of the cautions, and of putting on his surplice in the High Church of Edinburgh in 1633. It was also alleged against him that he "had then professed that, for to please the King, he would become yet more vile." "The bishop," they said, "had sold churches, and particularly the benefice of Aberchirder," "to Mr. Richard Maitland, which, if it were true, it's like that Mr. Richard bought it dear, being accused by the Presbytery of Strathbogie at that time for having bought it from the cedent (Mr. Walter Hay)." Further accusations made against the bishop at the Glasgow Assembly, were that he had given warrant to baptize illegitimate children without satisfaction by the ministry, or satisfaction by the party; and that he had suffered one Mr. John Peter to teach Arminianism.

EXCOMMUNICATION OF BISHOP GUTHRIE.

Some dispute arose in the Assembly about the manner of pronouncing sentence upon the Bishop of Moray, because he had not been personally cited. The bishop had not signed the letter of declinature, and there were hopes that he might join the Presbyterian side. He was therefore deposed for the time, but his deposition was to be made perpetual if he did not make his public repentance in Edinburgh, where "he had preached before King Charles with a surplice, to the great scandal of the people there." Ultimate refusal to submit to the Assembly was to be followed by excommunication;

* Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. ii., p. 7.

which was afterwards pronounced upon the Bishop of Moray in Edinburgh by Mr. Henry Rollock.*

THE BISHOPS EXCOMMUNICATED.

Sentences of summary excommunication were pronounced against the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin. The Bishop of Moray, as already stated, and the Bishops of Orkney, Argyll, and The Isles, were to be excommunicated if they did not submit.

BISHOP GUTHRIE FORTIFIES SPYNIE CASTLE.

As early as May, 1638, Bishop Guthrie fortified his castle of Spynie, having collected men, ammunition, and provisions for its defence.†

BISHOP GUTHRIE FORMALLY DEPRIVED AT ELGIN.

Bishop Guthrie continued to preach, notwithstanding the anathemas which had been pronounced against him. But in the spring of 1639, the Rev. John Hay, minister at Rafford, the Rev. David Dunbar, minister at Ardclash, and William Ross, Provost of Nairn, all Covenanters and commissioners of the General Assembly, met the bishop after service at the church door in Elgin. There and then they publicly intimated to him the sentence of deprivation. They also charged the bishop to make public repentance, and took instrument. The Bishop of Moray had preached up to this time, but after this he preached no more publicly. He had taken no notice of his deprivation, remaining in his castle of Spynie, which he had fortified.‡

* Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. ii., pp. 138, 140.

† Spalding's *Hist. of the Troubles*, vol. i., p. 65. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 112.

FROM THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY, IN 1638, TO ITS RE-ESTABLISHMENT, 1661.

CHAPTER IX.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED).

"These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."—REVELATION vii. 14.

CAPITULATION OF SPYNIE CASTLE.

MAJOR-GENERAL MONRO, at the head of 300 men, advanced against Spynie Castle in July, 1640, leaving the rest of his army in Strathbogie. Monro also took with him several pieces of ordnance. The Rev. Joseph Brodie, minister of Keith, had joined the Covenanters, seeing their cause like to prosper, and forgetting his protestations of loyalty to the Marquis of Hamilton at Glasgow. He, having some influence with the Covenanting general, persuaded him to deal leniently with his father-in-law, the Bishop of Moray. On the way to Spynie, Monro was joined by several barons and gentlemen. On the 16th of July, after a parley with the Covenanting general, Bishop Guthrie delivered up to him the keys of the castle. The general and some soldiers, having entered the house, were kindly entertained by its inmates. Beyond plundering the arms, and the bishop's riding horse, saddle, and bridle, Monro did no further damage. Twenty-four musketeers were left in the castle, with orders not to give any trouble to Bishop Guthrie's household.*

BISHOP GUTHRIE A PRISONER IN THE TOLBOOTH.

In September, 1640, General Monro marched southwards to Edinburgh with an army of 1000 men, taking with him the Bishop of Moray as a prisoner. The prelate was led a captive through the streets of the metropolis, and delivered up to the Scottish Estates. They ordered the Bishop to be confined in the Tolbooth prison, where his wife and family were unable to visit him.

* Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. i., p. 239.

RELEASE OF BISHOP GUTHRIE.

In 1641, the Bishop of Moray petitioned the General Assembly to set him at liberty, but no heed was given to his request, as the bishop refused to surrender his religious principles. The Scottish Parliament, more merciful than the Assembly, set Bishop Guthrie at liberty, after a harsh imprisonment of fourteen months, on condition that he should not return to his diocese.

BISHOP GUTHRIE'S FAMILY LEAVE SPYNIE.

Mrs. Guthrie and her family remained at Spynie till May, 1642, when she sent away all her household goods to Forfarshire, and delivered up the keys of the castle to the Earl of Moray. Accompanied by her two sons, the Rev. John Guthrie, minister of Duffus, and Mr. Patrick Guthrie, she proceeded by the way of Aberdeen to her husband's estate of Guthrie in Angus.*

A MORAY CLERGYMAN ACCUSED OF LISTENING TO BISHOP GUTHRIE.

The Moray Synod held a visitation at Rothiemay on February 25th, 1640, to report upon the life and conversation of the Rev. Alexander Innes. After the elders present had given their evidence in favour of Mr. Innes, the latter was asked if he had held any conversation with the excommunicated Bishop Guthrie. He answered that he did converse with Bishop, having lived with him at Spynie for three nights. Mr. Innes being asked whom he had heard preach on the Sabbath, replied that he had heard Mr. John Guthrie, late bishop, preach in the chapel of Spynie. Mr. Innes was afterwards deposed from his charge for refusing to sign the Covenant.†

DEATH OF REV. JOHN GUTHRIE, SON OF THE BISHOP.

The Rev. John Guthrie was summoned before the Presbyterian Assembly at Aberdeen, in 1640, to answer for his opposition to the Covenant. Guthrie was a man of a mild temper, pious and grave in his deportment; but he was the son of a bishop, and could not be passed over. Sentence was delayed in the hope that he would conform, like his brother-in-law, the Rev. Joseph Brodie. All was to no purpose, and Mr. Guthrie was finally deposed for "his constant scroupling at the Covenant." Even among his enemies hardly any

* Spalding's *History of the Troubles*, vol. ii., pp. 12, 13.

† *Moray Synod Register*, of date October 27th, 1640.

one could be found to malign this gentle pastor; and he died before his father, most likely of a broken heart.*

LETTER OF BISHOP GUTHRIE TO GEORGE HAY OF RANNEAS.

George Hay of Ranneas, preceptor of the Bede House of Rathven, was married to Agnes, one of the daughters of Bishop Guthrie. The following letter was written by the bishop to his son-in-law in 1643:—

From Bishop Guthrie.†

"For my worshipfull and loving George Hay of Ranneas (*dorso*).

"Grace and peace be with you.

"Worshipfull and loving Sone,—Your letter was verie acceptable to me, and I thank God that yee and yours are in good health. Myne and your mother is as ye left us, blessed be the name of the Lord. Mr. John told me of yor. difficultie wt. Maldavit. I have rewised yr. decreittes, and think that he is nether wise nor kynd to move any questione, but yee know his humour, and must do yr. best. I have told Mr. John my advyse, and shall acquaint you theirwith in the awin tyme. What hath interwined wil be known to you be my letter to Agnes, who will inspect the same to you. I hope that at his north cumming he shall give you greater satisfaction. These tymes would admonish brethren and friends to be more friendlie. The great God pitie this land, and his grace be wt. you and all yours. This wishing I rest yor. loving father,

"Jo. Guthrie.

"Guthrie, 26 June, 1643."

DEATH OF BISHOP GUTHRIE.

On being released from prison, Bishop Guthrie retired to his own estate of Guthrie in Angus, where he was joined by his wife and two sons. He died in 1649, in the 72nd year of his age.

WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND THE COVENANTERS.

Preparations for war were made by the King on the one hand, and by the Covenanters on the other. In the diocese of Moray the

* Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. iii., p. 247.

† The Author is indebted for this letter to the kindness of Dr. Cramond of Cullen.

chief supporter of the royal cause was the Marquis of Huntly. Subscription to the Covenant was the test imposed by the General Assembly, and those of the clergy who refused to accept the condition were mercilessly deprived of their benefices. Charles, with the royal forces, advanced to Berwick, while the army of the Covenanters, under General Leslie, was stationed at Duns. Negotiations were entered into with the view of avoiding the shedding of blood. The King, on his part, undertook to summon another General Assembly, to the decision of which the questions then pending were to be referred "in such a way, however, that Episcopacy should not appear to be condemned as simply unlawful, but for political reasons, and as unsatisfactory to the people."* When the Presbytery of Strathbogie met at Botary, on July 24th, 1639, the Rev. Henry Ross of Rhynie, the Rev. Alexander Fraser of Botriphnie, the Rev. Alexander Innes of Rothiemay, and the Rev. Richard Maitland "reported that their Sessions had refused simply and absolutely to obey the ordinance of the Presbytery," which commanded them to elect ruling elders to vote for commissioners to the Assembly.† The Scottish Parliament of 1640 set at naught the royal authority, and, continuing to sit after it had been prorogued, commanded his Majesty's subjects of all ranks to subscribe the Covenant.

THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY OF 1640.

This Assembly deposed the Rev. John Guthrie, son of Bishop Guthrie. One of the delegates at this meeting was the Rev. Joseph Brodie, of Keith, who must have voted for the deposition of his brother-in-law. Other ministers were deposed by this Assembly. The Rev. Joseph Brodie avoided deposition by conforming to the new order of things.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND THE COVENANTERS.

The embers of strife were soon rekindled between the King and the Covenanting party. In England, the Long Parliament, which met in November, 1640, impeached the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud of high treason. Scottish commissioners were sent up to London, and these, siding with the Parliament against the King, aimed at nothing less than the establishment of the Presbyterian system and worship in England itself. The King's cause was now

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 60.
† *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 50.

espoused by the Earl of Montrose. At first he was an ally of the Covenanters, but from henceforth his master passion was loyalty to the royal cause.

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

Charles visited Scotland in 1641, but found that he was a king in little more than name. In 1643, the Scottish Estates and the General Assembly adhibited their sanction to the all important document known as the "Solemn League and Covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms." Those who subscribed it bound themselves to promote uniformity of religion, and ecclesiastical government; and further, "without respect of persons, to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and everything else contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness." Orders were sent down to all the presbyteries to get the League and Covenant sworn to, and subscribed by every man and woman under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure and confiscation of goods. That the Covenanters had a right to band themselves together in defence of religious liberty cannot be denied. Now, however, they sought to inflict upon others tyranny of the very same kind from which they had themselves so severely suffered. A Scottish army, under the command of the Earl of Leven, was despatched to England, and contributed to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church polity, which was for a time destined to prevail on both sides of the Tweed.

RECEPTION OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

The Strathbogie Presbytery met at Botary on November 29th, 1643, to receive reports about the promulgation of the new Standard of Faith. The Rev. Joseph Brodie, of Keith, reported that he had read and explained the Covenant in his church, and "had got two hundred hands and above thereto."

The Rev. Robert Irving, of Inverkeithing, reported that all his people had solemnly subscribed the Covenant.

The Rev. James Gordon, of Kinnoir and Dumbennan (now Huntly), said that he had read and explained the Covenant at both his churches,

and required them *nominatim* at Dumbennan to subscribe the same; but they all, with one voice, refused till others went before them.

The Rev. Alexander Fraser, of Botriphnie, declared that he had read and explained the Covenant, and had got no subscription. "Ordained to urge the same next day."

The Rev. Robert Watson (Grange) reported that he had read and explained the Covenant, and had got some "hands," but the gentry, and most part of the commonalty, refused to subscribe until Thomas Innes of Pathniek should first subscribe; also that George Geddes required the Covenant to peruse, and "advise with it," and send it back to the minister with a private subscription, with the addition for the King and Protestant religion. The brethren thought the subscription null, and ordered the said George to swear and subscribe the same publiely in the ehurch.

The Rev. Richard Maitland (Aberehirder) reported that all had subscribed the Covenant within his parish, except two.

The Rev. George Chalmers (Rhynie) reported that he had explained the Covenant in both his kirks, and would get the subscriptions next Sabbath.

The Rev. William Reid (Gartly) reported that he had read and explained the Covenant, but had got no subseriptions, save his own.

On the 29th of November, 1643, only one minister in the Presbytery of Strathbogie eould state that all his people had signed the Solemn League and Covenant. Four parishes had distinctly refused to subscribe that document, and eompulsion was aeeordingly resorted to, the penalties being excommunieation and eonfiseation of goods and gear. Therefore, when the Strathbogie Presbytery met on Deeember 20th, some progress was reported regarding the foreed subscriptions wrung from a reluetant people. Even the aetive minister of Keith eould not persuade all the members of his flock to subseribe. There John Ogilvie, the ruins of whose castle yet remain near the Linn of Keith, John Coupland of Haughs, and "forty and fifty of the meaner sort," deelined to eonform.* At Gartly, only ten people had subscribed, and at Botriphnie many were reported to have subserihed, but without having sworn, and many had done neither one nor the other. The brethren were straightway ordained "to urge a perfect subscription of the whole eongregations against the next meeting, and to bring the names of non-subscribers under their hands to the Presbytery."

* *Strathbogie Presbytery Record*, p. 41.

PERSECUTION FOR REFUSING TO SIGN THE LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

The Rev. Joseph Brodie, of Keith, appears to have become very zealous in the prosecution of recusants, as witness the following passage in the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie :—

"The same day, Mr. Joseph Brodie produced a letter from Mr. David Dalgleish, showing his diligence with the processes of excommunication, left with him by the said Mr. Joseph, at the last General Assembly, viz., that he had delivered these to the treasurer depute, that order may be given for letters of horning and caption, upon the King's Majesty's charges ; and because he saw no appearance of execution that way in haste, some of the ministry, and he, did recommend to the Committee of Estates, that speedy course may be taken thereanent, which their lordships have promised to do, and also promised to do such like with those whom the Presbytery had sent over, presently." *

On March 31st, 1644, some of the brethren of the Strathbogie Presbytery having inquired if those who had not subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the question was referred to the Provincial Assembly, "in respect *some whole congregations* (except so few) had not subscribed the same."†

BATTLES OF EDGEHILL AND MARSTON MOOR.

While ecclesiastical strife, provoked by the Solemn League and Covenant, was raging in Scotland, the Civil War was being carried on in England between the King and Parliament. In 1642, the battle of Edgehill was fought, and though conspicuous bravery was displayed by both armies, the result was long doubtful. The Scottish forces eventually turned the scale, and brought victory to the side of the Parliament. At Marston Moor, the Royalists were also defeated by the united strength of the Parliamentary and Scottish troops. The General Assembly found Cromwell and his invincible Ironsides useful allies at first. In the days to come they were to find them implacable foes.

* *Presby. Book of Strathbogie*, p. 49. † *Ibid.*, p. 52.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

"For truth and right, 'gainst treason's might, this hand has always striven;
And ye raise it up for a witness still, in the eye of earth and heaven.
Then nail my head on yonder tower, give every town a limb;
And God who made shall gather them—I go from you to Him."

PROFESSOR AYTOUN.

James Graeme, the famous Marquis of Montrose, in 1644, began in Scotland his career of victory on behalf of the King. Six battles were in succession fought and won by him for his royal master, with the result that all Scotland lay at his feet, the Scottish Estates having for the time no army in the field. Charles, whose hopes now turned to the north, despatched Sir Robert Spottiswoode as the bearer of a royal commission, appointing Montrose Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland. Montrose relied mainly upon his Highland levies, which were capable alike of prolonged fatigue during forced marches, and of making resistless onsets in the day of battle. A reverse eventually came at Philiphaugh, in 1645. There the great Marquis was surprised by General David Leslie at a time when he was unsupported by his Highland clansmen. The rout was complete, and the hopes of Charles I. in Scotland were shattered at one blow. Montrose himself escaped, but many prisoners were taken.

SLAUGHTER OF ROYALISTS.

The cry for vengeance arose throughout the provincial synods, and neither the General Assembly nor the Scottish Estates were slow to listen. The Irish prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were executed without any regular trial at all. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie; Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son of the late Archbishop of S. Andrews; Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray, and others, were tried and condemned to death by the Scottish Convention. The crime of these men was none other than loyalty to their King and to the cause of the fallen Episcopate.

CHARLES I. GIVEN UP BY THE SCOTS TO THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

The decisive battle of Naseby, fought in the same year as Philiphaugh, extinguished the hopes of the royal cause in England. In 1646, the King fled for refuge to the Scottish army, then besieging

Newark. Every mark of outward respect was paid to the unfortunate monarch, but he was treated as a prisoner rather than a King. At the beginning of 1647, the Scottish Estates resolved to surrender the King to the English Parliament. The sum of £100,000 was paid to the Scottish army as a first instalment of pay for past services, and Charles was handed over in person to the Commissioners of the Parliament.

DEATH OF CHARLES I.

In January, 1649, Charles I. was tried by a pretended court of justice, and condemned to death. His judges had made up their minds beforehand that Charles must die. The fearless bearing of the King during the trial will be remembered throughout all time. The King and Bishop Juxon engaged in prayer before daylight on a cold January morning; the scaffold hung with black in front of the King's own palace of Whitehall; the array of horse and foot, and the immense crowd of weeping and sympathising spectators; the last prayer of the monarch, and the groan of the multitude when the executioner held up his bleeding head—these are the prominent outlines of the sad historical picture, that tells how nobly a King could meet his death. Charles I. was succeeded by his son, Charles II.

DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

Charles II. was an exile at the time of his father's death, but he commissioned the Marquis of Montrose to head a military expedition in Scotland on behalf of the royal cause. Having embarked at Hamburg with a slender force, Montrose landed on one of the Orkney Islands, and from thence passed over into Caithness. Advancing towards the south, he fell into an ambuscade prepared for him by Colonel Strachan, who commanded the Covenanting forces in the north.* Strachan, with only 300 cavalry, gained a complete victory, and pursued Montrose some distance from the battle-field. This took place at Drumearbisdale, on the borders of Ross-shire, on April 27th, 1650. Afterwards the great Marquis fell into the hands of Macleod of Assynt, who betrayed him to the Scottish Estates. He was carried to Edinburgh, having on the way been subjected to every kind of insult. Montrose was executed at Edinburgh on May 25th, 1650. He bore himself nobly on the scaffold, refusing the proffered

* Colonel Strachan, the Covenanting general, belonged to a family that gave three bishops to the Church.

ministrations of the Covenanting preachers. This was the tragic end of the greatest of the Graemes.

CROMWELL THREATENS TO INVADE SCOTLAND.

The Scottish Presbyterians were now to discover dangerous and implacable foes in their former allies. As Presbyterianism in England had overthrown Episcopacy, so it was in turn overthrown by the English Independents, backed by Cromwell and his Ironsides. The Presbyterians of Scotland naturally resented this, while Cromwell on the other hand was embittered against the Scottish people on account of their leanings towards Prince Charles. News arrived in the north that Cromwell intended to invade Scotland. Preparations were made on all sides to resist the invasion, and in the Presbytery of Strathbogie a letter was read from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, urging immediate contributions of money for military purposes. This letter stated, "That the Parliament had taken course for a prescnt and speedie levie in reference to the defence of the country against these men whose successe, in all appearance, vold bring forth ruin of religione and government among us; quherupon it was thought expedient that everic minister sould contribute according to the proportion sett doune in the said letter for anc regiment of horss, to be presentlie levied for that said expedition."

THE TREATY OF BREDA.

Commissioners from the Scottish Parliament and General Assembly were sent to Charles on the Continent; one of them being Alexander Brodie of Brodie, in the diocese of Moray, and the author of a diary referred to in this work. In that journal, Brodie makes the following reference to this event:—

"I was chosen, unwillingly, to be a judge, and was sent to the Hague one of the commissioners for the King. The Lord did in this keep me from affecting the favour of the man, or goeing about to compass it. I was sent back the next year to Breda, quher I observed notable providences accompanying our voyage, and assistance with our ministers promising something; and we did speed." *

The commissioners, when at Breda, hearing that the King was about to receive the Holy Communion, sent in a written remonstrance against "the use of the gesture of kneeling," and declared that this would "provoke the anger of God" against his Majesty. This

* Brodie, *Diary*, p. 140.

remonstrance, signed by Mr. Brodie and the other commissioners, exhibits the humiliating conditions forced upon Charles, as well as the narrow religious views of the Laird of Brodie and those who accompanied him. Charles finally agreed to the terms imposed in favour of the Covenant. Landing at Speymouth on June 23rd, 1650, the King proceeded to Edinburgh. There he was made to sign a declaration professing sorrow for his mother's idolatry, and promising to promote the ends of the Covenant in the reformation of the Church of England.

CROMWELL OVERRUNS SCOTLAND.

The regicides, who had established the Commonwealth in England, looked upon the recognition of Charles as a declaration of war. Cromwell invaded Scotland, but was well-nigh outwitted by the prudence and sagacity of General Leslie, whose troops protected the capital. The English army retreated to Dunbar, closely followed by Leslie. There, against his own judgment, but over-persuaded by the Covenanting ministers in his camp, Leslie attacked Cromwell's army, and was completely defeated. Edinburgh capitulated soon after, and Cromwell's troops overran Scotland, penetrating as far as Strathbogie and Inverness.

RESOLUTIONERS AND PROTESTERS.

The General Assembly met at S. Andrews on July 16th, 1651, Rutherford, Gillespie, Guthrie, Cant, and other Presbyterian ministers, having sent in a protest against the lawfulness of the meeting. From this time, the Presbyterians were divided into two parties, designated at first by the names of Resolutioners and Protesters. The Resolutioners were in favour of the royal cause. The landing of the English troops in Fife had the effect of dispersing the meeting.

FLIGHT OF CHARLES II.

Charles, who had been crowned at Scone on January 1st, 1651, now determined to march into England, leaving Fifeshire in the hands of Cromwell's soldiers. At Worcester he was overtaken by the astute Protector himself, who put the Royalists to utter rout. After remaining in concealment for some time, the King escaped to the Continent. Scotland was now entirely in the hands of Cromwell, whose representatives dismissed the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in 1653, and prohibited its meeting again. Such high-handed

policy depended for its success on the genius of the master-mind by which it had been initiated and directed.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

On the death of the Protector, it was seen that the civil and ecclesiastical systems set up by him in England were alien to the feelings of the people. England, indeed, went mad with joy, when, in 1660, the Restoration was accomplished by the efforts of General Monk and the English Parliament. Equally welcome, south of the Borders, was the restoration of the Episcopal form of Church government.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY IN SCOTLAND, IN 1661, TO ITS DISESTABLISHMENT, IN 1690.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (CONCLUDED).

"Recompense to no man evil for evil."—ROM. xii. 17.

EPISCOPACY RESTORED.

THE Solemn League and Covenant was annulled by the Scottish Parliament in 1661, and a royal proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, announced the King's intention to restore in Scotland the Episcopal form of Church government. Only one prelate of the Spottiswoode line survived, viz., Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, upon whom there was bestowed the vacant See of Orkney. Charles, having resolved to raise some of the Presbyterian ministers to the Episcopate, appointed the Rev. James Sharp, minister of Crail, to the Archbishopric of S. Andrews. Sharp had been the Presbyterian envoy to the King, and his acceptance of the primatial chair laid him open to the charge of treachery. Andrew Fairfoul, minister of Duns, was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow; James Hamilton, minister of Cambusnethan, was nominated Bishop of Galloway; and the mild and gentle Leighton was offered the bishopric of Dunblane. These four ministers were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on December 15th, 1661, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff. Returning to Scotland, the two new Archbishops and the Bishop of Galloway consecrated at Holyrood the Bishops-designate of Moray, Dunkeld, Ross, Caithness, and the Isles. The Scottish Parliament, in which the newly made prelates took their seats, met soon afterwards. Episcopacy was restored in this unconstitutional way by an arbitrary act of the royal power, and without any reference to the General Assembly, or the will of the Scottish people. The change was not acceptable in the south and south-west of Scotland; but north of the Tay, and in the diocese of Moray, it was pleasing, with a few exceptions, to both ministers and people.

THE LAIRD OF BRODIE.

Alexander Brodie of Brodie, in Morayshire, was one of the few in that district who objected to the restored episcopate. The family, of which he was the head, was one of the oldest in the province of Moray. Alexander was the eldest son of David Brodie of Brodie, and was born on July 25th, 1617. He studied at King's College, Aberdeen, but did not graduate there. When Episcopacy was disestablished in 1638, Brodie declared in favour of Presbyterianism, and took a prominent part in the religious controversies of the day. An iconoclastic proceeding in the Cathedral of Elgin, in which Brodie took a discreditable part, has already been narrated. Retribution overtook him for the sacrilege, and the followers of Montrose burned his house, plundered his lands, and destroyed, or carried away, his family records. In 1643, Alexander Brodie represented the county of Elgin in the Scottish Parliament, and sat as a ruling elder in the General Assembly. He was also one of the Scottish plenipotentiaries sent to Charles II. at the Hague and Breda. The laird became an Ordinary Lord of Session in 1649; and in 1653, he was cited, much against his will, by Cromwell, to London. He became a judge in 1658, but was superseded at the Restoration.

BRODIE'S OPINIONS ABOUT SHARP AND LEIGHTON'S CONSECRATION.

The Diarist happened to be resident in London when the four divines, chosen to be bishops in Scotland, were presented for consecration. His remarks with reference to Bishop Leighton are interesting. On September 31st, he writes:—"I heard Mr. Leighton inclined to be a bishop, and did observe his loose principles before anent surplice, ceremony, and papists." Leighton was in favour of toleration to the Roman Catholics, a point about which the laird was more than doubtful. On the 25th October, he again writes:—"Mr. Leighton dined with me. I perceived he was not averse from taking on him to be a bishop: all was clear to him, civil places free from censures: he approved the organs, anthems, music in their worship. He said the greatest error among papists was their persecution and want of charity to us. His intention was to do good in that place, and not for ambition. He was against defensive arms: men in popery holding all their tenets might be saved. He had no scruple in anything which they did, repeating oft this word: Religion did not consist in these

external things, whether of government or ceremonies, but in righteousness, peace, and joy. I prayed for him as for myself, and was feared that his charity, misguided, might be a snare to him. He said he had signed and swore the Covenant, and had these same thoughts then—that the Covenant was rashly entered into, and is now to be repented for."

Brodie was under the erroneous impression that the newly appointed bishops would not accept re-ordination at the hands of the English prelates. Concerning this he says: "I acknowledge the Lord in this." Further on he corrects his mistake: "I heard," he says, "Mr. Sharp and Leighton were re-ordained, and scrupled at nothing." Fairfoul and Hamilton were not ordained deacon and priest before consecration, having already received orders from the Spottiswoode line. Of a service which he attended in Westminster Abbey, Brodie remarks: "I beheld the administration of the sacrament in Westminster, and albeit I was stumbled at their affected gestures, bowing and cringing at the table before their altar, and bowing at every time they named the name of Jesus, their clothing, their kneeling, their twice consecrating of wine, because they brought some more than at the first, yet, I thought they might partake savingly with them. They had materially the sacrament of the Lord's body rightly administered." He called it a sacrifice of praise. A statement made by Bishop Leighton to the laird, that he was in favour of extending toleration to Roman Catholics and Anabaptists, is condemned as dangerous. Sharp, Fairfoul, and Hamilton, appearing inclined to press the importance of ceremonial, Brodie said to them, "We were well before 1633." At the same time, he admits, "I found not that aversion from their Liturgy and some other things that I had had, and other godly persons have. Oh! that this be no snare to me." Brodie was not present at the consecration of the bishops, which took place on December 15th, 1661, but wrote as follows of the function:—"I heard they had surplices, albs, and all other ceremonies. He that preached said they were not lay-elders, but there were diversities of dignities in the preaching presbyters: much spoke he against Presbyterians; God's declaring against them at Dunbar. All these things were spread before God. I heard that our bishops bowed to the altar, had on their surplices, rochets, and other ceremonies, took the sacrament kneeling at the altar when consecrated. I desired to consider and weigh these things soberly and with understanding."

END OF BRODIE'S LIFE.

Brodie left London on May 14th, 1662, having had an audience of the King on the previous day. Concerning his interview with Charles, he made this observation :—"Yesterday I had access to the King, and kissed his hand. Now, I desire to reckon this as a mercy, considering how men have laboured to prejudge him against me. It was more than I almost looked for ; now I lean on him all that concerns me."

After his return to Scotland, the author of the Diary resided either at Brodie, or in its immediate neighbourhood. He acted as one of the commissioners for the trial of the unfortunate class of women then called witches, and his duties often gave him much anxiety. To the last, his sympathies were with the upholders of the Covenant, rather than with their successors. Towards the close of his life, he suffered greatly from a painful malady. His Diary is full of pious reflections, showing the truly religious character of the man. To some extent, worldly motives were the cause of his life-long opposition to Episcopacy. And it must be remembered that there was much truth in the arguments employed by him against the intrusion of bishops and clergy into civil offices. The few nonconforming Presbyterians of Morayshire were subjected to a persecution which nothing can justify. The bishops of the diocese were unfortunately involved in these reprisals upon their Presbyterian brethren.

Alexander Brodie died on April 17th, 1680, and his son James, who continued his Diary, succeeded him, not only in his estates, but also in his hatred to Episcopacy.

PERSECUTION OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

The supporters of the restored hierarchy now began a disgraceful persecution of their Presbyterian brethren. Instead of making this reprisal, they should have remembered the injunction of their Divine Master, not to render evil for evil. Their intolerance was a reproduction of the repressive spirit of their adversaries in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant. Neither party had learned the lesson of religious toleration. An Act of Parliament was passed on June 9th, 1662, which declared that all ministers, admitted after 1649, should be "deprived," unless, before September 20th, they obtained presentation from the patrons of the livings, and collation from the bishop of the diocese. Many ministers in the southern and central districts of Scotland resigned their charges, rather than consent to such

conditions. Their successors, who were mostly young men from the northern counties, did not win the affections of their congregations. In 1663, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which all absentees from the parish churches on Sundays were to be fined according to their rank.

The High Commission Court was now revived, and increased severities were imposed upon the Nonconformists. Risings of the Covenanters were put down by the sword, and, in retaliation, the Archbishop of S. Andrews was murdered on Magus Muir, in the presence of his own daughter. Bishop Leighton went to London to protest against the harsh measures pursued by the Government and approved of by some of his Episcopal colleagues; but his mild counsels were not regarded. The Episcopal form of Church government was receiving a lasting injury from being identified in this way with the tyrannical policy of the State.

THE RESTORATION BISHOPS OF MORAY.

The Bishops of Moray, during this Restoration period, were in succession, Murdoch Mackenzie, James Atkins, Colin Falconar, Alexander Rose, and William Hay. These were all good men, though some of them, against their will, took part in the repressive proceedings against the few Nonconformists in the diocese of Moray. There is evidence that Bishop Murdoch showed kindness to the persecuted party whenever he could, and that Bishop William Hay disapproved of the harsh measures of the Government altogether. The Diary of the Laird of Brodie gives much information about these bishops.

MURDOCH MACKENZIE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Bishop Mackenzie was descended from a younger son of the family of Gairloch, a chief branch of Seaforth. He was born in 1600, was a graduate of Aberdeen University, and received his orders from Bishop Maxwell of Ross. When nominated to the see of Moray, he was incumbent of Elgin.

The restoration of the monarchy took place in 1660, and on May 7th, 1661, the Rev. Murdoch Mackenzie was consecrated Bishop of Moray. If the Laird of Brodie had but little favour for Mr. Mackenzie before the restoration of prelacy, it was still less probable that he would be attracted to him after his elevation to the episcopate. Mr. Brodie was a Resolutioner, though he had sympathies with the

Remonstrant party also. The restoration of the Scottish diocesans was disapproved of by some of the Scottish gentry from worldly motives, as they were called upon to contribute towards the stipends of the holders of the sees, this being a burden laid upon their lands in former days. The Spottiswoode bishops raised enemies to their order among the Scottish nobility, by endeavouring to recover large sums abstracted in the past by the nobility from the possessions of the Church. It was, therefore, to the interest of some of the landed class that Episcopacy should be finally and fully disestablished. Motives of this kind doubtless tended to enchance the prejudice in the mind of the Laird of Brodie against Episcopacy. These words of the Diary describe the laird's meeting with the new Bishop of Moray: —"I did see the Bishop of Moray, and with reluctancy. I professed that the change was against my will, but God having suffered it to be brought about, the King and laws having established it, I was purposed to be as submissive and obedient and peaceable as any."

A difference shortly arose between the laird and the bishop in connection with the maintenance just referred to. The former appealed to the Archbishop of S. Andrews in the hope that he would intercede in the cause of "moderation in civil and ecclesiastical things." On another occasion Mr. Brodie observed: "I spoke with Mr. Wm. Falconar to advise the bishop to moderation, and to lay no hands on ministers, which he did undertake to do." *

Bishop Mackenzie appears to have kept up some state at Elgin, and so did the Justice-Depute. Mr. Brodie saw in this the corruption of mankind. Bishop Mackenzie usually acted with sound judgment, his kindly disposition making him averse from enforcing the laws upon the Nonconformists of the Moray diocese, who were at the time few and far between.

When Episcopacy was re-established in 1661, the change was welcome to nearly the whole diocese of Moray, the only clerical recusants being the Rev. Thomas Urquhart, the Rev. James Urquhart, and the Rev. George Meldrum of Glass, the latter of whom afterwards conformed for a time. Among the laity those who were displeased at the restoration of the episcopate were few in number in Morayshire. The Laird of Brodie stood almost alone in his religious views on this question, finding little sympathy in those around him. On October 24th, 1662, Brodie wrote as follows:—"I was dealt with

* *Diary*, p. 247. Mr. William Falconar was an ancestor of William Falconar, Bishop of Moray, in later days.

to go with David to the bishop, and had much reluctancy. Let the Lord open my eyes and enlighten my mind, and conform me by His grace, and let me not be entangled through these occasions. . . . I heard that the whole ministers had submitted and acknowledged the bishop at the synod, except Mr. James and Mr. Thomas Urquhart. Mr. Hari had submitted, but not owned the Government. I desire to spread these things before the Lord, and to be duly exercised with the untenderness of some, the suffering of others—the judgment over all—yet, alas! there is none lays it to heart." The Presbyterian system of the seventeenth century had but a feeble hold upon the ministers and people of Moray. The two Urquharts, who refused to acknowledge the bishop in the synod, were in their lives and conversations most exemplary men, and the bishop did all in his power to conciliate them. One was the minister of Kinloss, the other minister of Essil. Mr. Brodie went in person to the Bishop of Moray to beg for leniency to the two Nonconformists. Bishop Mackenzie replied that if the Rev. James Urquhart would concur in common duties, and meet with the others, "he might be forborne awhile." Mr. Urquhart of Kinloss devoted a day to the consideration of the whole matter, but remained firm in his resolution to incur the loss of all that he had, rather than comply with the requirements of Episcopacy. Mr. Brodie tried yet again to persuade the Rev. James Urquhart to conform as far as his conscience would allow to the episcopal *régime*. The Diarist writes:—"I spoke with Mr. James Urquhart and persuaded him, if he might get it without a snare, to embrace his ministry. Refusing to concur with presbyteries and synods, because they were but the bishop's delegates, could not annul their calling or make it void. As it seemed to me this argument would infer that those whom the bishops admitted were not ministers, and consequently the sacraments and ordinances which they ministered, no ordinances, the consequences whereof would cast all loose." Mr. Brodie, constantly in doubt himself, was hardly the fittest person to convince others who were in difficulty or perplexity. The Bishop of Moray could scarcely be expected to satisfy the scruples of one who was so narrow in his own views, and so exacting in his requirements from others. That the laity in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray attended willingly to the teaching of their respective bishops, appears from such entries as:—"I heard that Bishop Mitchell of Aberdeen was Arminian; that he enjoined private baptism and communion, and spoke something of the

necessity of baptism; that the Bishop of Moray had drawn all the people to kneel at communion."

Two days after this he inscribed in the Diary:—"I heard that the bishop had ministered the communion kneeling, and that all the people had gone along with him." In February, 1672, Archbishop Leighton proposed that Bishop Mackenzie should be sent to the diocese of Orkney, an appointment then superior to that of Moray in a worldly point of view.

Bishop Mackenzie's wife died on May 5th, 1676, and the laird was much disappointed because he was not called to the funeral. On June 13th, 1676, Brodie observes:—"I came hence next morning to Petgarvie, and spoke with the bishop anent that which was due to me by George Birrell, and expressed much freedom to him anent his office, and against the consistency of a ministerial office with civil honours and employments. My dislike to the office is as it is exercised and constituted among us. He pressed my allegiance to the King. I said I had rather my flesh were torn, 'ere I were not as loyal to the King as any subject he had. I asked at him, if he were to remove from this, and it was no divine consideration to remove to a fatter benefice. Orkney was twice as good. . . . I alluded to that word, 'He that seeks a bishopric seeks a good work,' and 'the better bishopric the better work.'" While Mr. Brodie was quick to discern the inconsistency of the appointment of bishops and clergy to civil offices, he failed to observe a similar incongruity when Presbyterian ministers were sent to Holland with himself and the other commissioners to negotiate the terms upon which the exiled sovereign would accept the Scottish crown.

Elsewhere in the Diary we learn that the bishop, the Earl of Moray, and Lord Duffus, having been commissioned "to censure and convene for conventicles," met at Forres. The few Nonconformists in the diocese of Moray might well have been passed over; but it was in this way in other parts of the country that the State brought the prelates into disrepute with the people. We can sympathise with Brodie when he says of the bishop:—"I did meet with the bishop, and spoke anent George Dunbar's business with me anent Pluscardyn and Milton's business. I did inquire what he was doing with the Nonconformists. He said, if they would obey the King's laws, he would do them no harm. I said there was no obedient subjects albeit they could own bishops, or these that entered by them, because they held that they were perjured, and had no

lawful calling. He said they would remit to the different doings. I said he could not deny but they were godly learned men; and why did not he, as Christ bade His disciples, let them alone, and forbid them not to preach, albeit they follow not us? He said he would do any favour to them, if they sought it."

Towards the close of Bishop Mackenzie's residence in the diocese of Moray, there was evidently a more friendly feeling between the laird and himself, so that when the former was about to remove to Orkney, Mr. Brodie ordered some help to be sent to the bishop for removing his belongings to the far north. The bishop on his part called at Mr. Brodie's house to take leave before his departure to Kirkwall. The bishop, doubtless, was not without respect for the outspoken personage, who did not profess with his lips what he disapproved of in his heart.

Some years after Bishop Mackenzie removed to Orkney, a party of Presbyterian Nonconformists was wrecked upon those stormy shores. Those of them who escaped to land were kindly treated by Bishop Mackenzie, and the laird was able to state in the Diary on January 3rd, 1680:—"I heard that the prisoners were shipwrecked at Orkney, and most of them drowned, and some land safe. Lord! instruct me by this providence, and grant me to take it up and lament it aright. I heard Bishop Murdoch was kindly to them."

JAMES ATKINS, BISHOP OF MORAY.

The Rev. James Atkins, or Aitken, was a native of Kirkwall. His father, Henry Atkins, or Aitken, was Sheriff and Commissary at Orkney. Having completed his education at Edinburgh and Oxford, Mr. Atkins received holy orders, and became chaplain to the Marquis of Hamilton, at the time that the latter was Royal Commissioner at the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. On account of the ability evinced by him at this meeting, Mr. Atkins was appointed by the King to the charge of Birsay in Orkney. Here he remained in the quiet discharge of his parochial duties until the landing of the Marquis of Montrose in Orkney, when the minister of Birsay, and all the ministers of the Orkney Presbytery, espoused the cause of the King. Mr. Atkins was appointed by the presbytery to draw up a declaration expressing their loyalty to Charles II., an act for which the entire presbytery was deposed by the General Assembly. More than this, the Marquis had conversed with Mr. Atkins, and for this the latter was excommunicated. Having fled to Holland, Mr.

Atkins remained there till 1653, but at the time of the Restoration he was residing in Edinburgh. Proceeding with Bishop Sydserf to London in order to congratulate the King upon his restoration, he was appointed to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorsetshire. His election to the bishoprie of Moray took place in 1676.

On the 14th of October, 1676, the Laird of Brodie wrote in his Diary:—"I heard that the chapter and ministers of this synod were stumbled at Mr. Atkins, who was named to be bishop, and at his excommunication, and had sent Mr. Hugh Fraser south to the Bishop of S. Andrews anent it." The frequent appeals made at this time to the Archbishop of S. Andrews indicate that the Scottish metropolitan possessed very considerable influence over his episcopal brethren. Mr. Atkins' excommunication would, as a matter of course, be considered as null and void by the primate, on account of its having been pronounced for a merely political offence.

On November 3rd, 1676, our Diarist writes:—"I heard that the chapter delayed to choose Atkins to be bishop, because he stood excommunicate. But the votes were equal, except one."

Bishop Mackenzie did not leave the Moray diocese until some time after his successor had been appointed. At his farewell visit to the laird, already mentioned, the bishop told him that more severe measures were to be employed by Bishop Atkins against the Nonconformists. This was a kindly hint to Brodie to keep himself beyond the pale of the obnoxious laws.

The following is the entry in the Diary regarding this:—"*August 11th, 1677.* The bishop came in to visit and take leave on his going to Orkney. I made no professions to him nor requests. He desired me to look to myself, for it was like I might be called for. . . . He told me that Tarbet was in favour with the Duke; the Duke was going to Hamilton; that Bishop Atkins was waiting on counsel and the Commission for Church affairs, who had renewed all their acts against conventicles."

Bishop Mackenzie's anticipations turned out to be well founded, and Bishop Atkins did treat the recusants more severely than formerly had been the case. In the beginning of 1678, Brodie was told that the new Bishop of Moray "was addicted to his own opinions, and would take no counsell"—in short that the bishop would cede him nothing. On June 14th, 1678, the laird remarks:—"I yesterday received a boasting letter from the bishop, and answered it as I could, but remitted it to Spynie if it might pass. The Lord restrain that man."

At this time Brodie of Milton was in trouble with the bishop and town of Elgin. The Rev. James Urquhart visited the laird on February 21st, 1679, and performed family worship in his house. He reported that the bishop had "procured an order to take him and some others." This is the last entry about Bishop Atkins in the Diary. We can admire this prelate's consistent loyalty to the monarch for whose cause he suffered. When, however, the tide turned, he should have remembered his own sufferings and refused to join in the persecution of his Presbyterian fellow-Christians.

Bishop Atkins died at Edinburgh in 1687. His burial took place in Greyfriars' Church there, the following epitaph having been written in his praise by Dr. Pitcairne :—

> "Maximus Atkinsi pietate, et maximus annis,
> Ante diem, invita religione, cadis.
> Ni caderes, nostris inferret forsitan oris
> Haud impune suos Roma superba deos."

BISHOP COLIN FALCONAR, 1680.

Colin Falconar, the only son of William Falconar of Dunduff, and Beatrix Dunbar, his wife, became Bishop of Moray in 1680. The mother of the bishop was a daughter of Dunbar of Bogs, in the county of Moray. Born in the year 1623, and sent at an early age to the University of S. Andrews, young Falconar would be conversant with the struggles of the Episcopal Church of Scotland during the days of the Solemn League and Covenant. Devoting himself, after his marriage, to the ministry, he settled at first in Essil, a parish in the diocese of Moray. A few years subsequently, Mr. Falconar removed to Forres, continuing to reside there till 1679, when he became Bishop of Argyll. Bishop Falconar did not long preside over the Argyll diocese, his translation to the see of Moray taking place the next year. The King's letter, directed to the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Moray, is dated from Whitehall on the 7th day of February, 1679-80. This prelate was of a pious and peaceable disposition, and one who fulfilled the apostolic injunction, in that he was given to hospitality. He was also most successful in reconciling differences and quenching animosities throughout his diocese.

On June 23rd, 1676, the Rev. Colin Falconar, with others, dined at Brodie, and the Diarist remarks of Falconar:—"They said Mr. Colin was to be bishop. I said, I had rather he were bishop than any

other." The laird was, however, disappointed for a time in his wish regarding the bishopric of Moray. It was, as we have seen, not Mr. Falconar that was appointed to the vacant see at this time, but Mr. Atkins. On March 7th, 1679, a report reached Mr. Brodie that Colin Falconar had been elected Bishop of Galloway. This turned out to be incorrect, Mr. Falconar soon after becoming Bishop of Argyll. A visit was paid by the bishop to Brodie, when the laird, having spoken to him of the address to the King from Morayshire in favour of the indulgence, received some unpalatable tidings regarding one of his own party, against whom certain evil reports were current. "I desire to try," says the Diarist, "ere I believe." It was evidently as difficult for Brodie to believe anything against one of his own religious persuasion, as it was for him to credit much that was good in a clergyman of Episcopalian proclivities.

James Brodie of Brodie took up the Diary on April 17th, 1680. His opinions were similar to those of his father in all respects, it being almost impossible to discover any difference in the style of the entries in the Diary as kept by father and son. James Brodie writes on April, 1680:—"I went this morning to Spynie, and met with Bishop Falconar. Let the Lord keep me from the snare of his company, that I may not be engaged in compliance with anything that is evil. He spoke to me about A. D. keeping conventicles, and said it would be put over on me. I advised him to be sparing in these matters; it would be his wisdom."

James Brodie often met with the bishop, who seems to have been most assiduous in his episcopal duties. At one time we are told that he was instituting a clergyman to the church at Forres, and the faithful would undoubtedly infer that Bishop Falconar was attentive to his sacred duties. The occasion was not one that could be overlooked by Mr. Brodie without making a disparaging remark. Writing on September 16th, 1680, he observes:—"Windihills and I went east to Elgin that night, staid at my cousin the Lady Boghole's house. The bishop was at Forres entering Mr. Law to that place. Oh for the plague the land lies under of such teachers."

A bishop, says S. Paul, should be "given to hospitality." But Bishop Falconar and his synod are thus spoken of by the Laird of Brodie:—"The bishop had his synod at Inverness. I heard of their feasting entertainment at that place, and many things unlike to such an office, as this pretended to."

On the 31st of August, 1681, the Test Act was passed by the

Scottish Parliament. By this Act all persons holding any office, civil or ecclesiastical, were commanded to swear that they sincerely professed the true Protestant religion as contained in the Confession of Faith ratified by King James VI. The King was also declared by the Act to be supreme over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical or civil, and it was declared to be unlawful for subjects to enter into leagues or take up arms against him. By a separate clause, the Duke of York, and the King's brothers and sons, were exempted from the penalities imposed by the Act.* The operation of this law was resisted by certain of the Moray clergy.

Bishop Falconar tried to persuade all to take the Test Oath, but met with much difficulty in these endeavours. It would appear that the bishop even tried compulsion as well as persuasion in this matter. Thus Brodie writes:—"I heard that Milton was taken upon a caption by the bishop and the town of Elgin. I was affected with this." The payment of the teinds to the bishop must have augmented the discontent of such men as the laird. On October 6th, 1682, he writes:—"I settled with the bishop anent my tack of teinds. I was loath to hold a favour of him. Let not his easiness in particulars be a snare to me." We may infer that Bishop Falconar was not over-exacting in regard to the teinds. This very leniency might perchance prejudice the unwary in favour of the bishop's creed. Suspicion was directed against everything. At Duffus, for example, an attention was paid to externals in family worship which did not please the laird. He observes:—"There was worship in the Duffus family. He had prepared a piece of the gallery for it; somewhat of form and ostentation and other things were observable. We joined in worship with them, albeit my heart was far away."

The remaining entries in the Diary regarding the Bishop of Moray, show that James Brodie of Brodie did not hold Bishop Falconar in the same degree of estimation as did his father. In some quarters there was discontent with the bishop, arising, no doubt, from the share he had been compelled to take in the proceedings above referred to. Notwithstanding his dislike to the bishop personally, and to the system of which he was a representative, Brodie did not scruple to ask a favour of one of whom he said so many hard things. Of this there is ample proof.

Thus in 1684 we learn that he (Brodie) "was much beholden to the Bishop of Moray." Bishop Falconar was evidently trying to

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 264.

shield the laird as much as possible from the consequences of his own censuring.

Another entry in the Diary is to the following effect:—"Mr. Alexander Kerr, and Thomas Gordon, Glengerrock's brother, came here. I heard from him of a railing sermon which Thorntoun had at Elgin, at which they were all displeased, bishop and others." Again, on January 17th, 1685, Brodie writes:—"I heard that the bishop was required to call in all the ministers in his diocese, with elders and beadles, to give account of irregularities."

Clearly the ecclesiastical firmament in the northern was overclouded much as it was at this period in the southern part of the country.

The last entry in the Diary relating to Bishop Falconar was made in February, 1685, and is as follows:—"There was debate anent election of Commissioners. Morton came home to that purpose. I declined to take any vote, because I was still a panel. I was minding to have some testimony from the clergy and bishop of my loyalty and regularity. Let not that be a snare to me, for I am easily ensnared."

We can now perceive how, in the providence of God, the disestablishment of the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1688 has been overruled for good, in that it delivered the Church from a baneful connection with civil despotism. Throughout the whole of the Diary we have been considering, there are unmistakable evidences of the harm that resulted from this ill-omened association.

The author of an old statistical account of the parish of Spynie says of Bishop Falconar, "that the whole country, gentle and simple, attended his funeral." The Bishop died at Spynie Castle on November 11th, 1686, and his remains were deposited in the south aisle of S. Giles' Church in Elgin, at the bottom of the tower or steeple towards the east. An oil painting of Bishop Colin Falconar now hangs in Eden Court, Inverness. By accident it came into the possession of the late Hugh James Rollo, Esq., who presented it to the Moray diocese.

In 1812 the late Sir Hugh Innes of Lochalsh and Coxton, a descendant of Bishop Falconar, erected a tablet to his memory, of white marble, on the wall of the chapter-house of Elgin Cathedral, with the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of Colin Falconar, son of William Falconar of Downduff, and Beatrix Dunbar, who was the daughter of J. Dunbar

of Bogs, in the county of Moray, and grandson of Alexander Falconar of Halkerton, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie. He was born in the year 1623, and was married, in 1648, to a daughter of Rose of Clava. He was elected to the See of Argyll, 1679, and in 1680 he was consecrated Bishop of Moray. He died 11th November, 1686, and was buried in the aisle of S. Giles' Church of Elgin.

"This monument was erected by Hugh Innes, Esquire of Lochalsh, M.P. for the County of Ross, anno 1812, his great-great-grandson."

ALEXANDER ROSE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

Alexander Rose was descended from the family of Kilravock, and studied theology at Glasgow under Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. He then successively became minister of Perth, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and Principal of S. Mary's College, S. Andrews. The Archbishop of S. Andrews consecrated Alexander Rose as Bishop of Moray at S. Andrews in obedience to a royal mandate, issued on March 8th, 1687. The new bishop never took possession of his northern see, for he was translated to Edinburgh in the year of his consecration. Bishop Rose survived all the pre-Revolution Scottish prelates. He died at his sister's house in the Canongate of Edinburgh on March 20th, 1720. Bishop Keith says of him "that he was a sweet-natured man, and of a venerable aspect."

WILLIAM HAY, BISHOP OF MORAY.

William Hay was the son of William Hay, who taught music in Aberdeen. Ordained by Seougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, he became minister of Kilconquhar in the diocese of S. Andrews. He was consecrated by the Primate of Scotland on March 11th, 1688.* Bishop Hay was scarcely seated on the episcopal throne when he was driven from it by the Revolution.

ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

Charles II., who died in 1685, was succeeded by his brother James, Duke of York. James II., having offended his English subjects by his endeavours to restore the ascendancy of Rome in his kingdom, abandoned his throne on the arrival of the Prince of Orange. This took place in 1688; but before it happened, the

* Craven's *Church in Moray*, pp. 70, 71.

Scottish bishops drew up an address to King James, in which they expressed their wish that his enemies should be discomfited.

BISHOP ROSE SENT TO LONDON.

When it became known that the Prince of Orange was about to land in Britain, the Scottish bishops commissioned the Bishops of Edinburgh and Orkney to go to London, and tender a renewal of their allegiance to King James. They were also to consult with the English bishops about the alarming condition of public affairs. The Bishop of Orkney being sick, Bishop Rose had to set out for London alone, and by the time he reached the metropolis, James had fled, and Dutch William was in possession of the kingdom.

THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND.

A popular outbreak in Edinburgh was the first effect of the Revolution, the mob plundering and rifling the Abbey Church and Palace of Holyrood. The Cameronians, rising in the West of Scotland, expelled the Episcopal clergy from their manses. On Christmas Day the tumult began, and in many cases men of unexceptionable character and their families were made homeless in the midst of the severities of winter. When the insurgents threatened to oust the clergy of Edinburgh in the same way, the members of the College of Justice appeared in arms to prevent them.

ADDRESS TO WILLIAM AND MARY FROM THE PRESBYTERIANS.

In January, 1689, the Presbyterian ministers, in an address to William, requested him to restore in Scotland the Presbyterian form of Church government. They stated in this address that "they had ever been opposed to the projects of dispensing with or taking off the penal laws against the papists."*

INTERVIEW OF BISHOP ROSE WITH THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Bishop Rose did his utmost with the English bishops for the Episcopal Church of Scotland. All was, however, to no purpose, for nothing could be done after the flight of James. The bishop, finding that he could not return home without a pass from William, applied to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, for an introduction to the Prince. In his conversation the Bishop of London said to Bishop Rose: "The King bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much

* Grub's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 295; *Wodrow*, vol. iv., pp. 481, 482.

better than he did when he was in Holland, for, while there, he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and that it is the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery; wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians." In reply to this offer, the Bishop of Edinburgh said that he was certain his brethren in Scotland would not serve the Prince as he was served in England. Then, said Dr. Compton, "The King must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians."

INTERVIEW OF BISHOP ROSE WITH WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

Next day the Bishop of Edinburgh was accorded an opportunity of speaking with the Prince at Whitehall. William, advancing to meet the bishop, said to him, "My lord, are you going for Scotland?" "Yes, sir," the bishop answered, "if you have any commands for me." The Prince replied, "I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." Bishop Rose, in great perplexity, answered, "Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience will permit." The Prince turned away at once without speaking another word, and from that time the fate of Episcopacy in Scotland as an Established Church was sealed.

THE SCOTTISH ESTATES OFFER THE CROWN TO WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Scottish Estates assembled at Edinburgh on March 14th, 1689, declared that James had forfeited the crown, and that the Scottish throne was vacant. On the 4th of April, they offered the crown to William and Mary, and drew up a paper called the "Claim of Right," in which it was declared that prelacy ought to be abolished. Two days afterwards, this Convention enjoined all ministers of the gospel to pray for William and Mary, and read a proclamation to that effect. The draft of an Act for the abolition of prelacy was brought in on July 7th, but when the Convention rose there was no legal ecclesiastical government established in Scotland.

THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE.

Viscount Dundee, having left the Convention, proceeded to the Highlands and raised an army among the northern clans. His genius well nigh rendered fruitless the decrees of the Scottish Estates

for the abolition of Episcopacy. General Mackay, with an army, marched to quell the rising, and the opposing armies met at Killiecrankie, in Perthshire, on July 9th, 1689. There the Highlanders swept down upon their foes and put them to hopeless rout. Unfortunately for the Stewart cause, Dundee was slain in the battle, and the victory was of no avail.

FROM THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY TO BISHOP PETRIE.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"Cast down, but not destroy'd—thou still art left,
Shrine of the saintly past,
Changeless in creed, although of power bereft
By persecution's blast:
And time-worn prayer books by their tear-marks tell
The hearts they solaced learned to love them well."

R. MONTGOMERY.

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH.

THE Revolution in England was accomplished peacefully, and the most of the English prelates gave their allegiance to the Prince of Orange. Rightly or wrongly, however, the Scottish bishops continued faithful to the Stewart line, notwithstanding the attempts of James II. to restore the ascendancy of Rome on the other side of the Scottish Border. Their English fellow-Churchmen maintained that by doing so James had forfeited all claims upon their obedience; the Scottish bishops asserted that he was still their King. This exaggeration of the principles of hereditary descent and royal prerogative brought nothing else than trouble and disaster to the Episcopal Church of Scotland. Bishops and clergy alike renounced all worldly considerations rather than be unfaithful to the house of Stewart. Such fidelity to a fallen cause deserves its meed of praise; in after days it will be recorded with commendation, like that of the starving Highlanders after Culloden Moor, who refused to betray their unfortunate Prince for English gold.

Still the question rises—Was it right to sacrifice the Church for political reasons? "The powers that be are ordained of God." And when it was evident that the rule of William III. was accepted by the nation at large, was it right to rebel against his authority? Had the Scottish bishops and clergy after the Revolution disentangled themselves from politics, they would soon have been in a better position than when endowed by the State.

The disestablishment of the Church in 1688 had its advantages as well as its disadvantages, and at this distance of time we can calculate more accurately their relative importance. The Episcopal Church of Scotland was then robbed of her worldly wealth and secular rank by the State. But the State could not rob her of her spiritual rights, nor make her less the Episcopal Church of Scotland than she was before.

William III., although he knew it not, really delivered the Scottish Church from the fetters of the State. When he abolished for ever the Solemn League and Covenant, he saved both Presbyterians and Episcopalians from one of the worst forms of ecclesiastical tyranny. He made it possible, too, in after days for the persecuted remnant to send the first bishop to the United States of America. This the Scottish Church could never have done, had she not been freed from the shackles of the State. Disestablishment in the present day is kindness itself, when contrasted with the disestablishment of 1688. Then no vested rights were respected. The Episcopal bishops and clergy were thrown upon the world without a penny. Even a sum they had raised for their own widows and children was taken from them, and given to their supplanters. But Providence has ruled all for the best, and the Church is stronger in reality at the present day than when established in the seventeenth century. Numbers are not always strength; frequently they may carry along with them causes of weakness. Who would exchange the Church of to-day for that of the Spottiswoode line? Then the Church could neither enunciate a doctrine nor enact a canon without fear and trembling. Now she can use her beautiful liturgy without let or hindrance, and depends not upon the arm of despotic power. The Perth Articles, relating to the observance of the Church's festivals, kindled the flame of rebellion over Scotland. In the nineteenth century the bells of Presbyterian churches call the worshippers together upon Christmas Day. Dark though it appeared at the time, members of the Church at the present day must see in the Revolution of 1688 the hand of God.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

The Scottish Parliament of April, 1690, passed an Act restoring to their livings the ministers who had been deprived since January, 1661. These, about sixty in number, formed the nucleus of the new ecclesiastical establishment, and an Act approving of the Confession of Faith, compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,

settled its religious standards. In May and June, 1690, William and Mary, and the Three Estates of the realm, established in Scotland the Presbyterian form of Church government by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies; and the first General Assembly of the new system was appointed to be held in October of the same year. The religious establishment now set up was entirely an act of the secular power, just as the restoration of Episcopacy had been thirty years before. One difference there was, however, for which all parties must now be thankful. That was the omission of the Solemn League and Covenant. William hated persecution, and he could not conscientiously have sanctioned a document which paid no respect to the religious rights of those who differed from its tenets.

SEPARATION BETWEEN EPISCOPALIANS AND PRESBYTERIANS.

An entire separation now took place between the upholders of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. In former ecclesiastical revolutions the disestablished parties continued generally to attend the parish churches. But, after 1690, there was a complete disconnection between the two contending systems. The loss of temporal power, bewailed at the time, has brought many blessings to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the freedom from the bondage of the State has far more than compensated for the poverty and persecution that came upon her in the eighteenth century.

THE DISESTABLISHED BISHOPS AND CLERGY.

The State deprived the bishops and clergy of their worldly goods and secular position. But it had no power to rob the Episcopal Church of her spiritual rights. In that sense the State can neither make nor unmake a Church. At first indeed the disestablished bishops retired from public notice, and almost gave up altogether the discharge of their diocesan duties. But afterwards they handed down their office and authority to other prelates whom they themselves consecrated, from whom again the spiritual authority has descended to the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland at the present day.

COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF PRESBYTERIANS AND EPISCOPALIANS AT THE REVOLUTION.

Some have asserted that the supporters of Episcopacy in Scotland at the time of the Revolution were more numerous than the

Presbyterians. The truth seems to be that Episcopacy, as a general rule, was unpopular in the south of Scotland, and especially in the south-west, where the Cameronian influence prevailed. From the Forth to the Tay the adherents of the two systems were equally divided. North of the Tay, however, those who favoured Episcopacy were superior in number. In the diocese of Moray some of the Episcopal clergy kept possession of their charges till the rebellion of 1715, and in some cases the Presbyterian ministers could not be settled in their parishes without the assistance of the military. The Episcopal clergy were frequently treated with great harshness for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, but no attempt was then made to compel the laity to submit to the Presbyterian discipline. In the General Assembly which met in 1690 there was hardly any representation from the country north of the Tay.

DEATH OF WILLIAM III.

William of Orange died on March 8th, 1702. King James had died in September, 1701. William was succeeded on the British throne by Anne, daughter of James II. The Queen, being favourable to the doctrines of the Church of England, raised the hopes of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, who, with the exception of those who had taken the oaths and remained in possession of their livings, were not tolerated by law in the latter years of William's reign.

CONSECRATION OF SAGE AND FULLERTON.

> "For one and endless is the line through all the world that went,
> Commissioned from the Holy Hill of Christ's sublime ascent.
> Thank God, it never failed, nor shall! that long unbroken chain
> Begun in Thee—in Thee shall end, when Thou shalt come again."
>
> BISHOP COXE.

An oratory in the house of Archbishop Paterson at Edinburgh was the place where the first consecration of bishops was held after the Revolution. The disestablished bishops did not attempt to keep up the regular method of diocesan government. But the Episcopal clergy obeyed the bishops, and the bishops followed the direction of the Primate. In 1705 it was resolved to consecrate other bishops who were to hand down their episcopal authority to succeeding generations. With this view, on January 25th, 1705, John Sage and John Fullerton were consecrated bishops, the consecrating prelates

being the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane. So long as the disestablished prelates survived, the new bishops were only to assist at consecrations and ordinations, and give their advice when requested to do so.* In Bishop Sage's deed of consecration, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh assumed the title of Vicar of the See of S. Andrews. After the death of the other pre-Revolution diocesan bishops, he was the acknowledged head of the Scottish Church, holding in it an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, unknown in Scotland since the days of S. Columba.

THE UNION OF THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH PARLIAMENTS.

The Act effecting this union, formally ratified by the Scottish Parliament in 1707, confirmed the Act of William and Mary regarding the Confession of Faith and the establishment of Presbyterian Church government in Scotland.

DEATH OF BISHOP WILLIAM HAY.

William Hay, Bishop of Moray, died on the 9th of March, 1707. He has been described "as a person of mild and gentle temper, who disapproved alike of the penal laws against the Papists, and of the severe measures against the Presbyterians." A marble tablet in memory of Bishop Hay has been placed in the north aisle of S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness. This tablet, placed originally in the High Kirk of Inverness, 180 years ago, came into the possession of a clergyman, who, in 1889, gave it over to S. Andrew's Cathedral. The following is the inscription on the tablet:—

"Sub Jugo
P. M. S.

Reverendi admodum in Christo Patris Gulielmi Hay S.T.P. Episcopi Moraviensis meritissimi qui primævæ pietatis et summæ eloquentiæ Præsul constans ubique ecclesiæ et Majestatis Regiæ Assertor, Nec florentis magis utriusque quam afflictæ Episcopales Infulas pietate ornavit vitæ Integritate Morum suavitate Decoravit tandem studiis et paralysi vicennali exhaustus vitam integerrimam beatissima subsequta est mors Martii 19 mo., 1707, ætatis suæ sexagesimo. Hoc monumentum quale quale est qui ejus filiam duxerat Johan: Cuthbert arm: posuit."

"Sacred to the pious memory of the Right Reverend Father in Christ, William Hay, Professor of Sacred Theology, the most worthy

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., pp. 276-352.

Bishop of Moray, a prelate of primitive piety, and of the highest eloquence, everywhere the constant advocate of the Church, and of the Royal dignity, and yet not of either when flourishing more than when afflicted, who adorned the Episcopal Mitre with piety, integrity of life, and suavity of manners, until at last worn out by study and paralysis of twenty years, a most blessed death followed a most upright life on the 19th of March, 1707, in the sixtieth year of his age. John Cuthbert, Esquire, who married his daughter, has set up this monument, such as it is."

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS FALCONAR, CHRISTIE, CAMPBELL, AND GADDERAR.

The Scottish bishops, unable to give diocesan supervision to their flocks, and determined that the historic line of Scottish prelates should not fail, proceeded to fresh consecrations. On April 28th, 1709, John Falconar, the ousted minister of Carnbee, in Fife, and Henry Christie, the friend of Sage, were consecrated at Dundee by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane, and Bishop Sage. Like the consecration of Sage and Fullerton, this solemn rite was performed in secret, and bereft of its wonted cathedral splendour. "And," says a writer on the subject, "it was doubtless in full assurance of having the eternal Pontiff for their unseen consecrator, that Falconar and Christie knelt before those worn old men, to receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of Bishops in the Church of God." * Bishop Sage died at Edinburgh in 1711, and Bishop Christie's death took place in 1718. After the death of Sage, Archibald Campbell, son of Lord Neil Campbell, and grandson of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, the famous Covenanting leader, was consecrated at Dundee by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar. After his consecration, Bishop Campbell resided in England. James Gadderar, a native of Keith, in Banffshire, in the Diocese of Moray, was consecrated in London in 1712, by Bishop Hickes, of the English Non-juring Communion, and the Scottish Bishops, Falconar and Campbell.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER USED IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

In 1709, the English Book of Common Prayer was introduced at Elgin and Inverness, in the diocese of Moray, and at other places in Scotland.

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 356.

THE REV. JAMES GREENSHIELDS.

In 1709, the Rev. James Greenshields, a clergyman in Scottish orders, opened in Edinburgh a place of worship, in which he used the English Book of Common Prayer. For doing so, Greenshields was summoned before the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Having declined the jurisdiction of the presbytery, he was prohibited from preaching, and warned by the magistrates of Edinburgh, instigated by the presbytery. Continuing to preach as usual, Greenshields was committed to prison, where he lay for seven months. The Scottish Court of Session refused his petition asking for the same liberty of conscience as was accorded to the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, and the undaunted clergyman appealed to the House of Lords. There the decision of the Court of Session was reversed, and the tyranny of the Edinburgh Presbytery effectually checked.

ACT OF TOLERATION.

Not content with this victory, the friends of Scottish Episcopacy caused a bill to be introduced into the British Parliament for the purpose of securing toleration for all the clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The bill, having passed both houses of the legislature, received the royal assent on March 3rd, 1712, despite a petition against it from the Assembly. This Act of Toleration was styled "An Act to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing the Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled 'An Act against irregular baptisms and marriages.'" This Act, which allowed the Episcopal clergy to use the Liturgy of the Church of England without let or hindrance, ordained also that they should be obliged to take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and, during divine service, pray for the Queen, the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and all the royal family. The Act of Toleration was a great boon to the persecuted clergy of the disestablished communion, and, but for the political complications that were soon to follow, would have inaugurated a new era of peace and progress.

DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

Queen Anne, the last sovereign of the house of Stewart, died on August 1st, 1714. She was succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, who was proclaimed King of Great Britain under the title of George I. *

REBELLION OF 1715.

The Earl of Mar, in 1715, raised the standard of rebellion in favour of the exiled Prince of Wales, called by his followers James VIII. of Scotland. The Duke of Argyll was sent with an army to put down the insurrection. The two armies met at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, where a battle was fought of uncertain result. Soon after this, the exiled Prince landed at Peterhead, but he had neither abilities nor enthusiasm to succeed in so difficult an enterprise. In a short while the insurrection collapsed, and the Chevalier fled to the Continent. The Earl of Huntly had raised in Morayshire a contingent for the rebel army. After Sheriffmuir, the survivors of this force returned to Strathbogie. In 1719, the remnant of the insurgents was dispersed, when 400 Spanish auxiliaries were taken captive at Glenshiell. The public devotions of the Jacobite armies had been conducted by Episcopal clergy, and the sons of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane followed the banner of the insurgents.

SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY.

In 1719, the Government, incited by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, imposed severer penalties upon the Non-juring Episcopal clergy. A statute, then passed by the British Parliament, enacted "That no person should be permitted to officiate in any Episcopal meeting house or congregation, where nine or more persons were present, in addition to the members of the household, without praying in express words for King George and the royal family, and without having taken and subscribed the oath of abjuration contained in the statute, under the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and of having his meeting house shut up for the same period."

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., pp. 352-372.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS MILLAR AND IRVINE.

On October 22nd, 1718, Arthur Millar, formerly minister of Inveresk, and William Irvine, the ousted minister of Kirkmichael, in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh by the Bishop of Edinburgh and Bishops Fullerton and Falconar.

DEATH OF BISHOP ROSE.

Bishop Rose died at Edinburgh in 1720, leaving Scotland without a single diocesan bishop. He was a prelate of great ability and discretion, who brought the disestablished Episcopal Church without schism through a period of extreme poverty and depression.

BISHOP FULLARTON ELECTED PRIMUS.

When Bishop Rose died, four only of the surviving Scottish bishops were resident in Scotland. These were Fullarton, Falconar, Millar, and Irvine, and the other two, Campbell and Gadderar, lived in England. At this time, the proper course would have been the filling up of the vacant sees by persons elected to them by their clergy, acting in concurrence with the principal laity. That this course was not followed is due to the fact that the bishops were guided by the wishes of the exiled Prince and his representatives in Scotland. These latter, under the leadership of Lockhart of Carnwarth, were called "Trustees." After the funeral of Bishop Rose, there took place a meeting of the Edinburgh clergy, at which the three bishops, Falconar, Millar, and Irvine, declared their Episcopal character. At another meeting, held in April of the same year, Bishop Fullarton was present with his Episcopal colleagues, and the deeds of their consecration were duly produced. They laid claim to no territorial jurisdiction, asserting that they had been consecrated to preserve the Episcopal succession in Scotland. On the following day, the clergy alone met to the number of about fifty, and elected Fullarton as Bishop of Edinburgh. The other prelates ratified the choice of the presbyters, and appointed Bishop Fullarton as their Primus, but without metropolitan authority. The Chevalier advised the clergy to give the same obedience to the Primus which they had formerly paid to Bishop Rose.

BISHOP GADDERAR SENT TO ABERDEEN.

On May 10th, 1721, the clergy of Aberdeen elected Bishop Campbell as their ordinary. The latter did not proceed to Aberdeen himself, but sent Gadderar there, with a commission to act as his vicar. Dr. Gadderar officiated in this capacity till 1725, when Campbell by a formal deed resigned the see of Aberdeen in his favour.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS CANT AND FREEBAIRN.

Andrew Cant and David Freebairn were consecrated to the episcopate on October 17th, 1722, by the Primus and Bishops Millar and Irvine. Cant was the grandson of the famous Covenanting minister of the same name, and Freebairn was the deposed minister of Dunning.

GADDERAR ELECTED BISHOP OF MORAY.

Bishop Gadderar ordained various presbyters and deacons for the diocese of Moray, after his arrival in Aberdeen. He was formally elected Bishop of Moray on June 17th, 1725, by the clergy of the diocese assembled in the college at Elgin. Gadderar visited the diocese several times.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS DUNCAN, NORRIE, OCHTERLONIE, AND ROSE.

Alexander Duncan, deprived minister of Kilbirnie, and Robert Norrie, one of the deposed ministers of Dundee, were consecrated to the episcopate at Edinburgh, on S. James's Day, 1724, by the Primus and Bishops Millar, Irvine, and Freebairn. In 1726, John Ochterlonie, formerly minister of Aberlemno, and James Rose, brother of the late Bishop of Edinburgh, were consecrated in the capital by Bishops Freebairn, Cant, and Duncan, to the office and work of bishops in the Church of God. Most of these consecrations were approved of by the exiled Prince. James, indeed, intimated his wish to the Primus, that he, and those who acted for him in Scotland, should be consulted before any district was assigned to a bishop. After the death of Bishop Rose, the bishops ruled the Church, under the Primus, as a collegiate body. Hence there arose the designation of the Episcopal conclave, "College of Bishops." Sometimes the college was divided in opinion, open dissension being the result.

ARTHUR MILLAR ELECTED BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, AND PRIMUS.

On the 5th of May, 1727, the clergy of Edinburgh elected Bishop Millar as their diocesan; and he was acknowledged as Primus, Vicar-General, and Metropolitan by the Bishop of Aberdeen and Bishop Cant. On the other hand, the other members of the Episcopal College, Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ochterlonie, refused to sanction Millar's election.

WILLIAM DUNBAR, BISHOP OF MORAY.

William Dunbar was minister of Cruden previous to the Revolution, but was deprived for refusing to conform to the new Establishment. Having been elected as bishop by the presbyters of Moray, he was consecrated at Edinburgh on June 18th, 1727, by Bishops Gadderar, Millar, and Rattray. The last-named prelate had been himself consecrated, fourteen days before Dunbar's consecration, and Gadderar had previously resigned Moray. One of his Episcopal acts was to ordain William Falconar deacon in 1728. Moray and Ross were united when William Dunbar was elected. He was elected Bishop of Aberdeen at Old Meldrum on June 5th, 1733, but retained the see of Moray and Ross under his jurisdiction till 1736, when he resigned.* It is related of this clergyman that he held the parish of Cruden long after the Revolution, in defiance of the Presbyterian Establishment. Bishop William Dunbar was a native of Morayshire.

DEATH OF GEORGE I.

George I. died on June 11th, 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George II.

PERSECUTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

"Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."—MATT. v. 12.

This persecution of members of the Episcopal Church in the diocese of Moray lasted, with greater or less intensity, for seventy years, beginning at the Revolution and ending soon after the accession of George III. The clergy were the principal sufferers in that dark period of their Church's history, but the laity were not exempted. Fidelity to the exiled house of Stewart was the chief

* Keith's *Catalogue of Bishops*, and Shaw's *Moray*.

cause of the harassing and oppressive penal laws to which the disestablished communion was subjected after 1688. The first victims were those who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary.

REV. SIR JAMES STRACHAN OF THORNTON.

This clergyman was minister of Keith parish at the Revolution. Having refused either to pray for William and Mary or to read their proclamation, he was deprived of his incumbency. He nevertheless continued to preach to his own flock at Keith, and so numerous were his followers that nearly eleven years elapsed before a regular Presbyterian minister could be settled in the charge.

On September 3rd, 1703, Mr. Gilchrist, the Established minister of Keith, and Mr. Murray represented to the Presbytery of Strathbogie that Sir James Strachan, late incumbent of Keith, "did set up a meeting house in that parish, and practises the breaking and divyding of both parishes and other neighbouring congregations where Presbyterian ministers were settled; the presbytery also being informed that it was expedient to order a meeting at the Kirk of Keith, which Mr. Gilchrist earnestly pressed in respect that he found his visitation, especially in his ministerial capacity, thrust at by unaccountable calumnies industriously spread by the said Sir James, his abettors within and without the parish, for the better advancing and supporting the schism." Ultimately Sir James Strachan was, by the Scottish Privy Council, ordered "to be denounced her Majestie's rebell, and put him to her Majestie's horn, escheat and inbring all his moveable goods and gear to her Majestie's use, for his contempt and disobedience." *

After Sir James Strachan had been silenced by the secular arm, some of the laity read the Church services at Allanbuie, where the Keith Episcopal meeting house stood. In May, 1704, William Niven, factor of Muldarie, and precentor in the meeting house of Allanbuie, was charged with reading the services there. The Strathbogie Presbytery Record says of this zealous layman:—"Contumacious—did take upon himself to be precentor and reader in meeting house for the public worship of God; and, when no sermon is at the meeting house, draws the people there, where the said William, after reading several chapters in the Holy Scriptures

* Author's *History of the Church at Keith*, pp. 54, 55.

and some prayers, dismisses them with pronouncing the apostolic blessing, as is informed." "Called—compeared not." "Referred to the Laird of Grant, and to stop service till charge cleared." *

Sir James Strachan having sent his son George to conduct the services at Allanbuie, he too was summoned before the Strathbogie Presbytery, as the following Record shows :—

29*th June*, 1704.—"Represented by Mr. Gilchrist to the presbytery that Mr. George Strachan, schoolmaster at Huntly, and son to Sir James Strachan, late incumbent at Keith, had this last Lord's Day taken upon him to preach in the meeting-house at Allanbuie, where there had been no sermon for several preceding Sabbaths, the said Sir James Strachan desisting from preaching at the said meeting house, being prohibited and discharged by the Lords of her Majestie's Privie Councell from preaching: The presbytery taking to their consideration how dangerous it is if such encroachments upon the office of the ministry, by persons taking upon them to preach or invade the office of the ministry without any legall call thereto, be tolerat, and likewise that the said Mr. George Strachan had not subscribed the Confession of Faith as a schoolmaster, as the Confession of his Faith."

On the 18th of July, 1704, the Presbytery of Strathbogie met to receive any answer which the accused should be prepared to give them. That he did not appear nor recognise the authority of the presbytery is proved by another entry in the same Record.

"George Strachan, called, compeared not; but Mr. John Annand in Fochabers, and with him a great multitude of country people, convocate from this and the two parishes of Bellie and Grange, called by ane intimation att the meeting house att Allanbuie, the last Lord's Day immediately after the said Mr. George Strachan his preaching there."

The following incident reveals some rather sharp practice on the part of Mr. Gilchrist and his colleagues in the Strathbogie Presbytery :—

"It was represented that John Fraser, in Cooperhill (at Keith), had convocated several people that used to keep the meeting house on the Lord's Day, and had set up one Alexander Johnstone, a maltman, to read the English Service there, since now the late intruders were discharged to preach in that parish, and that the said Alexander Johnstone publickly prayed for persons dead."

On March 8th, 1705, the presbytery met, and Alexander Johnstone, the offending maltman, appeared. As to prayers for the dead,

* *History of Church at Keith*, pp. 56, 57 ; *Strathbogie Presbytery Records* ; and Craven's *Church in Moray.*

he explained there were some petitions for persons that were dead, viz., King Charles, Prince Charlie (afterwards Charles II.) and others, and he excused himself "as it was so in the book that was put into his hand." Alexander Johnstone was sharply rebuked by the presbytery.

The following excerpt, taken by the Rev. J. Craven, of Kirkwall, from the *Acta* of the Scottish Privy Council in the General Register House, Edinburgh, shows how the Strathbogie Presbytery called in the aid of the civil power to prevent the Rev. George Strachan from exercising his ministerial office :—

1705.—"Libel on letters of complaint by J. Blair to Council against Mr. George Strachan, schoolmaster, at Huntlie, alleadged Deaconat by the exauctorat bishops . . . . who hath, of late, intruded himself into the parish of Keith, and set up for a preacher therein, and exercises all the other parts of the ministerial function . . . . compeared with Mr. Robert Forbes, his advocate."

"Admitted what was alleadged and preached to such persons as came there for hearing of the Word, which he thought could not be the ground of a complaint wherewith to trouble the Lords of Her Majestie's Most Honourable Privy Council, especially as the Defender is qualified by law by taking the oath of alleadgiance, and signing the assurance." He added that "he did not intrude to church or manse, but preached only in a private house within the parochure."

Notwithstanding this defence, the libel was received, considered by the Council, and the following order given :—"They have prohibited and discharged, and hereby prohibit and discharge, the said Mr. George Strachan, defender, to preach or exercise any part of the ministeriall function within the parish of Keith, under the paine of being banished out of the Shyre of Banff, within which the said parish lies, if he transgress on the premises."

This sentence appears to have given great dissatisfaction at Keith, and some of the people retaliated by annoying the persecutors of Mr. Strachan. The *Acta* relate the circumstances of the case.

1706.—"J. Strachan" [probably meaning George Strachan, or some other son of James Strachan's] "diaconat by late Bishop of Moray, . . . supported by Papists, and though deprived yet he did exercise the ministeriall function on the borders of [Keith] and other parishes, sometimes in the fields and sometimes in the houses, and hath got such a following of loose and dissolute persons, wherof several are Papists, that they espouse his quarrell to that height, and insult almost the whole ministers of the presbyterie, attacking some of them with gun and pistols as

they ride out on the highway, and invading others of them, in their houses, with swords and other weapons, declaring openly that they practise these violences on Mr. Strachan's account."

The Episcopalians kept up their meetings until the State authorities stepped in and closed the place of worship at Allanbuie—for we find the following in the same Privy Council MS., 1706 :—"Mr. Robert Caddel [Calder likely] a man well known for his dissatisfaction to the Government, and for the troubles and disorders he hath occassioned in several parts, and one Mr. Alexander Gadderer, hath set up a meeting house in the Parish of Keith."

In 1706, the sheriff was ordered to take steps for shutting up the meeting house at Keith and the neighbourhood thereof.

The Rev. George Strachan was again indicted for setting up a meeting house in 1709, but the *Acta* state that :—

"The Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, in respect that the pannell denys the lybell, and that the pursuer owns there are no witnesses, they desert the dyet against the said Mr. George Strachan, and ordain him to be dismissed from the Bar.

"JOHN ERSKINE, I.P.D."

Sir James Strachan had another son, the Rev. Arthur Strachan, and, in 1707, Mr. Gilchrist of Keith represented that he had been carrying on irregular practices in baptizing and marrying in the neighbourhood of Keith. In 1708, the same clergyman was charged with committing the like irregularity in Mortlach.*

REV. JAMES SIBBALD.

During the continuance of the rebellion of 1715, the Rev. James Sibbald, Episcopal clergyman, held possession of the Established Church at Keith, preaching regularly to the people, and distributing the offerings collected during the services to the most indigent poor. After the rebellion was crushed, Mr. Sibbald had to flee for his life, and his hearers, with a view to their own safety, had to conform for a time to the Presbyterian services.

The Keith Kirk Session Records state that on April 1st, 1717, a meeting of the heritors was called to consider about means "for repairing the common loft, the kirk now being throng, since the meeting house gave up." All the laity, however, were not to escape punishment. The Rev. James Sibbald had baptized a child at

* Author's book on the *Church at Keith*, pp. 56-60.

Birkenburn, near the foot of the Balloch Hill. For this, both the father of the child and the witnesses were sent to prison. The original record tells the tale of their offence, political and ecclesiastical :—

"*April 25th*, 1716.—This day the persons following having been called before the session, were called and compeared, viz., John Hutchon, near Achynany, parent of the child, Robert Wat, and James Morison, the witness, Henry Palmer, near Birkenburn, in whose house the pretended baptism was administered. The persons being brought before the session were questioned for receiving ordinances from the hands of Mr. James Sibbald, late preacher at the meeting house in this parish. They having been rebuked, any other censure was delayed till further consideration, and they referred to the civil magistrate. And Thomas Grant of Achynany, one of the deputy-lieutenants of the shire, being present, ordered them to be conveyed from our bar to the prison, as contraveners of the established laws, in keeping company with an open and avowed rebell, and one so monstrously scandalous as the said Mr. Sibbald was known to be. Closed with prayer."

THE REV. ADAM HARPER AND THE REV. WILLIAM HARPER.

Adam Harper was minister of Boharm at the Revolution. He conformed to the new civil government, and was allowed to retain his charge. After the rising of 1715 he resigned, and opened an Episcopal meeting house at Cairn-whelp, in the parish of Cairnie. The usual persecuting proceedings followed upon his defection, as appears from the Strathbogie Presbytery Records :—

"*June 8th*, 1720.—Anent Mr. Harper in Cairn-whelp, the presbytery, taking this affair under consideration with Mr. Lewis Gordon at Huntly, and Mr. Harper at Gordon Castle, do agree that there be letters written to the Sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff, informing them of these men their illegal and irregular procedures. Moderator appointed to write, and, if Sheriff fail, to seek redress from others."

The Rev. William Harper, son of the minister of Boharm, was highly esteemed by the Earl of Huntly, who protected him from the attacks of his enemies. In 1721, he was brought before a Justiciary Court at Inverness, on the charge of officiating as an Episcopal clergyman. The charge was not sustained owing to an irregularity in the indictment. Mr. Harper, the younger, ministered to all the poor Episcopalians in Strathbogie, and when the persecutors failed to reach the shepherd, they brought forward for punishment some of the poorer members of his flock. In the Keith Kirk Session

Records of March 3rd, 1723, James Duncan is reported as having been seriously dealt with for "having his child baptized by Mr. Harper, which the said Mr. Harper now denies." Again, on March 15th, 1724, James Duncan was interrogated concerning "his going to Mr. Harper, a Non-jurant minister at Gordon Castle, to get his child baptized." The accused was summoned to appear before the Presbytery of Strathbogie. Another extract from the Keith Kirk Session relates to a similar offence :—

"*September 22nd*, 1723.—This day James Ord being called, compeared, and was sessionally rebuked for not producing his testimony, and going to Mr. Harper, a disaffected preacher, to get baptism for his child, after appointing to come here, *and keeping the minister waiting a whole day.* The minister reported that he had now got testimony of the said Ord." *

These are instances of the way in which the members of the Episcopal Church in the diocese of Moray were subjected to persecution after the disestablishment of 1690. Even as late as the reign of George III., cases of bitter persecution took place in the district. Although it is anticipating a little, the following narrative is an example of what took place in 1761, when the Rev. William Longmore was Episcopal pastor at Keith.

REV. WILLIAM LONGMORE.

Mr. Longmore was Episcopal clergyman at Keith, living at Auchinhove, near that place. The following extracts from the author's *History of the Episcopal Church at Keith*, and from the Keith Kirk Session Records, tell of persecution following upon the celebration of "a Non-jurant marriage":—

"Many were the episodes, painful and pathetic, associated with the pastoral duties of the clergy in those dark and troublous days. In the dusk of a September evening in the year 1761, two young men entered Mr. Longmore's house. They were Robert Paterson and James Downie. The former requested Mr. Longmore to proceed to Newmills that night for the purpose of marrying him (Paterson) to Isabella Downie. Mr. Longmore consented at once, paying no heed to the warning words of James Downie, who tried to dissuade 'him from doing it till he should take some time to think of it.' It was doubtless well known to James Downie, and to other Episcopalians at Keith, that in 1755 the Rev. John Connochar, a Highland Episcopalian of irreproachable character, had been sentenced to

* *Keith Kirk Session Records*; Author's book on *Church in Keith*, pp. 61-67.

perpetual banishment from Scotland, and forbidden to return under pain of death, for celebrating a marriage according to the rites of his Church. Mr. Longmore was, however, a courageous and determined man. He set off at once with his companions for Newmills, distant about half-a-mile from Auchinhove. The marriage ceremony, as described by the witnesses, was at once simple and impressive. Mr. Longmore read the service from the Book of Common Prayer. Margaret Lobban, a companion of Isabella Downie, acted as bridesmaid at this humble wedding. She entered the room just as the ceremony was beginning. Mr. Longmore was there, and as she stated when examined before the Kirk Session of Keith, 'they were all standing up, and he was setting about the marriage; he had a Prayer Book in his hand, and said something off it, but as she had never heard any of their marriages, she could not say whether it was according to the form of the Prayer Book, but is very sensible that he prayed, and that after the ceremony was over she saw him stay very cheerfully.' Mr. Longmore had taken his own Prayer Book to the house of John Steinson, where this marriage took place; and it came out afterwards in the examination of the witness that though John Steinson also owned a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, he kept it concealed in a 'bowie.' The book that had afforded comfort and solace to countless souls, generation after generation, had to be hidden away in a barrel from inquisitorial eyes. The marriage at Newmills took place after ten o'clock at night, and the Keith Session Records state that at this period such marriages were frequent in the district. For the offence committed by Robert Paterson and Isabella Downie in being married by their 'ain minister,' they were brought before the Keith Kirk Session on September 25th, three weeks after the wedding day. The charge was kept hanging over their heads until the following year, when they were fined 'Three pounds Scots, sharply rebuked, suitably exhorted, and dismissed from discipline.'

"It will hardly be believed that such cruel intolerance existed no further back than 'when George III. was King.' In England how different the associations with such a service would have been—the church doors thrown wide, the flower-strewn pavement, the bells sending forth a joyful peal, whether the married pair came from the castle of the nobleman or from the cottage of the poor. This was probably almost the last infliction of such a penalty. Brighter days were soon to come to the Scottish Church."

The following extracts from the Keith Kirk Session minutes confirm every detail of the narrative we have been describing:—

"Keith, *Sept.* 18*th*, 1761.—Session met and constituted. The clerk introduced a letter from the minister of Grange, bearing that Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie were cited to this meeting; and compearing, and also John Steinson and the witnesses alledged to be present, Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie were interrogated if they acknowledged themselves married persons. Confessed they did. Then being interrogated when and by whom, they said they were not at liberty to acknowledge that, and become their own accusers. Then being asked who were witnesses to their marriage, answered they were not at liberty to confess that either. Then John Steinson in Newmill, being called and compearing, was interrogated if he, as was commonly reported, was the person who had married Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie in Stripeside, said he was not; being further asked if he was present at the marriage, answered he was; being further asked what day they were married and in whose house, answered they were married upon the second day of September in his house; being asked who were witnesses, answered that Margaret Downie, his wife, and James Downie, in Newmill, Jannet Downie, and Margaret Lobban were all present. Being then interrogated who was the celebrator, replied that he was Mr. William Longmoor, Non-jurant minister at Auchinhove. That he heard he came in company with Robert Paterson and James Downie, who had a little before gone out of his house, where they had been for some time before. Signs his declaration—Signed, James Steinson.

"Called, compeared James Downie in Newmill, and being interrogated if he was present at Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie's marriage, declared he was. Being asked when, where, and by whom they were married, answered they were married by Mr. Longmoor, Non-jurant minister at Auchinhove, in the house of John Steinson in Newmill, but doth not remember the day. Being asked by whom Mr. Longmoor was called, answered that he, the declarator, was in the house of the said John Steinson with Robert Paterson that evening, and that about nine at night he went to convey Robert Paterson home, that as they went past Mr. Longmoor's house, they spied light through his windows, and turning in both together, found Mr. Longmoor alone, and after some short time Robert Paterson proposed to Mr. Longmoor to go with him to Newmill and marry him and Isabel Downie, which Mr. Longmoor readily undertook, notwithstanding he, the declarator, dissuaded him from doing it till he should take some time to think of it. That accordingly they went all back to Newmill to the said John Steinson's house, where he heard Mr. Longmoor perform the ceremony at full length off the Prayer Book, which he had all the time in his hand. Being further asked if he heard any report that these parties were married before by any other person, replied that

he heard such a report, but knew nothing of it, as he was working in Rothiemay at the time it was said to have happened. And that he declares is truth. Signed, James Downie."

"*May 9th*, 1762.—Mr. Archibald Campbell, minister of Grange, preached to declare Keith Church vacant.

"Mr. Campbell further reported that he had last week an extract from the clerk of this session of their minute of the 25th of September last, relative to the irregular marriage of Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie, and that though the said Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie are now residing in the parish of Grange, yet the Kirk Session of Grange think it no ways competent for them to take this matter under their cognizance, as the scandal was committed in the parish of Keith; and therefore he had appointed the kirk officer of Grange to summon the said parties to this meeting of session to undergo such censure as they shall see meet to inflict upon them. The session, taking this matter under consideration, called the said Robert Paterson and Isabel Downie, and they compearing, owned themselves to be husband and wife, and professed their sorrow for the offence they had given by their irregular marriage and their willingness to submit themselves to the censure of this session, and offered three pounds Scots to the session for the behalf of the poor in the parish of Keith. They being removed, the session, after mature deliberation, agreed to dismiss them from discipline upon a sessional rebuke, and they being called in, instantly paid the three pounds Scots, and were sharply rebuked, suitably exhorted, and dismissed from discipline. Closed with prayer."*

In other parts of the diocese the persecution raged against the Episcopal Church, and in many cases the ministers of the new Establishment had to be inducted by the secular arm. At Inverness, in 1691, the soldiers of Leven's regiment had to be called in to force the Presbyterian minister upon an unwilling congregation. So weak was the new ecclesiastical *régime* in Moray that an order of the Assembly was procured to comprehend the whole synod in one presbytery. The Privy Council was informed, in 1706, that the Bishop of Moray had given licence to men to preach, and that these men were frequently employed by Episcopal incumbents in their kirks and meeting houses.†

The Rev. George Hay, Episcopal minister of Aberlour, was summoned before the Justiciary Court for preaching and baptizing. The jury having returned a verdict of "not proven," separated and went home. But the judge ordered them all to return, and give a verdict of "guilty," after which Mr. Hay was sentenced to banishment.

* Author's *Book on Keith*, pp. 61-67.

† *Church in Moray*, by Rev. J. B. Craven, pp. 77, 79, 80.

Queen Anne, in 1711, granted her royal pardon to the unfortunate clergyman, expressing, at the same time, her disapproval of the proceedings taken against him.*

After Culloden Moor, the Earl of Antrim, at the head of his regiment, pillaged the house of Mr. Willox, the Episcopal clergyman at Duffus, burning his Bibles and Prayer Books and all his library.

In 1721, the magistrates of Elgin were ordered by the Government to put the law into execution against all Non-juring ministers within their bounds, and they resolved to prosecute the Rev. Alexander Cumming for preaching, praying, and administering the sacraments.†

CANONS OF 1727.

An Episcopal Synod, consisting of Primus Millar, and the Bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, and Moray, agreed to six canons for the regulation of the government of the Church. From this groundwork there has been developed the code of canons of the Church at the present day. The six canons enacted that only those who had been elected by the presbyters of a particular diocese should be consecrated to the Episcopate. In the meantime all the bishops and clergy were to acknowledge the metropolitan powers of the Bishop of Edinburgh. The other bishops adhered to the "college system," and refused to agree to the canons. They also declared the elections of Bishops Millar, Rattray, and Dunbar to be null and void.

Bishop Millar died in October, 1727, and Andrew Lumsden, the deprived minister of Duddingston, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh.

THE CONCORDAT OF 1731.

The influence of the diocesan bishops became greater as time went on, and, in 1731, their opponents, the college bishops, had to listen to terms of reconciliation. These terms were embodied in a concordat, which declared that hereafter no man was to be consecrated a bishop of the Church "without the consent and approbation of a majority of the other bishops." It was also agreed that Bishop Freebairn should be Primus, and that the presbyters

* Rev. J. B. Craven's *Church in Moray*, pp. 85, 88.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 173. For other instances of the persecution of the Episcopalians in the Moray diocese, see the Rev. J. B. Craven's *Church in Moray.*

of a vacant diocese were not to elect another bishop without a mandate from him. Dioceses were accorded to the several bishops, those of Moray and Ross being put under the inspection of Bishop William Dunbar.

ELECTION OF THE REV. GEORGE HAY TO THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

Bishop Dunbar having resigned Moray and Ross in 1736, the Primus issued a mandate to the clergy of those dioceses to elect a successor. Meeting at Elgin in July, 1737, they elected George Hay, presbyter of Daviot, in the diocese of Moray. The consecration of the bishop-elect never took place, being delayed by disputes among the bishops. Mr. Hay died at the end of the same year.

WILLIAM FALCONAR, BISHOP OF MORAY.

William Falconar, descended from Bishop Colin Falconar, was, as already related, ordained to the sacred ministry by Bishop William Dunbar. On September 10th, 1741, he was consecrated at Alloa, as Bishop of Caithness and Orkney, by Primus Rattray and Bishops Keith and White. Next year, Falconar was duly elected Bishop of Moray, and accepted the supervision of that diocese, with the consent of the other bishops. Moray was Falconar's native county, his father being Alexander Falconar, merchant in Elgin, and his mother Jean King, daughter of William King of Newmills, Provost of Elgin. When he was consecrated to the Episcopal office he had charge of the congregation at Forres.

CANONS OF 1743.

An Episcopal Synod, held at Edinburgh in 1743, enacted a new code of canons for the government of the Church. The bishops assembled, being united and in the same mind, declared the concordats, formerly agreed to, vacated and abolished. The new canons, sixteen in number, defined the position and power of the Primus, without whose mandate no election of a bishop to a vacant see was to take place. Bishops residing in the diocese of another bishop were, by the ninth canon of this code, exempted along with their congregations from the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese their church was situated. The canons of 1727 having been agreed to by only some of the bishops, the code of 1743 was really the first that had been framed for the Episcopal Church of Scotland since the unfortunate attempt of Charles I.

THE REBELLION OF 1745.

"Oh! send Lewie Gordon* hame,
And the lad I daurna name;
Tho' his back be at the wa',
Here 's to him that 's far awa!"

These words of the song, composed by a Roman Catholic priest named Geddes, residing in the Enzie, represent the longings that stirred the burning hearts of the Jacobites of Moray and Strathbogie after the unsuccessful rising of 1745. The insurrection had an important effect upon the fortunes of the ancient Episcopal Church of Scotland. Its leading events are well known. They were, the romantic landing of Prince Charlie in Moidart Bay; the advance of the youthful leader and his army to Edinburgh, where he resided in Holyrood, the home of his royal ancestors; the advance to Derby, and in a fatal moment the resolution to retreat; the defeat of Prince Charlie at Culloden, on which field the victor Cumberland sullied his name by the wholesale butchery of the captive Highlanders; and the wanderings of the hapless prince in the Scottish Highlands, whence he escaped to France, notwithstanding the enormous price that was set upon his head. The advance and departure of Cumberland's army was marked by the pillage and burning of Episcopal churches; and there followed a disgraceful persecution of the Episcopal Church.

PERSECUTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

After 1745, still heavier disabilities were imposed upon the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In 1746, a statute passed the British Parliament, entitled, "An Act more effectually to prohibit and prevent pastors or ministers from officiating in Episcopal meeting houses in Scotland, without duly qualifying themselves according to law; and to punish persons for resorting to any meeting houses where such unqualified pastors or ministers shall officiate." By this Act, the ministers of the Church were forbidden to officiate to more than five people at a time, including the household. Another statute of the legislature, passed in 1748, made the disabilities still more stringent. This Act declared "that no letters of orders, not granted by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, should, from

* Lord Lewis Gordon, younger brother of the then Duke of Gordon, had joined the Prince's army.

and after the 29th day of September, 1748, be sufficient, or be taken or adjudged to be sufficient to qualify any such pastor or minister," &c. Contraveners of these oppressive penal laws, for the first offence, were to be fined £5, and for the second, or any subsequent offence, they were to be imprisoned for two years. Penalties for contraventions of the law were imposed upon peers, public officials, and other dignitaries. These obnoxious enactments had the effect of diminishing, as time went on, the numbers both of clergy and laity. But the cloud had a silver lining; and as the Stuart cause became hopeless, the clergy, devoting less thought to politics, attended to their pastoral work with greater assiduity. They were taught by bitter experience that the less political a Church is, the more spiritual it becomes. The Scottish bishops, who at the Revolution refused to desert their King, whom so many had forsaken, will to all time coming be admired for their faithfulness and self-sacrifice. It was different with the Episcopal clergy and laity who joined in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. By that time it was evident that the new line of kings upon the British throne was there by the will of the nation, and the clergy at least ought to have known that "the powers that be are ordained of God."

CONSECRATIONS OF BISHOPS.

Even when the black storm-cloud of persecution was hanging over their Communion, the Scottish bishops and clergy continued to provide for handing down to coming generations the Episcopal succession they had received from their fathers.* On the 17th of June, 1747, Andrew Gerard was consecrated at Cupar-in-Fife as Bishop of Aberdeen, by Bishops Falconar, White, Rait, and Alexander.

DEATH OF GEORGE II.

George II. died in 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new sovereign looked with kindness upon all his subjects. He was more an Englishman than his predecessors, and had no wish to enforce vexatious laws upon the members of a Communion, whose only crimes were attachment to Episcopacy and exaggerated notions of hereditary right. The Episcopal clergy, aware of the change, began to officiate more openly, and to disregard the

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., pp. 1-48.

oppressive statutes. One instance of persecution has indeed been related in this work, as having taken place in the reign of George III. This occurred at the beginning of his reign, and is probably the last instance on record. The accession of George III. was to the suffering Church in Scotland as the first streak of the coming dawn.

THE FIRST OXFORD REVIVAL.

The first Oxford revival affected not only the Church of England, but also indirectly the Episcopal Church of Scotland. About the year 1729, a society was formed at Oxford, which came to receive the appellation of the Oxford Methodists. John Wesley, their founder, was born in 1703. He became Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and along with his brother Charles, student of Christ Church, Whitefield, servitor of Pembroke, and fifteen or sixteen others, formed a society for daily prayer and self-examination. The associates of the Connexion made it their everyday work to converse with students on religious subjects, and teach the fallen and the poor. After a time the Methodists separated into two grand sections—the one professing Arminian and the other Calvinistic doctrines. The Arminian section was headed by John Wesley, and the Calvinistic by George Whitefield. The reigns of the two first Hanoverian sovereigns were not favourable to truly spiritual work in the Church of England. Erastianism then reigned supreme, the State often appointing bishops who were unfitted in every way for their exalted and spiritual calling. Many of the clergy were absentees, whose duties devolved upon over-worked and ill-paid curates. Wesley and his fellow-enthusiasts, feeling all this most keenly, endeavoured to set before themselves far higher and holier objects. The first Methodists observed the ordinances of the Church and communicated every Lord's Day. They were ridiculed by the world, but not opposed by the heads of the University. True religion reaped important benefits from the labours of the Wesleys. They laid great stress upon the Christian doctrine of the Atonement, and enforced those tenets which asserted the fulness and freeness of the Grace of God. Some of the Methodists, however, held a dogma of Christian perfection, altogether untenable, and in time they separated themselves entirely from the Church. A reaction to a deeper spiritual life raised in the Church of England was the principal service of the Wesleyans to the Church. All earnest Christians, while they bewail the separation of the Methodists from the fold of the Anglican Communion, must thank God for the first Oxford revival.

They cannot but see in it the operation of God's Holy Spirit.* John Wesley died in 1791.

THE METHODISTS IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

John Wesley preached in the north of Scotland, and established few congregations there. The Connexion did not make great progress in North Britain. The following extract from the title-deeds of one of their meeting houses gives some idea of the strictness of their rules :—

"*Mr John Wesley to five trustees named, for a house and yard at Keith, 1789.*

"Dispones to them . . . . . .
Provided always that the said persons preach no other doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's notes upon the New Testament and four volumes of sermons ; provided also that they preach in the said house or premises at least every evening in every week, and at five o'clock on each morning following, &c.

"JOHN MIERS
"GEORGE WHITEFIELD } *Witnesses.*

"JOHN WESLEY."

BISHOP FALCONAR RESIGNS MORAY.

In 1776, the Rev. Arthur Petrie, presbyter at Folla-Rule in Aberdeenshire was consecrated at Dundee as Bishop-Coadjutor to Primus Falconar in the see of Moray. His consecrators were the Primus himself, and the Bishops of Brechin, Aberdeen, and Dunblane. On the death of Bishop Robert Forbes in 1777, the dioceses of Ross and Caithness were put under the Episcopal care of Bishop Petrie. The only surviving presbyter of these two dioceses was the Rev. Allan Cameron at Arpafeelie. A letter signed by him and several of the laity, requesting Bishop Petrie's appointment as Bishop of Ross, having been presented to the Episcopal College, the bishops collated that prelate to the two vacant sees. This mode of election is referred to by Bishop Falconar in the following letter :—

Right Rev. William Falconar to Right Rev. Arthur Petrie, Mickelfolla.

Old Meldrum, May 22nd, 1777.

"RIGHT REV. SIR,

"By your letter to me, it gives me pleasure to find that Mr. Cameron has acted very properly and as in duty he was bound in

* Perry's *History of the English Church*, vol. ii., pp. 591-594.

agreeing to accept of you as Bishop of Ross; this is one good stage gained. I hope the clergy of Moray will act a suitable part as to what concerns them. You did very right in acquainting the bishops with what has been done in Ross. The next step I am to take when you are once confirmed in that province is to resign Moray, which I will do as soon as Bishop Kilgour signs the Deed of Confirmation. You write me that such of the clergy as you have occasion to converse with favour Dr. A——y's promotion; but the question is whether these gentlemen are better judges than their ecclesiastical governors who are the persons proper for the Episcopate. I think that any man who has acted the part the doctor has done since the death of your worthy uncle, Bishop Alexander, is most unjustifiable. Has he not by his officious meddling and his rashness and indiscretion set the Church in a flame by his writing to all his acquaintances, sounding the trumpet of faction and revolt; struggling for his own advancement in a most shameless and indecent manner, notwithstanding his protestations of his backwardness to preferment? Who does not see this, must, in my opinion, be very blind. Mr. Strachan is a great stickler for the doctor. I saw a letter of Strachan's to him, which indeed censured me. In it he urges the doctor to stand to the election, and says that if they are to have a new mandate they will either choose him again or not elect at all. Is not this a glaring insult upon us, and an open contempt of the canons of the Church, especially the 5th canon of the synod of 1743? For my own part, I am determined, as I told the doctor, I will have no correspondence with clergymen of such rebellious behaviour. It will be our wisdom to stand firm and united, as there have arisen of late such a seditious and mutinous a spirit amongst the presbyters, who, being instigated by the doctor and his partisans, aim at nothing less than trampling upon us. The doctor's behaviour put me in mind of that saying, '*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.*'

"He seems at last to yield, provided we give him some assurance that we do not mean to prejudice his moral character. I told him we did not mean to meddle with his character. It is his turbulent and imprudent and fiery temper which we have just grounds to fear. May God graciously look upon the desolations and divisions, mainly occasioned by that restless man, and give peace and truth in our days.—I am, Right Rev. and Dear Sir, your affectionate brother and most humble servant, WIL. FALCONAR.

"You see my answers to Bishop Gordon, which you could sign. It will be sent you by Mr. Cheyne."

In another letter, June 21st, 1777, speaking of the doctor and his electors, he writes:—

"Mr. S., their dean, has bid us open defiance, and says that they of his party will stand by Dr. A. and will elect him a second time, or have none at all. Is not this strange behaviour expressly to insult us, and fly in our face directly against the 5th canon of our last synod. This is downright rebellion, nor can we, in my opinion, have anything to do with these gentlemen so long as they are in this frantic mood. God pity them, and pity us who have to do with a set of such seditious and self-conceited people! The doctor has shown such a violent thirst after promotion, and has made so great a bustle to push it on, that, were there no other objection, that of itself were enough to refuse and reject him. Your northern brethren do not know them so well as we do, and it surprises me that they would so rashly censure us for not falling in with their humour, who ought not to take upon them to talk so widely without better ground."

Bishop William Falconar, to Bishop Petrie, Mikelfallow.

Edinburgh, July 15th, 1777.

"Right Rev. and Dear Sir,

"I felicitate you as Bishop of Ross, and I hope you may be chosen for Moray as soon as you please. I once thought of sending my demission by Mr. M'Farlane, and to have wrote Bishop Kilgour and Mr. Leith to that purpose, which I shall, God willing, very soon do. I have sent, by Mr. M'Farlane, a letter to Bishop Kilgour. His last to me was wrote in a way, I must own, I did not like. I beg of you, dear brother, that you would use all proper methods which prudence can suggest to keep him from stating himself as head of a party, and that you would use your best offices with him to stand firmly by his colleagues. If this he does not, he will (I freely tell you) do a very bad office to the Church. The present faction want nothing but one of us to patronise them. This would be playing their game to their purpose; if your neighbour is induced to do this he may never live to see an end to that rebellious scheme now conjured up by A. and his associates. I hope, sir, you will always, with decency and dignity, act a becoming part. May God enable us all so to do, and be graciously pleased too, of His goodness, to pity the

desolations of His Sanctuary. I hope you have written in our register Bishop Gordon's letter and our return. May God long preserve you to us, and make you a happy instrument in promoting truth and peace in this suffering Church. You 'll receive from Mr. M'Farlane £2, 17s. for yourself, and, if you please, as much for Bishop Kilgour. I have left my letter to him open for your perusal. I will be anxious to hear from you, and am, Right Rev. and dear brother, yours, &c. WIL. FALCONAR."

Soon after this, the Primus resigned the see of Moray, and the Right Rev. Arthur Petrie was elected bishop of the diocese by the clergy.

DEATH OF BISHOP WILLIAM FALCONAR.

This prelate died on June 15th, 1784, having resigned the primacy two years previously. He was Bishop of Moray during the darkest days of the Church's troubles after Culloden Moor, and as a judicious ecclesiastical ruler he showed great wisdom in the government of the Church in most troublous days.

ARTHUR PETRIE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (*CONTINUED*).

"Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh."
ISAIAH xii. 11, 12.

EARLY EXPERIENCES.

ARTHUR PETRIE was born about the year 1730, and was therefore fifteen years of age when the battle of Culloden Moor was fought. His birthplace was Forgue, in Aberdeenshire, his father being a farmer in that place. His mother was a sister of Bishop Alexander, of Dunkeld, who took the keenest interest in the education of his young nephew. Mr. Petrie, having completed his studies at Aberdeen University, was engaged as a private tutor in some respectable families near Glasgow. In that city his high classical attainments and amiable manners gained him many friends, so that he was in a fair way of attaining to a high position as a teacher of classics. But Providence intended him to fill a very different sphere, and he received the call to serve the poor, persecuted, and disestablished Church of Scotland. Few in those days had the courage and the resolution to embark in the service of the humble Communion. Mr. Petrie's sense of the weight and importance of the ministerial office was so great that he said, "Nothing but the great scarcity of labourers, and the necessities of the Church could have prevailed upon me to undertake it." He was admitted to the diaconate on September 20th, 1760, and to the priesthood on December 26th, 1761, by Andrew Gerard, Bishop of Aberdeen. His first ministerial experience was gained as assistant to the good bishop who ordained him. After a while he was called to the pastoral care of Wartle, in Aberdeenshire. In his early days young Petrie must have worshipped with the persecuted remnant in the secret services that were held in remote cottages, or even on the lonely moor. He lived to see the days when the penal statutes became almost a dead letter, and when the morning of prosperity was breaking upon his beloved Church.

Had anyone said to him of his suffering Church about the close of his life, "Watchman, what of the night?" the humble bishop might have replied in the words of the evangelical prophet, "The morning cometh."

A CHURCH SERVICE IN THE DAYS OF PERSECUTION.

The reader can imagine a crowd of people assembled at the open door of their clergyman's house, usually a thatched cottage or a humble farmhouse. Only four or five individuals were admitted within, for the law permitted no more during the celebration of divine service. The presbyter stood just inside the door, or near an aperture made for that purpose in the wall. Here he read the prayers or delivered his sermon, so that all without might catch the words as they fell from his lips. When there was snow upon the ground, seats and forms were placed outside for the use of the worshippers. These were dauntless shepherds and exemplary flocks, who loved their God so well that they were ready to stand for hours in the driving rain or the winter snow rather than lose the opportunity of joining in the prayers they had known since their childhood's days. Such assemblies or conventicles of Episcopalians must have been well known to young Arthur Petrie.

When the penal laws were less vigorously enforced, the clergyman admitted into his house for service as many as the place could hold. Numbers, for the want of room, were obliged to remain outside. The Episcopal church at Meiklewarthill, a village two miles distant from the present church at Folla-Rule, in Aberdeenshire, was under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lunan, the predecessor of Mr. Petrie. Under such circumstances the sittings could hardly be free and open, and Mr. Lunan admitted the "gentles" within his house for service, and as many of the poorer people as he could. The rush was often so great, when the door was opened, that individuals received serious injuries in the endeavour to gain admittance.*

MR. PETRIE'S CHURCH AT MEIKLEFOLLA.

After Mr. Petrie had officiated for six months at Meiklewarthill, his congregation became anxious to have a more commodious place of worship. Having applied without success for a site to the laird of Meiklewarthill, whose zeal was overpowered by the remembrance of the late persecution, they procured a site from Mr. Leslie of

Stephen's *Episcopal Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 330, 331.

Rothie. He was ready to risk persecution for his Church, when he gave the site at Meiklefolla for the new place of worship. All in that congregation felt thankful to the laird for the boon he had conferred upon them. They realised that the long and stormy night of persecution was over at last, and "that their feet were now upon the *border* of the long desired Canaan of repose." The humble church at Meiklefolla was frequently styled Bishop Petrie's "Cathedral" by his neighbour, the Rev. Alexander Jolly of Turriff. But what a contrast it was to the ancient church of Moray, the glory of all the land, that Andrew de Moravia erected on the banks of the Lossie!

THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE AT MEIKLEFOLLA.

This college was Bishop Petrie's house at Meiklefolla. "It consisted of a *but* and a *ben*, with the addition of a small bedroom, which was afterwards erected at the bishop's expense."* The humble abode became the seminary for the education of the young men who were turning their attention to the sacred ministry of the depressed Communion. When Bishop Alexander died, he bequeathed to his nephew his valuable library and a sum of money. This was a helpful addition to the bishop's little patrimony, as well as a goodly array of useful books for the theological students. Such was the scarcity of labourers in the vineyard, that the clergy had often to officiate to two congregations eight or ten miles distant in the same day. Yet through all these difficulties the dauntless prelate struggled on, so that it was said of him, "For the Church, the body of Christ, and its welfare, he laid out the vigour of his mind and strength of his body. He went about doing good, journeying unweariedly, and without consideration of his bodily health, carried on beyond his strength by the love he bore to Christ and His spiritual kingdom. If the Church prospered, he rejoiced in the midst of pain and bodily weakness. If any detriment or hurt seemed to threaten it, no outward thing could make him cheerful."†

DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND.

Dr. Abernethy Drummond of Hawthornden, a frequent correspondent of Bishop Petrie, was a presbyter at Edinburgh. In Bishop

* Stephen's *Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. i., pp. 197-199.

† Stephen's *Episcopal Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 330-331.

Falconar's letter to Bishop Petrie it appears that the doctor had been elected Bishop of Brechin, but was induced by the bishops of the Church to decline the promotion. In 1786, the clergy of Dunblane unanimously elected Dr. Abernethy Drummond as their diocesan, and probably seeing no prospect of his election being confirmed, he a second time declined preferment to the episcopate. Next year he was elected to the vacant see of Brechin, and was consecrated at Peterhead, on September 26th, 1787, John Strachan, a Dundee presbyter being consecrated at the same time as his coadjutor. Dr. Abernethy Drummond, who subsequently became Bishop of Edinburgh, gained an unenviable notoriety as the abettor of the Edinburgh mob, when their fanaticism opposed the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. He was a generous contributor to all the schemes of the Church, and did not deserve the epithets applied to him in the letters of the other bishops, who too often insisted, for no valid reasons, on rejecting the persons elected to the episcopate by the presbyters of the Church.*

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

In the postscript of a letter to Bishop Petrie, Dr. Abernethy said, he proposed to make a second edition of the Historical Catechism. He also said at the same time, "I long also for another edition of the Communion Office. It is a shame to see what needless repetitions there are still in it, and that the thanksgiving should not be added out of S. James' Liturgy. It will not be used in this district at present, I know, but hereafter it may, and some may directly introduce it into other districts." In a letter of November 27th, 1777, the doctor says of the proposed revision, "I am favoured with yours some time ago, and in return to it acquaint you that since an improved edition of the Communion Office is not likely to be received even in your corner, I shall readily desist from the publication; for though the Primus told me I might print it as a curiosity, I think I may bestow my money to better purpose. I am sorry, however, that there is so great a change to the worse in Aberdeenshire, for from the conversation I had with your reverence on this subject in Edinburgh, I had reason to believe that not only your reverence, but the generality of the clergy, eagerly wished for more alterations than I intended."†

* Appendix I. † Appendix I.

JOURNEY FROM ALLOA TO MEIKLEFOLLA.

Mr. Petrie frequently visited his uncle, Bishop Alexander, at Alloa. The following letter,* lately brought to light, describes the pastor's homeward journey from Alloa to Meiklefolla in Aberdeenshire :—

From the Rev. Arthur Petrie to the Right Rev. Mr. John Alexander, Alloa.

"*Meiklefolla, July 22nd,* 1771.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAR UNCLE,

"After parting from you I reached Dunfermline about 1 o'clock, and upon alighting at John Adie's found that both families were expecting I would dine at William's; I told John that I intended to have dined with him, but since it was so, I would go to William's provided he would go along, and that we should all return to his house to supper, to which he readily agreed. We went accordingly, and his wife and daughter Annie came up to tea, but when we were all preparing to go down to John's to supper, a gentleman from Edinburgh came in, which obliged William and his wife to stay at home. John Allan and I, however, went and supped with John, but returned and slept in William's, which I found agreeable to John.

"I am afraid that they are not altogether cordial yet, and therefore took all occasions that offered of recommending unity and exhorting them to it as far as I could, though outwardly they seemed to observe a becoming decency."

"I had guessed rightly the reason of Babbie Ramsay being desirous to see me; for it was to recommend to me to endeavour to prevail with her mother to leave Aberdeen, where she thinks she lives at too great expense, and come out to this neighbourhood to some place near the moss, where she would get plenty of fuel.

"I approved of the proposal, and agreed to use my endeavours; and when the Messrs. Allan come north shall go to Aberdeen with them, that they may second the proposal. Upon leaving Dunfermline, Wednesday, after breakfast, John Allan and William Adie accompanied me to Kinross, nigh to which William has a cousin, where they were to dine. I proceeded to Auchtermuchty to dinner, and reached the waterside of Dundee that night; next morning I crossed

* The original of this letter is now in the possession of R. Bradford Prince, Esq., Governor of New Mexico.

the water, breakfasted with Sandy Allan, waited on the bishop, offered your compliments to him, and was graciously received. From thence I proceeded to Forfar to dinner, and after spending an hour or two with Mr. Skene, who had been a good deal distressed for some days before, but was then in hopes that the distress was removing, I reached Mary Kirk, where I slept that night, and after being detained four or five hours in the morning by a very heavy rain, I set forward on my way, and reached Banchory, on Deeside, about 7 o'clock at night. Next day being Saturday, when I came to the Don water, I found it greatly swelled, and, both the boats of Kemnay and Monymusk being out of the water, was obliged to turn down by Inverury, which led me five or six miles about; I reached home, however, in good time, and found all concerns well, and no loss occasioned by my absence. All glory be to God for His free and ever-flowing mercies. All your acquaintances whom I conversed with by the way, or have seen since I came home, expressed great joy at hearing of your welfare. It appears there have been more rains in this quarter since I left home than there was about Alloa, and more during last week than I met with on the way, and the corns now look pretty fresh, though short. Brother George joins me in compliments and best wishes, and begging your benediction, and a place in your prayers.

"I remain,

"Right Reverend and dear Uncle,

"Your very affectionate nephew, and most humble servant,

"ARTH. PETRIE."

BISHOP PETRIE'S MANAGEMENT OF HIS DIOCESE.

Bishop Petrie was most assiduous in the exercise of his episcopal office, visiting at regular intervals his extensive Dioceses of Moray, Ross, and Argyll. His tall aspect gave him an appearance of strength and vigour which he did not really possess. From his childhood, his constitution was delicate and tender, and yet this did not hinder him from making frequent visitations to the districts committed to his pastoral care. The good bishop always made his clergy welcome at Meiklefolla, and some of them made long journeys to that place to seek for his counsel and encouragement. One of them, the Rev. Hugh Buchan of Elgin, started from that city to Meiklefolla in February, 1781, but got no further than Huntly, the horse of the unfortunate traveller having fallen between Keith and Fochabers, and a second time at the head of the village of Rothiemay. Mr. Buchan

was compelled to turn back, and drive the horse before him all the way to Elgin. The principal charges in the Diocese of Moray at that time were Aberchirder, Ruthven, Keith, Huntly, Fochabers, Elgin, Duffus, Inverness, and Strathnairn. When the bishop could not proceed to Morayshire himself, he sent his neighbour, the Rev. Alexander Jolly of Turriff, who reported to him the state of the several charges.

KEITH.

The Episcopal Church at Strathisla was then a thatched cottage at Newmills, near Keith. Bishop Petrie sent Mr. Jolly to officiate at Newmills one Sunday in 1779. Writing to the bishop after he returned home, Mr. Jolly said, "It gave me great pleasure to hear your people, where I was, express so great affection for their bishop, and trust in your care of them."

Bishop William Falconar had sent to Keith the Rev. William Longmore, who was obliged to flee on account of some marriages he had celebrated. When the Rev. Andrew Macfarlane left Keith, the bishop sent the Rev. Alexander Christie to take his place. Mr. Christie had been sent to the capital in 1781 to complete his education, Bishop Petrie and the Edinburgh clergy bearing the expense. He was boarded at John Wilson's, at the rate of 1s. 6d. per week for his room. Mr. Allan, of Edinburgh, writing to the bishop about this student says of him, "It was judged expedient to give him a month with a proper English master, and accordingly I have fixed him with one for an hour every day, and flatter myself it will be of great service to him. He would have written you himself, but desired me to make his apology, as he did not choose to put your reverence to any unnecessary expense. In short, you may rest assured, that my brother and I will do all in our power for him, and as he appears to be a very modest, sensible lad, I am not without hopes of his answering your expectations." Bishop Petrie afterwards appointed Mr. Christie to the charges of Keith and Ruthven. In March, 1786, the Rev. Alexander Christie wished to fix his residence at Newmill, near Keith, and applied for a feu in that village, vacated in favour of the proprietor, the Earl of Fife. The following two letters were lately found in a box, unopened for half-a-century, and were published by Dr. Cramond of Cullen. They are addressed to William Rose, Esq., Montcoffer, Banff, and request his good services with the proprietor to obtain the feu for Mr. Christie.

From Bishop Petrie.

"To William Rose, Esq, Montcoffer.

"Dear Sir,—As Mr. Christie, a clergyman belonging to my charge, is at present very inconveniently situated, and has some view of purchasing or taking a lease of a feu in the town of Newmills, presently in the Earl of Fife's own hand, I presume to beg the favour of you to do Mr. Christie all the service you can in the case. You well know our situation and circumstances, and I'm persuaded need no further argument to induce you to comply with the request.

"My best wishes attend you and Mrs. Rose and young folks, and I am, with great regard, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant. ARTHUR PETRIE.

"Micklefolla, 22nd March, 1786.

"*P.S.*—This will be delivered to you by Mr. Innes at Parkdargue, who will further inform you of circumstances."

From Alexander Christie, Ruthven.

"To William Rose, Esq., Montcoffer.

"Sir,—The enclosed from Bishop Petrie in my favour, which should have been delivered to you by Mr. Innes at Parkdargue, had you not been from [home] when he meant to have been in [your neigh]bourhood. I have sent you with a [ ] from myself to inform you of Par[ ]. The feu in Newmills which I wish to purchase or to have in lease is what belonged to Hugh M'Kay, lying to the north-east end of the town. Now what I would ask of you just now by this trouble is to keep the feu open, and not let or sell it till I can learn if the men that I shall appoint to commune with you about it (whom I shall send in a few weeks) can make a bargain in my behalf. Your complying with this will oblige, sir, your most humble servant. ALEX. CHRISTIE.

"Ruthven, *April* 11, 1789."

FOCHABERS.

In Bishop Petrie's time it was very difficult, with the few labourers at work, to supply the spiritual wants of every corner of the vineyard. The clergy had, in many cases, to minister to two and sometimes to three congregations. Fochabers had to be worked conjointly with Arradoul, in accordance with an arrangement between the Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, as Arradoul was in the diocese of Aberdeen. These two incumbencies, being vacant in 1781, gave great anxiety to their respective bishops. In April of

that year, Bishop Petrie heard of a young man, Simon Reid, in Dr. Abernethy Drummond's congregation at Edinburgh, who seemed a likely candidate for ordination to Arradoul and Fochabers.*

On April 25th, 1781, the Rev. John Allan, of Edinburgh, said of Simon Reid in a letter to Bishop Petrie :—

"Dr. Abernethy and I have been speaking to Mr. Reid, who seems disposed to accept of the Arradoul congregation, and if he does not alter his sentiments, we propose sending him north in about a month hence, that Bishop Kilgour and his clergy may have an opportunity of seeing and conversing a little with him before he is put in deacon's orders. When he comes I will take the liberty of sending him first to your reverence, who, I 'm persuaded, will readily ask the favour of Mr. Cruickshank, or some other clergyman in your neighbourhood, to go along with him and introduce him to Bishop Kilgour. The lad is young, but appears to be sensible; he was twenty-one years of age some time in February last, but, from his size, you would not take him to be so far advanced in life. He reads extremely well, which is a qualification that few of our young men have an opportunity of acquiring."

The Bishop of Moray was advised by his Edinburgh friends to lose no time in securing Mr. Reid for Fochabers, as a vacancy had taken place at Perth, and the Perth congregation were making overtures to him. In those days the charge at Perth was inferior in a financial sense to that of Arradoul.† Alexander Christie and Simon Reid were both made deacons in 1781, and the Rev. Hugh Buchan of Elgin was raised to the priesthood. After his ordination the Rev. Simon Reid went to Arradoul.‡ In July, 1781, he wrote asking Bishop Petrie what he wished to be done at Fochabers. He said, "I have not been there as yet; but I intend to go next Lord's Day, God willing. I believe Mr. Mitchell went once in three or four weeks. I think I might go once in the two weeks. Mr. Mitchell is very weak, but may hold out, I think, for some time."

Mr. Reid, after this, officiated at Fochabers every alternate Sunday. Writing about a new church they were to build at Arradoul, Mr. Reid said, "Cairnfield has appropriated a piece of ground for building it (a chapel) upon, and there is a subscription opened for defraying the expenses. This I was desired by Mr. Gordon to intimate to them last Lord's Day." "I intend to apply to Dr. Abernethy Drummond for assistance."

* Appendix III. † Appendix V. ‡ Appendix VI.

HUNTLY.

In 1781, the Rev. John Innes, the clergyman at Huntly, said to Bishop Petrie, about the number of communicants in his congregation, "Our number here at this season was very small, which is always the case at this time, we being not above fifty at the altar."

ELGIN AND DUFFUS.

These charges had often to be worked by the same pastor. The Rev. Alexander Jolly, of Turriff, at the request of the Bishop of Moray, visited the Kaim of Duffus in 1780. Writing of Duffus to the bishop, Mr. Jolly observed, "The visit at which place I cheerfully undertake, trusting to God's assistance—more and more convinced of my own insufficiency for these things."

The Rev. Hugh Buchan was on one occasion greatly distressed because Lady Dunbar had communicated at the qualified chapel at Elgin, then under the charge of Mr. Alardyce. He sent her ladyship a printed letter written by Dr. Abernethy Drummond, "to show Lady Dunbar the necessity of communicating in the unity of the Church and with the lawful bishop of the diocese."

Another matter that troubled Mr. Buchan was the resignation of his precentor who led the psalmody. Writing of this to Bishop Petrie, he said:—"Mr. Kay is still due me one year's rent of the money, but did not take his bill, as he told me he was not certain of the date that it should be drawn from. I have nothing particular to write you, only of a small disturbance that I had on account of our singing, which I have got made up. I asked James Gordon if they ever used a dismissing anthem, which he said they did; and upon showing him the 84th psalm anthem, and asking if they sung that, he told me they did, and upon giving out the first line, he told me he did not sing it, and desired Mr. Anderson to do it, which he did. James, upon Monday morning, came to my room and told me that he would sit no more in the precentor's seat, and desired me to provide myself against next Sunday. But seeing that he was a little passionate, I desired him not to be too rash, but come to my room in a day or two and tell me; but this had no effect, for upon Sunday was a three weeks, he did not sit in his proper seat, and the place was vacant for two Sundays. However, I was resolved (since he would not return to the precentor's seat) not to court him, but asked at Mr. Anderson if he would accept of the seat. He told

me that he would refuse nothing that I would desire, and accordingly presented last Sunday, since which time we have been all pleased."

The Elgin congregation worshipped in 1781 in a hired house, which at that time was not secured to them for any length of time. The managers endeavoured to lease the house for a lengthened period, but did not succeed. Mr. Ross was the owner of the property, and the managers met with him in Mr. Buchan's room, with the view of coming to some arrangement. Of this meeting the clergyman wrote to Bishop Petrie—"Mr. Ross upon their meeting in my room was nettled, because Mrs. Ross was from home; as he thought Messrs. Stephen and Ritchie were taking the advantage of her absence. This Mrs. Ross told me afterwards, and I proposed that they would meet again, and that she should be present; but she told me that we need not trouble about the matter, for as long as I or any other clergyman stayed in the Close, we should never be disturbed by them. But this I think to be quite unsatisfactory. God only knows how soon the strongest of us may be called hence, and none of his family being brought up in the Church, they might upon his demise turn us out at pleasure, and defraud the congregation of the money they laid out upon repairing the house, which is upwards of £30."

INVERNESS, FORTROSE, AND ARPAFEELIE.

The Rev. William Mackenzie was the clergyman in charge of the church at Ord and Arpafeelie during Bishop Petrie's episcopate. At that time, according to a letter to the bishop from the Rev. W. Paterson, there were 100 members "between both places."

Mr. Mackenzie ministered to Gaelic Churchmen on both sides of the Kessock Ferry. The penal statutes were somewhat relaxed, but they were not yet repealed, and like the sword of Damocles, they were held over the heads of the Episcopal clergy. The bishop was told by this presbyter "that all the charges on both sides of the Kessock Ferry" were much the same as when he was last there; but that Fortrose appeared to be diminishing, on account of most of the members leaving the place. He also stated to Bishop Petrie that the laymen acting as managers at Ord and Arpafeelie were illiterate men, who could neither read nor write. The sum, raised yearly from both of these congregations was £30, which went to the clergyman and his assistant catechists.

The following passage in Mr. Mackenzie's letter shows that even

in 1781 the Episcopal clergy in some places performed marriages at the risk of incurring the penalties threatened by the State :—"The marriage, which I was through mistaken humanity importuned to perform, happened in summer, '77, a little before your first appearance in the country ; a few murmured at it, but the most judicious of those concerned thought I did what was best to be done ; but it proved a salutary caution to me to withstand different applications made me for that purpose; that I luckily kept free of three or four clandestine marriages that happened since that time, as some of them proved hurtful to the performers, and gave cause to such as do not affect us to bring contempt upon us. I know well that as matters stand, we have no title to marry, and that marrying any parties exposes to great danger." *

BISHOP PETRIE AND THE REV. ALEXANDER JOLLY.

Bishop Petrie was expected to visit his diocese in the spring of 1781, though physically he was unequal to the task. About that time Mr. Jolly wrote to him, "It gives me great concern to think of your reverence's present state of health, and of the great fatigue of mind and body you are constantly labouring under. Meantime your most engaging example of patience and activity must animate us all. And I shall always remember it as a most gracious Providence that I have been brought so near to your reverence, and will endeavour, by the help of God, to be within sight of you to all eternity."

Mr. Jolly, in his younger days, was a theological student under Bishop Petrie at Meiklefolla, and the bishop had always a sincere regard for his pupil. Even in his youth, as the Rev. Dr. Walker writes, Mr. Jolly was "venerable and venerated." He had, notwithstanding this, a keen sense of humour, and frequently indulged in a joke. In one of his letters, when asking Bishop Petrie for his apostolic benediction, he said that it was "better worth that epithet than the Pope's." On another occasion he wrote to the bishop, "I ought to apologise for not waiting upon your reverence, since I had the honour of performing the highest function in your (it should have been) cathedral, which I did with very great satisfaction." Mr. Jolly was affectionately attached to his former master, and could look back with pleasure upon his student days at Meiklefolla. Writing to the bishop in 1780, he said, "I beg my compliments to the gentlemen students with your reverence. I wish I were in their

* The writer of this letter spoke and read the Church Services in Gaelic, and could not so clearly express his thoughts in English.

place again! I think I would improve it better than I did." By an arrangement with the Bishop of Aberdeen, candidates from the various charges near Meiklefolla were confirmed by Bishop Petrie. A list of those sent in this way from Turriff to be confirmed at Meiklefolla will be found in the Appendix of this book.* On the other hand, the bishop officiated sometimes at Turriff, confirming any candidates presented to him there.

A GOWN PRESENTED TO BISHOP PETRIE.

On August 22nd, 1783, Mr. Jolly sent to Bishop Petrie a gown, probably a pulpit one, with these remarks, "I am happy of any occasion (which too rarely occurs) to serve your reverence, whom I so highly honour and love. I 'm afraid that this gown, my late dear patron's best, will be too short for your reverence. I wish I had a bit of fit cloth; Annie would have given it an additional border at the foot, which will be necessary to make it sit decently upon you."

TEN SUCH AS BISHOP PETRIE MIGHT SAVE THE CITY.

Mr. Jolly, having delivered a packet to Bishop John Skinner from the Bishop of Moray, makes the following remarks in a letter to the latter:—"The Primus and his coadjutor were busy in exploring while the presbyters were engaged with the new deacons. I still kept in view the part your reverence entrusted me with, but tho' I might, perhaps, have found an opportunity of bringing it on with the old gentleman, yet, when I considered the mood he seemed to be in, I thought it the safest way to advance nothing as from your reverence, in which opinion Mr. Cruickshank concurred with me. And indeed, in my poor opinion, your reverence has done the utmost upon this critical occasion that the strictest duty requires, and left nothing further to do but to continue your most acceptable and prevailing mediations with Heaven, which are in no danger of being misunderstood, as sometimes the best intended and best timed addresses to man are. Had we but ten such as you, though as bad as Sodom and Gomorrah, we might still hope to escape."

DR. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND ELECTED BISHOP OF BRECHIN.

At this time the election of bishops to vacant sees, though nominally in the hands of the presbyters, was practically in the power of the bishops. They could refuse any candidate elected by the clergy

* Appendix IX.

without giving any reason for their doing so. The Bishop of Moray and his colleagues objected to the election of Dr. Abernethy Drummond to the See of Brechin. They seemed to think the presbyters should always accept the episcopal nominee. This is evident from the following extract of a letter from Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Petrie:—"But should they nevertheless do it, I cannot help thinking that the bishops yielding the point to them, would be approving their undutiful conduct, their factious obstinacy, and from henceforth giving up our right to a negative, and acknowledging that we have no judicative power, but that we ought to submit to whatever the presbyters shall dictate; and our power to consist only in ratifying and confirming their resolves. This is the doctrine and the point which the doctor and brother clergy appear to have in view, and labour so hardly to establish. The true spirit of Presbytery, and in my opinion diametrically opposite to and subversive of Episcopacy. A spirit, therefore, which I shall always think myself obliged to oppose."

The Brechin Presbyters, thinking that their privileges were being unduly interfered with, addressed the following letter to the Bishop of Moray:—

Messrs. Strachan, Greig, Somervail, Walker, and Spark, to Bishop Petrie.

"*Redmire*, 1781, *5th Sept.*

"Right Reverend Sir,

"Immediately after our deed of election, which happened on the 25th of July, being S. James' Day, we signified in a letter to the Primus and to his right reverend colleagues, signed by the Preses and the Clerk of the meeting, our having made choice of the Reverend Dr. Abernethie, and that the election was carried by a great majority in his favour, none of the presbyters of the district being absent but Mr. Beatt at Inchyra, having sent his excuse, and requesting that the bishops would proceed with all convenient speed to his consecration, as the exigencies of the Church required it, yet finding that our earnest request has not been granted, and that you oppose his promotion (for reasons best known to yourself), we further earnestly beg of you to confirm our election, and not risk the peace of the Church by refusing. Merit, undoubtedly, he has, his enemies being judges, to justify our choice, and we had reason to expect your approbation, when you knew that Bishop Falconar, from whom all the former opposition proceeded, long before our last

election was not only reconciled to him, but warmly and affectionately spoke of him to several, as we are well assured, and some of us can particularly bear witness to. Let us add, we have reason to believe that the doctor's not having signified his mind, as to acceptance, proceeds from your declared opposition to him, even before the election was intimated to him, and that your persisting in it, put it out of his power to do what he intended. His character, too, by what has been done, is attacked in the strongest manner possible, and justice to himself requires that he should make no declaration until he have an opportunity of vindicating it. And we also humbly beg leave to think that justice, which is the first of all Christian virtues, obliges us to stand by the deed of election, unless it can be proved that he is either heretic or immoral, from both which we humbly think Bishop Falconar's approbation, under whose eye he lives and acts, fully frees him. In short, we cannot give him up without violating one of the most essential rules of Nature and Christianity—not to do to one another what in reason we would not wish to be done to ourselves. Whereas your reverence has only a little humour or opinion to subdue, which is a small sacrifice for the sake of peace. We hope your reverence will pay all attention to our petition, which the merit of it deserves, and grant a favourable answer. We earnestly beg your paternal benediction and prayers for ourselves and all our concerns, and are with sincere esteem,

"Right Rev. Sir,

"Your most dutiful sons and very humble servants,

"JOHN STRACHAN.
"ALEX. GREIG.
"JAMES SOMERVAIL.
"JAMES WALKER.
"ROBERT SPARK."

The Bishop of Aberdeen also was opposed to Dr. Abernethy Drummond's election, and expressed his fears to Bishop Petrie by letter.* A letter from Bishop Charles Rose, written in the same strain, disapproved of the doctor's preferment. Notwithstanding the opposition of the prelates, Dr. Abernethy Drummond was again elected Bishop of Brechin in 1787, and was duly consecrated to that diocese. He was a most liberal benefactor of the Church.

* Appendix VII.

FIRST ORGAN IN AN EDINBURGH CHURCH AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

In May, 1782, an organ was erected in the Rev. W. Harper's church of S. Paul's, Carrubber's Close. The following extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Allan to Bishop Petrie shows the commotion the event excited among the small band of Episcopalians in the capital:—

Rev. Alex. Allan to Bishop Petrie.

"*Edinburgh*, 11*th May*, 1782.

"RIGHT REV. DEAR SIR,

"As time would not permit when I wrote you last week to mention some particulars which I then wished to impart, I shall now endeavour to supply that defect, although a post later than I intended. I know not whether our friends in the north may have got any fresh assurances of protection in these perilous times; but make no doubt you will be surprised when I inform you that our neighbours in Carrubber's Close (I mean Mr. Harper's congregation) appear as if they were great favourites of those in power; for not satisfied with excellent vocal music, they have lately erected an organ in their chapel—they have not yet begun to use it in public on the Sundays, but frequently practise on the week-days in the presence of both clergy and laity. I have talked a little with the bishop about the propriety of this step, as it appeared to me rash and imprudent, and might in the end prove of more general concern than they imagined. His reverence told me that they had never consulted him in the affair; he had, however, spoke to Mr. Harper and discharged the use of it in public on the Sundays. Whether they will pay any regard to this inhibition, time must determine. But it is evident the plan was to use it directly, altho' Mr. Harper softens the matter by saying that it is to improve the voices of the young people with regard to the proper time, which end might have been gained by placing it somewhere else than in the body of the chapel."

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SEABURY.

"When o'er the western waters they seek for crook and key,
The Lord shall make like Hannah's thy poor and low degree!
Thou o'er new worlds the sceptre of Shiloh shalt extend,
And a long line of children from thy sad breast descend."

BISHOP COXE.

The 14th day of November, 1784, was an important day to the Anglican Communion in both hemispheres. Bishop Seabury was then

consecrated at Aberdeen as the first bishop of that Communion sent to the United States of America. No one walking in the streets of the Granite City on that November morning, could have seen any indications of the solemn ceremony. The worshippers met in an upper room in Longacre, almost in secret, for the oppressive penal laws against their Church were not yet repealed. The poor place of worship was scantily furnished, the "bishop's throne" being a simple mahogany chair, worth a shilling or two.* The consecrating prelates who took their places in the humble sanctuary were Primus Kilgour, Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Moray and Ross, and John Skinner, Coadjutor to the Primus. The American Episcopal clergy had sent the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., over to Britain in 1784, to request from the English bishops the gift of consecration to the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God. Even previous to the War of Independence, the British Government unwarrantably interfered with the spiritual rights of the Church by refusing to allow the consecration of bishops for the colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. When Seabury arrived in England, he found that the great bar to his consecration was the oath of allegiance to the King required by the rubrics of the English Service. Being a subject of the United States, he could not take this oath. At last, wearied with the procrastination shown by the English bishops, he applied for consecration to the bishops of the Scottish Church. These humble prelates of the proscribed Communion, having ascertained from Archbishop Moore that their compliance with Seabury's desire would not be offensive to the Church of England, readily agreed to consecrate him. Primus Kilgour said that the motion was from the Holy Spirit, and Bishop Petrie is reported to have said—"The prospect rejoices me greatly, and, considering the great depositum committed to us, I do not see how we can account to our great Lord and Master if we neglect such an opportunity of promoting His truth and enlarging the borders of His Church." † Thus, on the 14th of November, 1784, Samuel Seabury was consecrated at Aberdeen by the aforementioned prelates.

The consecration service was without the usual cathedral accompaniments of organ and choir, and the congregation joined in the quaint and simple metrical version of the psalms. But doubtless,

* The identical chair is now in good preservation in the vestry of the church at Keith.

† Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., p. 92.

though unseen by mortal eye, angels and archangels were there, singing "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.

The American clergy received their new bishop with unbounded delight, and from grateful hearts they expressed their wish, "That wherever the American Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world, this also that the bishops of Scotland have done for her may be spoken of for a memorial of them." Bishop Seabury himself said to Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen in a letter dated December 23rd, 1785:—"Had I a direct conveyance to Glasgow, I would write several letters, particularly to the Right Rev. Bishop Kilgour and Bishop Petrie. I esteem them as my heart's choicest treasure—the friends of my soul—my fathers in Christ; and I love and reverence them beyond expression. The age of the one, and the infirm health of the other, make me anxious, yet fearful, to hear of them. If they yet fight the good fight of faith, and are not translated to the triumphant part of Christ's Church, tell them the sentiments of my heart, that I love and respect them, as I do the blessed in heaven."

In 1787, two other prelates were consecrated at Lambeth by the English bishops, and sent out to the United States of America. They and Bishop Seabury entered into full communion with one another. Latitudinarian principles were prevalent in the southern States of America, and with the view of suppressing them, Bishop Seabury applied to the Scottish bishops for the consecration of a coadjutor to himself. This, as Bishop Macfarlane stated in one of his letters, the Scottish College refused, and their considerate conduct prevented a schism in the American Church. The following letter was addressed to Bishop Petrie by a clergyman of Connecticut, who had come to London. This epistle shows the difficulties the first Bishop of Connecticut had to encounter, and the great danger there was of a division arising between the Episcopalians of the northern and southern States of America.

LETTER TO BISHOP PETRIE FROM AN AMERICAN CLERGYMAN.

To the Right Reverend Bishop Petrie, Aberdeen.

"Right Reverend Sir,

"Not to be known to you and the College of Bishops of the ancient Episcopal Church in Scotland, whose trials and sufferings in consequence of liberty, revolution, and Protestantism, is my misfortune. Knowing your character from Bishop Seabury, now in Connecticut

with a set of clergymen, who would have done honour to the primitive Christians, and believing your name to have been the same as my ancestor's, William Petrie in 1636, and in consequence of some letters from the clergy in Connecticut, where I was born and settled down as a clergyman of the Church of England, till 1774, when I was expelled by the rebels to make room for another revolution, I have ventured to address you and send forward the enclosed letter to the College of Bishops in Scotland from the clergy of Connecticut.

"In consequence of letters from America, I beg leave to give you the following information. The four New England States in America will unite under Bishop Seabury. The eight Southern States endeavoured to unite against Bishop Seabury under Dr. Smith and Dr. Whyte.

"They held a Convention at Philadelphia, that is, 20 priests and 20 laymen, and established, as far as they could, a generous and comprehensive system, which offends no people except Christians. Their new Prayer Book would make Baxter and all the Puritans now blush, because they have mended the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, expelled the other two, and 19 of the 39 Articles, the ten commandments, and the invocatory parts of the Litany to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They have purified every office in the English Prayer Book, and much improved them on Lindsay's and Arian systems.

"Having done these things, and nominated Dr. Smith to be their bishop, under the government of lay-elders and preaching ministers, after he should be consecrated by the bishops of South Britain, and forbidding any person ordained by Bishop Seabury to officiate within the eight Southern States, they wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, demanding consecration of Dr. Smith, and obtained a letter from the Secretary of Congress to John Adams, the Puritan ambassador to the Court of London, to aid and assist Dr. Smith at Lambeth.

"I will venture to inform you everything has been done here for Dr. Smith by the friends of a deistical bishopric and a dependent bishop to no effect. After they are discouraged here, they will, it is apprehended, apply to your college for a consecration of Dr. Smith and Dr. Whyte. I wish health to religion and the Christian Episcopacy. I have no interest nor passion to serve in this matter; yet I find myself inclined to assist Bishop Seabury and my Christian

brethren of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut against Arians and Deists, who will soon ruin the Church in Connecticut, if they could get Dr. Smith or Dr. Whyte bishop as their pretended head. You need not my advice in this business, and therefore I shall conclude with a promise of sending you the new Prayer Book, when it shall arrive.

"The proceedings of Dr. Seabury and his clergy you will see in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January and February, 1786, and Dr. Cooper's character and sufferings. Should you honour me with any commands, I shall obey them with pleasure. May Heaven support the afflicted, and renew their former comforts with such patience and resignation as will bear them on the wings of time to that world of Charity, where the clock shall not distinguish hours, and the cry of want shall not be heard. I am with great esteem and sincerity your most dutiful, SAMUEL PETERS.

"No. 1 Charlotte Street, Pimlico, London,

"*Feb.* 20*th*, 1786."

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP MACFARLANE.

About the beginning of 1787, it was evident to all Bishop Petrie's intimate friends that his strength and constitution were sinking fast. His last public action of importance took place on March 7th, 1787, when the ailing Bishop of Moray assisted in the consecration of Andrew Macfarlane as coadjutor and successor to himself.

DEATH OF BISHOP PETRIE.

The good bishop passed to his eternal rest on April 19th, 1787. The death of his brother six years previously had drawn forth the heart-felt condolences of Bishop Kilgour, Mr. Jolly, and other friends.* Bishop Jolly said of the departed prelate that he was "one of the best men he ever knew," and that it was his wish to keep near to him and his holy example "to all eternity." His name will always be remembered as one of the three bishops who took part in the consecration of Bishop Seabury.

The remains of Bishop Petrie were laid in the churchyard of Dunbennan, near Huntly, a plain marble stone being erected over his grave. These are the words of his epitaph, which were

* Appendix V.

composed by the Rev. John Skinner of Linshart, the "Burns of the North"—

Quem tegit hic ~~lippus~~, Fratrum pietate locatus, Cippus
Arthurum Petrie, lector amice, luge :
Præsul apud Moravos, doctus, pius, atque fidelis,
Dilecti et meriti hominis, ille fuit,
Post vitæ undena, et sacri duo lustra, laboris
Ah ! nimium propere, non redituros—obit.
Parce tamen lachrymas—Melioris gaudia vitæ,
Quamque unam coluit. Præmia Pacis habet.
Ob. April 19, 1787.
Ætat. 56to.
Pontificatus Rossen.
et Moravien. 11mo.
R. I. P.

Translation.

Gentle reader, mourn for Arthur Petrie, whom this stone, erected by the piety of his Brethren, covers. After fifty-five years of the life of a beloved and devoted man, and ten of sacred labour as Bishop, alas ! too soon, he was not to return—he departed. Yet spare your tears—he has always cherished the joys of a better life. He has the rewards of Peace. He died on April 19th, 1787, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the eleventh of his Episcopate of Ross and Moray.

May he rest in peace.

ANDREW MACFARLANE, BISHOP OF MORAY.

CHAPTER XIII.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED).

"Turn our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."—PSALM cxxvi. 5, 6.

ANDREW MACFARLANE, who succeeded Bishop Arthur Petrie in the see of Moray, was a native of Edinburgh, and a scion of the family of Gartanlaw. His episcopate connects the dark days of the Church's persecution with the brighter days that followed. The most noteworthy events of his life were his participation in the efforts made to repeal the penal laws, and his share in the consecration of Bishop Jolly. He served the Church as a presbyter at Forgue, Aberchirder, Ruthven, and Keith. Andrew Macfarlane could speak and converse in the Gaelic language, and was well fitted in this way to preach to the Highland congregations of Ross and Argyll. His consecration as coadjutor to Bishop Petrie has been mentioned as having taken place in March, 1787. On the death of that prelate, six weeks afterwards, Bishop Macfarlane was collated to the see of Moray, Ross, and Argyll. The Rev. Alexander Jolly, presbyter at Turriff, was a rival candidate for the vacant post, and Bishop Petrie favoured his preferment. But it was evident that Mr. Macfarlane's great physical strength, and his knowledge of the Gaelic language gave him a superior claim. Mr. Macfarlane countenanced the opinions of John Hutchinson, an English layman.* When residing at Keith, Mr. Macfarlane was married to the widow of the Laird of Drummuir, this marriage adding something to his worldly means. So large did this increase of income appear to his poorer brethren that they proposed to give

* John Hutchinson, the founder of the Hutchinsonians, was born in 1674 at Spennithorpe, in Yorkshire. He held that the Hebrew Scriptures ought to be the basis of all religion and philosophy, and construed Holy Writ mainly in its typical sense. He was Newton's opponent in philosophy and metaphysics; but Sir Isaac Newton gave Hutchinson unqualified praise for the invention of a chronometer to find the longitude at sea.

Mr. Macfarlane no more from the Edinburgh Fund. Writing to Bishop Petrie, in February, 1781, the Rev. J. Allan, presbyter in Edinburgh, observed, "I am credibly informed that Mr. Macfarlane will have £50 per annum, at least, by his wife; which when added to the emoluments he must be supposed to draw from the congregation under him, make him no object of the above charity."

DEATH OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

Prince Charles Edward died at Rome on January 31st, 1788, his father, the Chevalier, having died in 1766. His brother, the Duke of York, being a cardinal of the Roman Church, was not supported in his pretensions to the British throne by the Scottish bishops and clergy. On Sunday, the 25th of May, 1788, in obedience to the injunctions of their bishops, every clergyman of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, with one exception, prayed for King George, the Queen, and the members of the Royal Family.

REPEAL OF PENAL LAWS.

Bishop John Skinner, of Aberdeen, who had been elected Primus in 1788, took the leading part in the efforts that were made to obtain a repeal of the penal laws. He was zealously supported in the good work by Bishop Macfarlane and his other colleagues. Among the original letters discovered in the box at Banff previously mentioned, there were eight from Bishop Macfarlane bearing chiefly on the passing of the Relief Bill of 1792. In 1789 the Primus and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Brechin were in London, laying their claims for relief before the Government. The English Primate received them kindly at Lambeth, this being the first time that a Scottish bishop had been there since the memorable interview between Bishop Rose and Archbishop Sancroft, a century before. Sir James Allan Park, then a young barrister, drew up a paper, entitled, "The case of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland, and of the laity of their Communion," to explain the claims of the Episcopal Church to Mr. Pitt and Lord Chancellor Thurlow. The latter was throughout unfriendly to the measure, and his opposition caused the Bill in 1789 to be thrown out of the House of Lords, after it had passed through the House of Commons. A convention of the Scottish bishops, clergy, and lay delegates from the congregations met at Laurencekirk, in November, 1789, at which Primus Skinner and his colleagues gave an account of what they had done. The meeting, approving of their

efforts, appointed three bishops, three presbyters, and three laymen, with powers, to take the requisite steps for obtaining a repeal of the obnoxious laws. The Established Church of Scotland offered no opposition, and petitions in favour of repeal went up from magistrates and public bodies throughout Scotland. One of the letters found in the box lately opened at Banff, dated February 11th, 1792, was from Bishop Skinner, one passage of it stating:—"To remove his (Lord Chancellor Thurlow's) objections, it will certainly be of use to have public recommendations of our cause from the freeholders and magistrates of the counties and boroughs under whose jurisdiction we live, and who may be considered as very competent judges how far we merit the indulgence we are soliciting."* The Relief Bill was again brought forward in 1792, the Primus being in London at the time, to watch over its progress. Having passed through both Houses of the Legislature, it received the royal assent on June 15th of the same year. There was, however, one objectionable clause left in the Bill, which effectually prohibited clergymen of Scottish ordination from "holding any benefice, curacy, or other spiritual promotion in England, or officiating in any church or chapel in England where the liturgy was used." The Primus did his best to get this clause excluded from the Bill, but did not succeed. Thus ended one hundred years of proscription and persecution, caused by the exaggerated ideas of hereditary succession held by the clergy and many of the laity of our Communion. In delivering the Church from the bondage of the State, God's Providence has brought evil out of good. Was the Stewart cause worth all the sacrifice, and is there not room for some to call this century of suffering "a barren witness" on its behalf?

STUDIES OF BISHOP MACFARLANE.

From the following receipt found in the box at Banff, formerly belonging to Mr. Rose, it will be seen that the bishop had been giving some attention to the mediæval history of his diocese:—"Received from Mr. Rose, genealogical memoirs of the Duffs, wrote by W. Baird, of Auchmeddan, 179 pages, to be returned. Received also, the great folio of the Cartulary of Murray, rental of bishopric, history of Kinloss, and old grants of the church and abbacies, containing many pages, and ending with W., Earl of Buchan's Charter to Abbot of Deer,

* Letters and remarks thereon in *Glasgow Herald* of June 23rd, 1891, by Dr. Cramond, of Cullen.

A.D. 1222; to be safely returned with MS. of General Assembly since the Reformation.—ANDREW MACFARLANE."

BISHOP MACFARLANE WISHES FOR A COADJUTOR.

In 1796, Bishop Macfarlane asked for a coadjutor, and the clergy of Moray and Ross, with his consent, chose the Rev. Alexander Jolly, presbyter at Fraserburgh, for the preferment.*

BISHOP MACFARLANE BUILDS A NEW CHURCH AT INVERNESS.

The following letter, discovered in Mr. Rose's box, tells of the bishop's effort to build a new church in the Highland capital :—

From Bishop Macfarlane.

"*Inverness*, 31*st August*, 1798.

"DEAR SIR,

"You must forgive my taking the liberty of sending you inclosed two of the Subscription Papers for our new chapel, of which we have very great need. I have had the matter long in view, but discouraged from undertaking it seriously on account that our congregation is unable to do much in the business. An eligible piece of ground in a conspicuous part of this or Kirk Street coming to be sold, I was last year persuaded to purchase it, which I did. We purpose to build thereon an elegant though plain chapel, which I am assured will exceed £700 sterling. The estimates are below £600. This year you will say is an unfit one when so many burdens are laid on all ranks —and in this place in particular, as we have our Infirmary also by public subscription—but I can delay no longer. Time is precious to me, and unless I succeed in getting the work done before I die, it may not be so easily done afterwards for some time. Besides, our *all* is at stake unless the Almighty interpose in our favour. I hope the well-disposed will think what is given for such a purpose far more than commonly well-bestowed at such a time!

"I have just commenced soliciting aid by subscriptions, and have succeeded beyond expectation. The provost and magistrates have all subscribed liberally. Indeed, I owe much to Provost Inglis, as he hath all along encouraged my going on with my purpose. Culloden and Mr. Baillie, Dochfour, have given me £50 each. But still much is wanted, and sometimes I have my fears. I must try all means, and

* All the details connected with Mr. Jolly's election and consecration will be given with the narrative of Bishop Jolly's episcopate.

hope to succeed by the aid and interest of friends far and near. You will not now be surprised, Sir, that I thus apply you I know so attached (as it is good your kind) to the Church, not for your personal pecuniary aid only, but your aid and interest with your numerous friends. . . . I pray God grant you *all* His grace.—I am, Sir, with great regard, your obedt. h. servt.,

"ANDREW MACFARLANE."

BISHOP MACFARLANE RESIGNS THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

Bishop Macfarlane resigned the Diocese of Moray in 1798, in favour of Bishop Jolly, retaining that part of it which comprised Inverness and the neighbouring Highlands. This bishop was most energetic in his diocesan work, being able to endure great fatigue in his journeys over the Highland hills to the various churches under his episcopal supervision. The following passage occurs in a letter written by him to the Rev. John Murdoch of Keith, in 1804, in which he endeavoured to persuade the latter to remove to Inverness:—"I am quite weary and captious, as I am just come home on foot from Dingwall, where I have officiated these three days. Our handsome chapel there will be nearly finished in a week or two. I wish to have you, and to have you as comfortable as in my power. So tell me when you are to come," &c. Like most Hutchinsonians, Bishop Macfarlane was an excellent Hebrew scholar.

DEATH OF BISHOP MACFARLANE.

Bishop Macfarlane died at Inverness, on July 26th, 1819. On his tombstone there is the following epitaph, which gives a history of his pastoral and episcopal work:—"Jehovah (in Hebrew). Glory to God alone. Here is deposited the body of the Right Rev. Andrew Macfarlane, at the time of his decease Senior Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The union of great vigour and power of mind, with corresponding bodily exertion, rendered him eminently qualified for the episcopal charge of the United Diocese of Ross and Argyle, over which he presided, with unwearied labour and distinguished usefulness, for the long period of 32 years. The respect and veneration with which his name is regarded among the scattered congregations in these districts, afford not the only proof of his faithfulness as an overseer of the flock of Christ. During the last ten years of his life he solemnly consecrated for public worship six chapels in his own diocese, of the erection of which, as well as of the chapel in this place

(Inverness), he was the chief promoter. His learning was extensive and varied, but the Holy Scriptures were ever his chief study; and the assistance he afforded to young divines in their theological researches will long be remembered by them with feelings of grateful acknowledgment. He died the 26th July, 1819, in the 76th year of his age.

"This stone is erected by his widow and surviving children in testimony of their sincere regard and affection, 1828. Also is here deposited the mortal part of his widow, Mrs. Magdalene Duff, fourth daughter of William Duff, Esquire, of Muirtown. Born 2nd July, 1752; died 22nd November 1828, full of faith and good works."

ALEXANDER JOLLY, BISHOP OF MORAY.

CHAPTER XIV.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF NINETEENTH CENTURY.

"For all the Saints who from their labours rest,
Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
Thy Name, O Jesu, be for ever blest. Alleluia."

HYMN 437, *Hymns Ancient and Modern.*

ALEXANDER JOLLY was born at Stonehaven in Kincardineshire, on April 3rd, 1756. He was educated at the school of his native town, and at Marischal College, Aberdeen. A letter to his parents in his student days states that he had a liking for practical geometry and land-surveying.* Mr. Jolly's father was not well off, and the young student had to support himself by tuition. He gained a bursary at the University. Having studied Theology under Bishop Petrie at Meiklefolla, he was ordained deacon at Aberdeen on July 1st, 1776. On March 19th, 1777, he was raised to the priesthood. Soon after this Mr. Jolly was put in charge of the Episcopal congregation at Turriff.† In those days the labourers were so few that the clergyman had to officiate at more than one place in the same day, and this devoted priest often preached on the same day at Turriff and at Forgue, which was seven miles distant.

MR. JOLLY'S REVERENCE FOR HIS BISHOP.

When in deacon's orders, Mr. Jolly, in writing to Bishop Skinner, said of the congregation at Forgue—"Ever since I had occasion to be amongst them, I have not been able to observe anything disrespectful of their bishop; on the contrary, I have great reason to think you are universally beloved and esteemed. If it were otherwise, I trust I should (by God's grace) miss no opportunity of endeavouring to remove so shocking and hurtful a prejudice; as I hope I have nothing more at heart than the reviving of the primitive veneration and respect for the Episcopal character, which must necessarily in this degenerate age be much worn out."

* Appendix X. † Appendix XI.

MR. JOLLY'S SELF-SACRIFICING SPIRIT.

Mr. Jolly being told by Bishop John Skinner to officiate at Turriff and Forgue on alternate Sundays, said that the carrying out of this "most agreeable order" was a means of confirming his health, which he trusted by God's grace he would employ to no other use than he had devoted it and all his faculties at his ordination, the executing of his honoured Father's ordinances and commands in the service of the Church. Mr. Smith, the clergyman at one of these places, was old and infirm, and promised the bishop to give Mr. Jolly ten shillings a month, and something over and above this, for his services. Mr. Jolly earnestly entreated the bishop to allow the aged presbyter to give him less, saying, "I would sincerely beg it might be made a little less, as Mr. Smith seems to think, with perfect submission, however, to your reverence's will, the remainder would be rather too little for the support of himself and family, especially in his present distressed state, when his expenses must be more than formerly. He thinks he could conveniently give £3, with which, if you agree to it, I should be perfectly satisfied, as I hope I shall ever be with all your reverence's appointments."

THE REV. ALEXANDER JOLLY'S ADVICE TO AN EMIGRANT.

Mr. Jolly spared no pains in performing his pastoral work, always exerting himself to the utmost to promote the temporal and spiritual interest of the poorest member in his congregation. On May 23rd, 1783, he wrote a letter to a member of his flock, beginning "Dear Sandy," trying to dissuade him from going abroad. The party, however, went abroad, evidently to the United States of America, and Mr. Jolly again wrote to him on March 8th, 1784, as follows:—

"Dear Sandy,

"We have had great anxiety about you here, which is in some measure abated by your letter, which came to hand a day or two ago, intimating your safe arrival, for which I heartily thank God. I had wrote great part of a pretty long letter to you (before we heard of you shipping for Dublin) giving you my thoughts of your design, and pressing upon you in the most affectionate manner some considerations (which I thought pretty interesting to you) suited to your then circumstances; but now that you have not only embarked but accomplished your voyage it is needless to send you. You have now launched out into the world, and take the great ocean you have

passed through as a very just emblem of it—a world of frequent storms raised by the irregular blasts of human passions which draw down the thunders from heaven. You may think perhaps you have got on firm ground, but do not mistake it, my friend, for you must expect to find everything fluctuating and fleeting here upon earth. There is only one sure and safe port whither we ought still to be tending in full sail. The Church is the vessel in which we are embarked, the Word of God our compass, religion and a holy life the course we must steer, and the Spirit of God the prosperous gale which must waft us to the harbour of eternal rest and felicity. You may easily guess then what I would still be pressing upon you as that which alone can make for your true good and prosperity either here or hereafter. You have changed your place, but I hope not your good purposes. Your obligations to a regular circumspect way of living are still the same, and difference of climate will not alter them. 'Tis true I would have wrote several things to you, even to the part of the earth whither you are now arrived, had I known your intentions—but now I must advise to endeavour to make the best of your situation. As to the constitution of the country where you are, with regard to the Church and religion I 'm afraid it is no better than in a state of chaos, without form and void. What time may produce God only knows—but I hope there may yet come order out of confusion and light out of darkness—which I earnestly pray. Meantime as your friend (allow me to say the best friend you can possibly have as to your spiritual concerns) I must exhort you to keep yourself distinct, and look upon yourself as still in communion with what you know to be a pure and sound branch of the Catholic Church. It gave me pleasure to hear that you had taken along with you a small pamphlet containing directions for such a one in a country as that is, and I hope you do and will observe them. Every Lord's Day I hope you will be careful to retire by yourself at the hours of prayer, and joining your heart and mind tho' you cannot your body to the congregations of the faithful—send up your most fervent petitions to heaven, read the portions of service appointed for the time, and the psalms for the day; thus I will consider you a member of the congregation here, and as such will pray for you and bless you till I can have it in my power to commit you to the more immediate care of a Churchman there—which I have some ground to hope I may be yet able to do, to your great comfort as well as mine. I would much rather have you to continue where you are than to go to the West Indies. Your

encouragement will still grow better by your good behaviour and temperate, sober way of living, which I pray you to take care of, for the health of your body as well as your soul. And in the midst of your labour and industry for the present life, never forget, my dear Sandy, that you have a soul to care for, and a happy and comfortable subsistence to provide for in eternity, which is the main end of God's placing us for a short uncertain time here upon earth. My great concern for your happiness hereafter would make me run out much further upon this head than the bounds of this letter will allow. Only let me entreat you to keep much upon your guard against the infection of bad company and ill example—to confine yourself to the religious observance of the Lord's Day in private, according to the method I have hinted above, and every day to keep up to your short (but devout) morning and evening duties, which let not the hurry of your worldly business make you at any time omit, nor the too common (I 'm afraid) and shameful neglect of others and the imputation of singularity make you ashamed of. This practice (provided it do not degenerate into mere form) is necessary to keep a sense of God and religion upon your mind, and if you set His fear always before your eyes you will never knowingly and wilfully sin against Him. In any instance, and depend upon it, you will find godliness profitable to all things, that it will conduce to your prosperity and happiness in the present life as well as to your eternal salvation and felicity in that to come."

THE REV. ALEX. JOLLY PRESENT AT THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SEABURY.

After Bishop Seabury's consecration, Mr. Jolly made the following observations in a letter to Bishop John Skinner upon that and other events:—"The consecration of good Bishop Seabury I witnessed with great joy, and reflect upon it with much pleasure. The *Concordat* upon that occasion appears to me to make that and the present case different. Then the Americans came over to us and submitted to our terms; now we go over to the English without any terms at all; tho' the Church of Scotland had ever before, since the Revolution, declared itself of a different Communion. It is true they seem willing to receive us; but then they receive all comers, and would, I dare say, have so received the leaders of the Scotch Presbyterians even continuing such. So that all the different sects may communicate with one another at their altars. The divine

right of Episcopacy, even Mr. Gleig owns, is believed by few of them; and I dare say Dr. Campbell is, in theory, as good an Episcopalian as most of them. I have gone through the first volume of his late great work with much pleasure and profit; and if I could get his notion of schism once well digested, I should ever after be easy, and have a salve at hand for all sores. But alas! when I turn back again to Ignatius, Cyprian, &c., I am sadly pinched, and feel myself much hampered. I own it is melancholy to think that there are so few Churches now upon earth which will stand the test of their principles of Communion. For were there no doubt about the Church of England in its utmost latitude (which I should rejoice much to think), yet when shall we enjoy the privileges of eternal Church Communion in France, Spain, Italy, and almost all the world over? As I continually pray for the healing of schism, so if I know anything at all of my own deceitful heart, none can rejoice more at whatever tends to bring about unity among the professors of Christianity. I shall therefore be exceedingly glad to see the bounds of our Communion enlarged upon those truly Catholic principles which linked the primitive into one beautiful society, and of which the writings of S. Cyprian in particular give us so noble an idea. When the time of healing shall come (may God in mercy send it soon, and dispose all parties for it!) those principles must unite us all again. And therefore in the present distracted times, it is surely the safest way to keep firm hold of them and maintain them in the primitive spirit of meekness, humility, and charity—which appears to me to be the way to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. I assure your reverence that I look with horror upon the part which poor Mr. Brown acts. It concerns me much that your reverence should seem to suspect that I verge towards his temper or sentiments of Church unity—because I am sure that such an opinion of me must give you pain. I beg you will believe that I am in no danger, and I will endeavour by my future conduct to make it appear. I therefore earnestly entreat the continuance of your paternal benediction, and that you will believe me ever to be with warm attachment, right reverend and dear Father, your most affectionate dutiful son and devoted humble servant, ALEX. JOLLY."

MR. JOLLY'S ADVICE TO AN ABSENT MEMBER OF HIS FLOCK.

The anxious pastor wrote the following words of advice to a young man who had left Turriff:—"My affection and concern for

you is still very great, and would here force me to repeat my best advice to you in this letter; but, situated as you are, it would be very superfluous, and you may easily guess what it would be. I know you'll guard against the infection of bad company, and be careful always to open the Lord's Day in a proper manner in private and in public, and keep up to your short (but devout) morning and evening duties every day. This practice, if it do not degenerate into mere form, will better keep a constant sense of God and religion upon your mind; and if you set His fear before your eyes, you will never sin knowingly and wilfully. In any instance, and depend upon it, you will find godliness profitable for all things, and that it will contribute to your happiness in the present life as well as that to come. Your friends in this corner are all well, so far as I have heard of late, for indeed the severe storm we have had here has blocked up almost all communication. I design to wait on Mrs. Gordon and her sister soon; and whatever service I can do you with them or any other, you may depend upon my endeavour—for I hope you will always endeavour to approve yourself deserving the regard and affection of everybody. Please offer my respectful compliments to your reverend pastor."

ADVICE TO A CANDIDATE FOR HOLY ORDERS.

Mr. Gleig, an Aberdeen student preparing for holy orders, having written to Mr. Jolly asking his advice at such an important crisis in his life, received from him the following reply in March, 1784:—"You have now entered on the last month of your academical studies, and I make no doubt look forward with a good deal of awe to the next, which it seems is like to make a change in your state, as to which you are pleased to ask my advice, and which only makes me blush to call to mind my own insufficiency and great need of advice to myself. 'Tis true, experience has taught me many things, which I too little thought of when in your situation. I hope my love to my Saviour is not diminished, and I thank and glorify God for His grace, that I have never found the smallest inclination to any kind of secular life, but am still more enamoured of the sweet and honourable service of my dear Lord and Master—but what I regret is, that I entered upon it with so little knowledge and abilities, which, however upright my intention may have been, has exposed me to a vast number of errors and defects. Indeed, my way has been to keep much

upon the reserve, and not to venture further than my abilities would go. But then, alas! how many opportunities and means for the good of souls have I been obliged to omit through my ignorance. The bishop, perhaps, has given you to read upon Sundays Dodwell's *Letter of Advice* to one designing of susception of holy orders, which I like the best of anything I have seen. You may think his ideas at first something hard to be taken up, and indeed all his books require great attention. This I studied carefully section after section, and have read again and again much to my advantage, and much to my humiliation too, when I find myself still so far short of the character there drawn, which yet he reckons one of the most ordinary size. I am very confident of the purity of your intentions, and know your abilities and qualifications to be far better than mine were when I was drawn out, and for your resolution, I hope that is immovably fixed. You have heard that poor M. has been forced to leave Banff—his creditors there have been so importunate; and I have seen a letter of his from Edinburgh to his uncle here, entreating him to see and get application made to Delgaty for a recommendation to Lord Gardenston. My heart still bleeds for him, for all he hates and curses me, and had I place to bestow I would certainly risque it upon him. I thought of you on Sunday last, when I know you was very religiously employed, and make no doubt you will lay hold of the holy season as very favourable to your preparation. Only I shall give you a caution, which my late good and worthy patron used to give me, tho' I little stood in need of it, *i.e.*, not to drive the doctrine of mortification too far. We are not required to destroy the body, but to keep it under and bring it into subjection, 'lest when we have preached,' &c." It is a very obvious reflection that our Great Exemplar came from His forty days' fast in the wilderness to the exercise of His public ministry. I know to whom I write in this strain. Should some see it, it would be ruled all cant," &c.

NEWS FROM BISHOP SEABURY.

On March 7th, 1786, Mr. Jolly observed in a letter to the Bishop of Moray—"The accounts of worthy Bishop Seabury give me the greatest joy, and must add to the festivity of the approaching solemnity—which I heartily wish your reverence may be supported to celebrate in the manner you wish."

COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Before the repeal of the penal laws, Mr. Jolly and other Scottish presbyters used to look upon the Non-juring Episcopalians of England as the Church of England, calling them in their letters and conversation "the faithful remnant." The following letter was written by Bishop John Skinner to Mr. Jolly at Fraserburgh to put him right in regard to these opinions:—

"*Aberdeen, October* 1*st*, 1789.

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"By this day's post I received the enclosed letters from Edinburgh, and by your correspondence with Bishop Abernethy I have procured the sight of a letter, or at least a copy of a letter, to his Grace of Canterbury which I never saw before, and of which, now that I have seen it, I by no means approve. I can only guess at what the contents of your letter have been, from the tenor of this answer to it, and am surprised at your supposing that our offers to hold communion with the Church of England should imply our approbation of those practical errors, which that Church, or rather her Churchmen, have fallen into since the Revolution. Since that period no alteration has been made in her doctrine or articles of faith, nor I may say in her mode of worship, unless in those political points, which surely we are at equal liberty to overlook now, as when Dr. Seabury's case was proposed to us: and indeed I cannot help being astonished at the inconsistency of your present scruples with the satisfaction you *seemed* to express in the transaction which you witnessed at Aberdeen in November, 1784. For certainly there is no more impropriety *now* in our holding communion with the Church of England, than with the Church of Connecticut. Their political principles are undeniably the same, even in the article of Lay Deprivation, the lawfulness of which is no more the avowed doctrine of the one Church than of the other, tho' the practice of it may often be looked for in every Church that is strictly connected with the State, and was grievously felt in our own Church during the supposed *happy* days of her Establishment. Yet had you lived in those days, you surely would have communicated with her, even tho' it might sometimes have happened without any liturgy, which you must own was as defective as the Communion Service of the Established Church of England, it being the same with that of the Non-juring Church with which ours held communion

till now that it is utterly extinguished. For I can no more look upon Mansfield and Redford with their few adherents as the Church of England, than I do upon Bishop Rose and Mr. Brown with their party as the Church of Scotland. And if the English Establishment is not now such a Church as we can safely hold occasional communion with, when our clergy and laity go there, or theirs come here, and acknowledge our episcopal authority, then there is no Church at all beyond the Tweed, no worship, no Christian privilege of any kind for the many members of our Church who are often obliged to go to England in the course of their lawful business.

"These are considerations which have weighed much with me, and I think must weigh with every one who has a real regard to the interests of religion, and a sincere desire to see the Church of Christ as pure as possible, but without any expectation of perfect purity in this world. Bishop Abernethy has touched at some other things in his letter, which I hope you will attend to, and likewise keep to yourself, as the less that is said on these matters at present so much the better. There is just too much scope for division among us, and I'm sorry to find that some have too great a tendency that way, some too of whom I once expected better things. The indulgence of private humours and fancies, and every one sticking for his own particular tenets, has been the unhappy source of all that overflowing of heresy and schism which so fatally prevails in this unhappy country, and gives us daily occasion to pray that a good Lord would deliver us from every thing that may contribute to it, and give us all grace to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of *Peace*.

"I wrote both to Bishop Abernethy and to Mr. J. Allan on behalf of Mr. Durham, begging of them to recommend him to the managers of the fund. You see what the bishop says on the subject. Mr. Allan writes me that he shall do what he can, and in the meantime has sent me a guinea note, which he got from a lady of their congregation, and you will deliver to Mr. Durham, as you think best. Together with the note, I have also enclosed Mr. Adam's account, which I paid for Mr. Durham, and you may deliver it to him.

"Commending you and all your concerns to the protection and blessing of Almighty God, I ever am, reverend Sir, your affectionate brother, &c.—JOHN SKINNER."

REMOVAL TO FRASERBURGH.

In April, 1788, Mr. Jolly, at the earnest request of his bishop, removed to Fraserburgh. The presbyter at Fraserburgh, the Rev. John Durham, was then, by reason of illness and misfortune, unable to perform his pastoral duties, and signed, after the following mode, the resignation of his charge:—"As on account of my bodily weakness and infirmity, I find myself unable to discharge the duties I owe to my congregation in Fraserburgh, I hereby resign the pastoral charge of the said congregation into the hands of the Right Reverend Mr. John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and beg leave to express my earnest desire that he will provide them with another pastor as soon as possible. In testimony whereof I have subscribed these presents at Fraserburgh on the 2nd day of April, 1788, before these witnesses, Messrs. W. Sangster and Alexander Jolly.—JOHN DURHAM."

In removing to Fraserburgh Mr. Jolly exhibited his wonted spirit of unselfishness and self-sacrifice, giving up to Mr. Durham, as long as he lived, the most of the emoluments. When Mr. Durham died, his successor showed the utmost kindness to his bereaved family.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

Prince Charlie died in the same year that Mr. Jolly took up his residence at Fraserburgh, and he as well as his brethren were relieved of a heavy burden by the sad event.

Mr. Jolly, with almost all his clerical brethren, submitted at once to the reigning house. His views on this subject had never been extreme. They were probably the same as those expressed in the accompanying extract, copied by him from Lindsay's *Regal Succession*, and found after his death among his papers:—"Tho' conquest, in itself, is but a false gloss put on the worst and blackest of crimes, injustice, robbery, and cruelty [Burnet], and therefore can give no prince any better title to a crown than any highwayman has to any purse he can catch: yet 'tis agreed by all casuists that power, however unlawfully obtained, may be legitimated and commence authority, either by express revelation from God Almighty, as that of Saul, David, and Solomon did, or by the utter extinction and failure of all those who have a prior right, like that of Ahaziah, above mentioned, or else by the submission and disclaimer of them

to whom the crown of right belongs: in any of which cases, it is agreed, the possessor becomes authorized and entitled to the allegiance of his subjects, by what means soever he became possessed of the power; because he then requires nothing of them but what is in their own power, and they are at liberty to pay him, without doing wrong to any third person: for that is the great objection against submission to power *de facto*, so long as there are any others claiming *de jure*."

THE REPEAL BILL.

Mr. Jolly, as well as the rest of the Church, was much disappointed at the retention of a clause in the Repeal Bill which prohibited Scottish clergy from holding preferment in England. He thus expresses his opinions on this subject in a letter to the Rev. John Cruickshank, of Kinharrachie, on August 19th, 1792:—

"REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

"Since the pleasure of seeing you I am favoured with a letter from Mr. A. Allan, Edinburgh, the part of which that respects the present posture of ecclesiastical affairs I transcribe for you. I had imparted to him my grief about the bill, and he writes in return: 'Your sentiments and mine respecting the bill perfectly coincide. We have been not only wounded, but murdered in the house of our friends. Had the bill been withdrawn till a more favourable juncture, I mean till the Chancellor had resigned; or had any peer of the realm been properly instructed to give a fair and candid representation of the case, matters would have turned out quite otherwise to what they have done. My Ordinary is highly, and I think justly, displeased. No less so is Bishop Macfarlane, by a letter I had from him last week. Neither they nor Bishop Strachan are to attend the Laurencekirk Convention. I think Bishop Skinner had as well let it alone, or consult with his colleagues before issuing his summons to the clergy. I mean not either to attend the meeting in person, or to appoint any proxy, because I do not choose to pay compliments where no favours have been conferred. The bill is so much reprobated here by the laity, that I do not believe they will give their offering either with a liberal or willing mind. My Ordinary charges nothing for the journey to London. Bishop Strachan's expenses were paid by his congregation, and yet a demand of £150 sterling is made and to be reimbursed.' Speaking a little after of Bishop Skinner, he says, 'I

told him my mind about the bill pretty freely, but got no satisfaction.' The rest of the letter you shall see at the meeting, which I long for. Meantime I beg that you will not mention Mr. Allan, nor my having exchanged letters with him on the subject. I do not think that you will have any occasion to show the letter which we left with you; but avail yourself of the absence of the bishops, without whom no national convention can be constituted. God direct and preserve you! With kind regards to you and yours, I ever am, reverend and very dear brother, your most affectionate and obliged humble servant, ALEXANDER JOLLY."

BISHOP MACFARLANE ASKS FOR A COADJUTOR.

In January, 1796, Bishop Macfarlane proposed to his colleagues that Mr. Jolly should be consecrated as his coadjutor for Moray, Ross, and Argyll. With great earnestness the bishop pushed the proposal forward, obtaining for it the approbation of three of his colleagues. Primus John Skinner opposed the project, and the Bishop of Moray and his episcopal brethren determined to carry it out without his co-operation. Mr. Jolly was so gentle in his nature, that Bishop Macfarlane feared he might refuse to be consecrated by a bare majority of the bishops. The candidate spoke of his own insignificance and unworthiness, and said he desired "to look up to God above all, and use every help in dependence upon and under Him." On February 15th, Bishop Watson of Dunkeld gave the proposal his approbation, but the Bishop of Moray and Ross was afraid that Primus John Skinner's influence might induce him to withdraw his consent. There had been some difference of opinion between Mr. Jolly and the Bishop of Aberdeen about the Relief Bill of 1792, and intercommunion with the Church of England. In a letter dated March 1st, 1796, Primus Skinner expressed his opinion to Bishop Abernethy Drummond in these words:—

"With regard to Bishop Macfarlane's proposal of having Mr. Jolly consecrated to be his coadjutor, I requested of Bishop Watson to intimate to you and Bishop Strachan my reasons for not agreeing to it, which, I hoped, would have induced you not to persist in urging a measure, which in the present situation of things can answer no good purpose, and may be attended with very disagreeable consequences. No man can be more sensible of Mr. Jolly's merits as a clergyman than I am, as I hope I am equally disposed with my brethren to show

all due regard to piety and learning where they appear in a conspicuous manner. But I am not fond of drawing comparisons to the prejudice of the clergy in general. And though Mr. Jolly were ever so fit, both *inwardly* and *outwardly* for the office of a bishop, I do not see what use he can be of in the manner proposed, and at such a distance from the place where his assistance is chiefly wanted. He has never been accustomed to travelling beyond the limits of his pastoral charge, and to my certain knowledge is as poor as Bishop Macfarlane, and as little able to bear the expense, which among us is necessarily attached to the episcopal character. I know too, that in two very material points he differs in opinion from all the present bishops, and on one of these points signified his scruples by a letter to you, disapproving of part of our conduct when at London in the year 1789. I am far from wishing to have these points agitated now, and therefore hope my colleagues will not lay me under the disagreeable necessity of discovering *all* my reasons for opposing the present measure, which I must do if they shall be so indelicate and unfriendly as compel me to it. 'Tis enough that there appears no necessity for the measure, no good end likely to be answered by it, and that I have too much cause to apprehend very bad consequences from it to the peace, unity, and good order of this diocese, of the situation of which I must be allowed to be the best judge, as I am accountable to my Judge in heaven for acquiescing in any measure that may be productive of injury to it. With the offer of my best wishes for your health and happiness, and requesting a share in your prayers."

Mr. Jolly was opposed to the Hutchinsonian doctrines, supported by Primus John Skinner and some of his colleagues. This may have been one of the causes of the opposition of the Primus to his preferment. As it turned out afterwards, the elevation of "the saint of Moray" to the episcopate was an effectual means of counteracting that heresy. Bishop Macfarlane himself, who advocated his friend's advancement as his coadjutor, was a Hutchinsonian like the Primus.

The Rev. Dr. Walker, in his most interesting life of Bishop Jolly, says on page 54 of that work, "No reference appears to have been made to the presbyters of the diocese over which the proposed coadjutor was to have rule." Bishop Macfarlane in the following letter to Primus Skinner stated that the consent of the presbyters of Moray had been obtained to Mr. Jolly's appointment:—

"I am informed by Bishop Abernethy Drummond that Bishop

Watson wrote to him that you object to the consecration of Mr. Jolly as coadjutor of Ross and Moray because the consent of the presbyters is not obtained. This indirect method of objecting may indicate *candour* and *wisdom*, though not apparent. I am apt to suspect the objection is not given in your own words. I imagine the objection would be that Mr. Jolly was not previously coadjutor and successor, as was Mr. John Skinner, elected of Aberdeen. In case the objection be as given to me, I assure you that the full unqualified *consent* and *solicitation* of the presbyters is obtained and made. In case it be as I suspect—know that I have no design, that the single, unprecedented, uncanonical, preposterous case, mentioned above, shall be either imitated or sanctioned by anything I shall be concerned in. . . . As no answer has been made to the request to you, as Primus, to call a meeting, and as a moderate time is long since elapsed; as no sufficient canonical objections have been given in, it now remains for the bishops at their convenience to do their duty, without regard to sullen silence or indirect trivial objections. Even yet, however, a speedy intimation of willingness to act with your colleagues may be attended to. Had it not been hinted to me that an intimation as above might be proper, I should not have given it, as esteeming it needless."

The bishops were exasperated at the continued and determined opposition made by the Primus to Mr. Jolly's preferment, and they prepared to go on without him. It was evident that Primus Skinner would not give way. After commenting severely on Bishop Macfarlane's letter, in which he said he was neither treated as a bishop, as a gentleman, nor with common civility, the Primus wrote as follows:—"In the year 1789, the bishops of this Church declared themselves in a formal manner to be in communion with the Church of England, and have ever since acted on this principle in the various overtures which have been made for effecting an union between us and the English clergy in this country. Yet a majority of the same bishops are now proposing to adopt into their number a man who condemns the principle on which they have been acting as giving a sanction to heresy and schism, and, viewing it in that light, will, no doubt, make use of the power with which he hopes to be invested to prevent the operation of what he thinks an erroneous principle, and put a stop to all further communications between us and the *schismatical*, *heretical*, *public* Church of England!"

Primus Skinner considered Mr. Jolly as an opponent of the

proposed union, and in the words just quoted he insinuates that he thought it to be schismatical and heretical. Some members of the Church in Scotland at that time held the opinion that the English Non-juring body was the real Church of England, and Mr. Jolly may have expressed sympathy with such views. Even far on into the nineteenth century some of the Scottish clergy cherished friendly remembrances of that now extinguished body.

Every part of Bishop Jolly's life was marked by prayer. In this difficult crisis he wrote to his friend the Rev. John Cruickshank, of Kinharrachie—"Lord, in mercy guide and direct them (the bishops), and frustrate the design, if He see that it does not finally tend to truth and peace. Believe me, I am full of shame and self-abhorrence when I think how unworthy a creature, what a mere nothing, this trouble and vexation is about; and therefore I can easily forgive my Ordinary's indignation and violence against me. . . . I must own that my grief and indignation (but I hope with Christian moderation) have been excited to a great degree by the reflection, as far as it concerns good Bishop Petrie, who now looks down with pity upon the errors of poor mortals, seeing that the glory of the world is, as he believed it to be while here below, a mere *ignis fatuus*, leading directly opposite to the harbour where we would be."

In a letter of May, 1796, Primus Skinner said that he would not give Mr. Jolly leave to go out of the Aberdeen diocese to be consecrated. "If it be the distinguishing feature of Episcopal Government, as we all profess to acknowledge, that every bishop is the head and principle of unity in his own district, it follows, of consequence, that no presbyter is at liberty to leave it, or while he locally abides in it to relinquish his subordinate station, without consent of him under whose authority he acts; which authority it is my duty to maintain, and, with God's help, I will maintain it while I retain my present relation to the diocese of Aberdeen. You may therefore meet with the other bishops when and where you please, for any purpose which is sanctioned by the canons and practice of the Christian Church, when situated as it now is in this country; but I know no right that you or they have, by any canon or regular precedent, to command or expect the attendance of any presbyter in my diocese if I shall think proper to forbid it, till I have been judicially tried and found guilty of some crime for which I ought to be deprived of my episcopal power and dignity. So I beg you will attend to all this in making your appointments, lest you kindle a flame in the Church

which you may not live to see extinguished, and, by your efforts to crush one offending brother, bring the whole fabric in ruins about your ears. May God prevent such pitiable desolation, and disappoint those violent measures that would lead to it!" *

BISHOP JOLLY'S CONSECRATION.

Primus John Skinner well knew that, after consecration, Bishop Jolly would be independent of his episcopal rule, as Fraserburgh would then, by canon, become part of the diocese of Moray. His dictatorial orders to the elect not to leave Fraserburgh were a vain endeavour to stop what he could not prevent. He must have known that even the gentle and peace-loving Mr. Jolly would not obey such commands. The other bishops appointed June 24th, S. John the Baptist's Day, 1796, as the date of Mr. Jolly's consecration, and they selected Dundee as the town where the event should take place. An Episcopal Synod was summoned to meet there on the previous day. Primus Skinner, in a letter to Bishop Abernethy Drummond, refused to call either of these meetings, alleging that the requisition had not been signed by a majority of the bishops; but he appointed the 25th of August for a meeting of the Episcopal Synod at Aberdeen, "to consider the propriety of publishing a catechism for the instruction of young Christians, and whatever else may be proposed for the good of our Church, and for the benefit of its clergy and laity." This letter was dated June 15th, 1796.

On the 23rd of June, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, Bishop Macfarlane, and Bishop Strachan met at Dundee, and delayed the meeting of the Synod till next day, to give Bishop Watson of Dunkeld an opportunity of attending with the registers and minutes of Synod. On the morning of June 24th, neither Primus Skinner nor Bishop Watson had arrived, and the three bishops decided to proceed to the consecration without them. They appointed Bishop Abernethy Drummond as Primus, *pro tempore*, and elected Mr. Jolly to be clerk of the meeting.

PROTEST OF PRIMUS JOHN SKINNER.

The Synod having been duly constituted, the protest of Primus Skinner was read in the following terms:—

"I, John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Scotch Episcopal College, being informed that my right reverend

* Dated Aberdeen, March 11th, 1796.

colleagues are to meet at Dundee on the 23rd day of this month of June, for the purpose of acting in a synodical manner, and particularly for discussing and judging of an appeal which the Rev. Mr. Alexander Jolly, presbyter in Fraserburgh, has made to the bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church convened in Synod, do hereby protest against the said meeting, and any adjournment of it, as *uncanonical* and *irregular*, because by the 2nd of the canons of this Church, made in 1743, it is only, 'if and when the Primus shall refuse to call a meeting, when desired by a majority of the other bishops, that they shall have power to meet and act synodically without him.' But I as Primus have not been desired by a majority of the other bishops to call the foresaid meeting, and therefore it is not to be held as a regular Synod of Bishops, nor any of its proceedings or decrees to be considered as binding on the bishops and clergy of this Church. And—

"Whereas I am likewise informed that my right reverend colleagues are to meet at Dundee on the 24th day of this month, for the purpose of consecrating the Rev. Mr. Alexander Jolly, at Fraserburgh, one of the presbyters of the diocese of Aberdeen, to be coadjutor to the Bishop of Ross and Moray, without my consent and concurrence as bishop of the said diocese, I do hereby dissent from and protest against such consecration upon the grounds and for the reasons following:—

"I. Because it does not appear to me that the said Bishop of Ross and Moray can stand in need of a coadjutor or assistant in the offices of a bishop, which but rarely occur, while he is able to discharge the frequent duties of a pastor to several congregations considerably distant from each other; which yet, I am well assured, is the case, and shows that the proposed appointment of a coadjutor is wholly unnecessary, and for that reason ought not be agreed to.

"II. Because on the supposition that the said Bishop of Ross and Moray were really reduced by old age or infirmity to the necessity of having some assistance in the more distant congregations, and particularly, as he alleges, in the Highland parts of his episcopal charge, yet the person proposed for this purpose is most improper and unfit, on account of the very great distance of his place of residence from the Highland parts of the districts of Ross and Moray,

and the almost impossibility of his being able to do any good in so remote a quarter; which shows the present proposal to be very absurd and ill-concerted, and for that reason unworthy of being encouraged.

"III. Because it being already shown that the proposed consecration is neither necessary nor expedient, it is highly improper that it should take place, on account of its being the means of dismembering the diocese of Aberdeen, and introducing that sort of mixed government which, having been found productive of various inconveniences, ought to be avoided as much as possible: and of the danger to which this diocese is thereby exposed I ought to be sustained as the fittest judge, both from my necessary connection and intimate acquaintance with all its clergy, and from my knowledge of some particular circumstances, which have determined me to refuse my consent to a measure so likely to be attended with many disagreeable consequences.

"IV. Because the said Mr. Alexander Jolly is believed to differ in opinion from the bishops of this Church as to the proper method of testifying the sincerity of their compliance with the present Government, and with respect to the propriety of declaring themselves to be in communion with the Established Church of England: which difference in opinion renders his promotion to the episcopal dignity a very hazardous and imprudent measure, and which ought not to be attempted till proper steps have been previously taken for guarding against the occasion which might otherwise be afforded of imputing insincerity and inconsistency of conduct to the Scotch bishops.

"For all these reasons, which I have detailed at length in a private correspondence with my right reverend colleagues, I find myself called upon out of regard to the good of our national Church in general, as well as for the peace of my own diocese in particular, and the support of that just authority which I ought to maintain in it, to dissent from and *protest* against, as I hereby formally do, the execution of this improper, irregular, and violent scheme of dismembering the diocese of Aberdeen, and infringing the rights and privileges of its diocesan, reserving to myself the power of taking such steps as I shall find necessary for the due regulation

of that portion of our Church which was canonically and unanimously by all concerned committed to my charge.

"And I require that this my protest and reservation be received and inserted, if need be, in the Minute Book of our Episcopal College, there to remain *in futuram rei memoriam.*

"JOHN SKINNER,
"*Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus.*

"Aberdeen, June 20, 1796."

After the protest had been duly laid before the Synod, the three bishops listened to the reading of the following letters :—

From Primus John Skinner to the Right Reverend Bishop Macfarlane, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, and Bishop Strachan.

"*Aberdeen, June* 20*th*, 1796.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN,

"It has been justly observed that one of the most glaring proofs of human infirmity is that natural disposition which mankind have to blame one another; and nothing is so frequently complained of as the readiness with which men, in all situations, endeavour to make others accountable for the consequences of those very measures of which the accusing party have been the chief promoters. Fully sensible of the truth of this observation, I am well aware that the subject of my present address will make but little impression on the minds of those to whom it is directed. After what I have already written, and written in vain, to those from whom I might have expected a more favourable interpretation of my sentiments, I need not flatter myself with the hope that anything I now can say will be allowed to operate to my advantage, or to clear away the mist of prejudice through which my conduct seems to be viewed, and is, therefore, ascribed to motives as distant from my thoughts as they are unworthy of my character. To that character I certainly owe whatever may tend to justify the part I have acted; and however you may be inclined to view the facts and arguments which I am now to lay before you, it will be some consolation to my afflicted heart that I have not failed to communicate what was proper for you to know, nor neglected what was necessary for my own vindication.

"In the present situation of that part of the Christian Church with which we are connected, although the bishops are called the

governors, and those who adhere to our Communion are taught to regard us in that character as invested with spiritual authority over our respective portions of the flock of Christ, yet I need not say how feeble is the exercise of that authority, and what a slight impression it makes, even on those who profess to acknowledge the right by which we hold it. This, no doubt, is partly owing to want of principle, or in some measure to the want of that legal aid from the civil power, which secures the authority of a Church established by law. To supply these defects, as far as they can be supplied by human means, nothing is more necessary than that the governors of the Church should endeavour to strengthen and support each other by mutual confidence, and that wise and salutary participation of counsel which ought to precede every measure that appears to be of consequence to the interests of the Church in general, or to the peace and edification of any particular district of it. This is the principle on which I have acted in every part of my official conduct since I had the honour of being entrusted with the charge of that part of our national Church committed to my care; and it has ever been my earnest wish that the persons appointed to act as my colleagues might be influenced by the same principle, and see the propriety of using joint endeavours to support the general authority of the Episcopal College, by maintaining and preserving inviolate the jurisdiction of every particular bishop in his own diocese. This, in my humble opinion, being the invariable rule by which the bishops of Scotland ought to walk, and to which I had supposed my colleagues had been equally well affected, you may judge of my surprise and vexation when I found that I had been sadly mistaken in this supposition. Words are too weak to express what I felt when I discovered a plan formed and a combination entered into for the purpose of dismembering this diocese and tearing off a part of my episcopal charge—not only without my consent, but in direct opposition to my just authority. Without the most distant suspicion on my part that such a plan was in agitation; without the least previous warning from the quarter whence it might be supposed to have originated, I was all at once informed that the scheme and the person were fixed upon, and my approbation only asked as matter of form, because I was soon after given to *know*, in name of the three bishops to whom I now write, that what they meant to do they '*could do without me*'—*i.e.*, could take any part or every part of this diocese out of my hands, and dispose of it as they thought best. After receiving such an

intimation, no less unbrotherly and indelicate in its nature than contrary to every idea which I formed of the government of this Church as regulated by the primitive model, you cannot wonder that I thought it my duty to resist, by every means in my power, such a violent and unexpected attack on what I considered as my just prerogative—a privilege inseparable from my character as a regularly constituted diocesan, and essential to the government of a pure Episcopal Church. Viewing it in this light, and desirous to preserve it, as far as possible, from any violation in my hands, I judged it necessary to express my wishes on this head to the person who was pointed out as the instrument whereby my authority was to be wounded and a part of this diocese cut off from my jurisdiction. I therefore wrote to Mr. Jolly what had passed between Bishop Macfarlane and me on the subject, and requested to know how the matter stood with respect to him, as from his former professions of regard to me, and the attention which I was conscious of having shown him on every occasion, I could hardly bring myself to believe that he would have given his consent to a measure in which the duty he owed to me was so closely involved, without thinking it worth his while to inform me of the application which had been made to him, and his reasons for acquiescing in it. In forming this opinion, however, I found I was mistaken, as the answer I received from Mr. Jolly gave me plainly to understand that in an affair of this kind he considered himself as amenable only to the bishops at large, a majority of whom might determine, with respect to him, as they thought proper, and in their determination, even in the first instance, and without the least regard to his own Ordinary, he was resolved absolutely to acquiesce. This appeared to me a resolution so inconsistent with his duty, so subversive of the primitive plan of Church government by pure diocesan episcopacy, and so likely to revive the scheme, which was justly exploded, of governing this Church at large by a college of bishops, that I thought it became me as one of its bishops, entrusted with the government of a certain portion of it—and I still think it becomes us all in that character—to do what we can to expel such a dangerous idea from the minds of our clergy. This is the ground on which I wish to establish the propriety of the steps I have taken in this disagreeable business; and the very easy, self-sufficient manner in which my presbyter has appealed from my authority to what he calls 'the supreme arbitration and judgment of this Church,' plainly shows that however some of my colleagues may be pleased to stigmatise my treatment of him

by the odious name of *persecution*, it is a sort of persecution which gives him very little uneasiness, and from which he has found out a most expeditious mode of escaping. How far I did right in refusing my consent to his promotion in the manner proposed is another question, in discussing which I must beg leave to recall your attention to the reasons already assigned in my recent correspondence on this subject, which, though some of you have pretended to set aside as trivial and insufficient, I am not thereby convinced that they are not substantial and well founded.

"My *first* objection to the measure was its being *unnecessary* and because I could not see what occasion Bishop Macfarlane could possibly have for a coadjutor or assistant in the offices of a *bishop*, which but rarely occurs, while he was able to discharge the frequent duties of a *pastor* to so many distant congregations. This objection has been over-ruled, but no attempt has been made to show that it is not just and reasonable. Supposing, however, that Bishop Macfarlane had been really reduced by old age or infirmity to the necessity of having some assistance in the more distant parts of his episcopal charge, particularly as he alleges in the Highlands, I could not but offer a—

"*Second Objection* to Mr. Jolly being the person fixed on for this purpose, on account of the very great distance of his place of residence from the Highland part of Bishop Macfarlane's charge and the almost impossibility of his being able to do any good in so remote a quarter. For this reason I thought I was justified in saying that the proposal was awkward and ill-concerted, and in this opinion I still think that every unbiassed, unprejudiced person will agree with me. Under the many disadvantages which Episcopacy has to struggle with in this divided country, it is particularly incumbent on those who are officially its distinguished guardians, to observe as much as possible such order and uniformity, in all their appointments as may exhibit this venerable system of Church government in the most engaging light, and make those who are attached to it fully sensible of the benefits which they derive from it. In the southern part of Britain, where Episcopacy is established by law, the relation which every bishop has to a particular diocese is sufficiently known by the title which he bears, so that wherever his place of residence may be, the sphere of his episcopal jurisdiction is always pointed out by the name which he carries about with him. In our situation the case is very different. The general title of *bishop*, which the courtesy of our country begins to allow us, is not accompanied with any local

designation: a defect which we ought to supply, by placing every bishop either within or as near as possible to his Episcopal charge, and avoiding as much as we can every arrangement which has the appearance of mixed government, and under that confused appearance, holds out not only to those that are without, but even to the people of our own Communion, an unfavourable idea of our episcopal administration. In the days of persecution, when prudence required that the office of a bishop in this country should be exercised with the utmost privacy, and the very character concealed as much as possible, it was a matter of less consequence *where* the bishops resided, because being nowhere at liberty to appear and act in their proper character, their influence was much circumscribed; and the chief object then in view seems to have been merely preserving the Episcopal succession, in the hopes of better times. For such a *distressed* state of the Church, it is evident from its preamble, that the 9th of the canons made in 1743, was chiefly, if not wholly intended. And therefore when it has pleased God to release our Church from the distress which it then laboured under, it is surely our duty to take care that it be no longer burdened with the continuance of those temporary inconveniences, against which our predecessors in office were obliged to provide in the best manner they could. For this reason, unless in cases of very urgent necessity, I shall ever disapprove of the dismembering of any diocese of this Church by the operation of the canon above mentioned; and which I must beg leave to observe, to make it applicable to the case in hand, instead of the manner in which it is introduced, ought to have read in these terms: "Seeing it may happen that a presbyter in one district may be chosen to be a bishop, or *demanded* to be a *coadjutor* in another district, in that case, &c." I hope, therefore, you will attend to this obvious distinction, and see the propriety of this, my—

"*Third Objection* to the consecration now proposed, which I am entitled to bring forward in the very face of this Canon of Exemption, because it is a canon neither applicable in its intention to the present state of our Church, nor in its terms to the business now in agitation. It is true Mr. Jolly has told me, when arguing in defence of this business, and in favour of his own promotion, that a bishop desiring to have a coadjutor is allowed by canon and repeated precedent to cast his eye beyond his own diocese. But, all due deference to Mr. Jolly's superior learning, I should be glad to know in what *canon*, ancient or modern, this allowance is to be found. As

far as my scanty reading extends, I have met with no such thing in the primitive times, and he surely knows that not so much as the word *coadjutor* is mentioned in any of the canons of our Church, so little countenance do they give either to the office or the manner of conferring it. Neither has the precedent, which Mr. Jolly builds upon, been often *repeated*, as I find only two instances of coadjutors in our Church without the dioceses to which they were appointed, the first of whom was Bishop Edgar, coadjutor to Bishop White, but certainly with the consent and approbation, and probably at the desire, of his own diocesan and near connection, Bishop Rait. The second instance was that of Bishop Petrie, which, however, I must say, was attended with circumstances far more favourable than any that can be alleged on the present occasion, and where early and decent application was made to the then diocesan of Aberdeen for his consent and concurrence, which, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, he was pleased to grant, though it consists with my knowledge that he had reason to complain, and did complain, of the inconveniences arising from the mixed government which was thereby introduced into his diocese. How far these 'inconveniences' are likely to be renewed by the scheme now in contemplation, I humbly think, without any disparagement to my colleagues, that I ought to be sustained as the fittest judge, both from my necessary connection and intimate acquaintance with all the clergy of this diocese, and from my knowledge of some particular circumstances to which my brethren at a distance, and much less concerned with them than I am, must be entire strangers.

"But I have got a *fourth* ground of objection to Mr. Jolly's consecration, which, from the first intimation of the design, I declared my unwillingness to bring forward, as leading to the discussion of certain religious scruples, which nothing but the necessity of the case would compel me to take notice of in this formal manner. It is a fact well known that in the year 1789 the bishops of this Church, in order to testify the sincerity of their compliance with Government, declared their readiness to take an oath of allegiance to the King, if that, with praying for his majesty by name, would be accepted as a sufficient test of their loyalty. On the same occasion, they likewise professed themselves to be in communion with the Established Church of England, and have ever since acted on the principle in the various overtures which have been made for effecting an union between us and the English clergy in this country. Whether they

did right or wrong in making this declaration and profession is a matter foreign to my present purpose. They no doubt acted according to the best judgment they could form of their situation, both political and religious; and the servants of the Crown, yea, the public at large, have a right to expect from them such consistency of conduct as may show them to be worthy of the freedom they now enjoy. But it will not, I apprehend, be thought very consistent, nor tend much to give Government any confidence in their professions, if the same bishops, or a majority of them, shall now receive into their number a person who has avowed his differing from them in opinion with respect to both the important points which I have mentioned; and if he continues so to differ, will probably think it his duty to use all the influence which his promotion may give him in support of his own sentiments. Strong as this objection must appear, I am not however disposed to push it further at present, because it has been lately reported to me that Mr. Jolly's scruples are removed with respect at least to one of the points of difference between the bishops and him. I shall rejoice to find that this report is true, although I cannot help observing that the authority on which it is founded seems to clash with other evidence in my possession, which makes me still hesitate about the sincerity of this supposed change of opinion. In a matter of such consequence it is not prudent to rely on such vague and equivocal professions as are easily made to serve a turn, and as easily explained away when the end is gained for which they were brought forward.

"I have now laid before you the reasons which have induced me to oppose the design of promoting Mr. Jolly in the manner and for the purpose held out by your various letters to me on the subject, and which, after the most mature and impartial consideration, still appears, in my judgment, a rash and ill-digested measure, unnecessary and inexpedient, and likely to produce disagreeable consequences, not only in this diocese, but through the other districts of this national Church. That all, or any of, my objections are, strictly speaking, *canonical* is more than I will pretend to say, because I am really at a loss to know where the purely ecclesiastical canons are to be found, unless we look for them in the New Testament, which prescribe the necessary qualifications for the office of a bishop, or point out the things which disqualify a man for that sacred function. From the canons of Scripture, or any other that are applicable to the present state of our Church, I suppose it would be a difficult matter

to bring a relevant objection against the promotion of any one presbyter in it. And on this supposition I cannot but think it absurd, and no less indelicate and unbrotherly, to require me, in such a teasing manner, to produce *canonical* objections to the promotion of the present candidate. There may be an impropriety in the measure without any prejudice to the person proposed, and there may surely be an unfitness in the person, on many accounts, both external and internal, which no canon can reach, and to which no rule can apply but that of good sense and sound discretion. You well know that by one of our own particular canons the bishops have the privilege of setting aside the election of any presbyter, merely by declaring that they have sufficient reasons not to be satisfied of his fitness for the office of a bishop; and the privilege which is thus claimed in name of the whole need not be so harshly denied to a single bishop, so nearly concerned as I am in the present business. This brings me to take notice of a very strange paper, signed by you three in the month of March last, and which being, it seems, intended for me, though without an address or direction on any part of it, was transmitted to me a few weeks ago. You begin with telling me that 'it is with concern you perceive, *especially on this occasion*, that I manifest a disposition less complying than you can commend,' &c.; but you do not say what the *occasion* is on which you thus address me, nor why you make use of the word *especially*, which, seeming to imply other *manifestations* of the same kind, required some apology, or at least some reason assigned for such an abrupt accusation. You then go on to charge me with 'setting up my single self in opposition to a measure my brethren approve of as reasonable, and promising good to the Church, without sufficient canonical reasons to support my opposition,' which you think, 'to say the least of it, strange!' And *strange* indeed it might appear, if your measure was *reasonable*, that I should be able to bring sufficient reasons to support my opposition to it. Some reasons, however, I have brought for this purpose, and it is not your saying 'that they are not sufficient' that will lessen the force of them, or convince me that I am wrong while I see not a single solid argument adduced for my conviction. Majorities are not always in the right more than individuals, and, however *strange* it may appear in your eyes, I shall not be ashamed to set up my *single self*, in the manner I have done, in opposition to a measure which, to the best of my judgment, appears highly unreasonable, and from the way in which it has been proposed and conducted promises no good to any

of the parties concerned in it. The blame of all this, I see, you are well disposed to lay at my door, and I must bear whatever shame of it can be justly imputed to me. You have not only warned me of what I have to expect if 'I drive things to extremities,' but you have also, as yourselves express it, given me your *judgment* upon my present conduct—that is, you have passed sentence before the cause was fairly before you, and without waiting to hear what might be said in defence of the party accused. From such premature and precipitate judgment it is to be hoped there lies an appeal somewhere, and if I can in sincerity say with S. Paul 'I judge not mine own self,' I may humbly add in the words that follow, 'yet am I not hereby justified, but He that judgeth me is the Lord.'

"Before I conclude this long and perhaps disagreeable address, I must yet request your indulgence while I express my surprise that, notwithstanding my well founded objections to the regularity of your proposed meeting at Dundee on the 23rd inst., you should still persist in your resolution of holding it, and pretend to be authorised by the canons to act synodically in it. Having reason, however, to believe that you mean to do so, I take the opportunity of your being together to lay my sentiments thus before you, and to enter my protest, which I herewith transmit to Bishop Strachan, against any of your proceedings by which I may be unduly affected, either as a member of the Episcopal College or as Bishop of Aberdeen. In the character of your Primus, I am perfectly indifferent how you dispose of me, provided that what you do be done in a regular and becoming manner, by the unanimous voice of all concerned. I am entitled to require that no alteration be attempted by incompetent authority; and I call upon you to produce either canon or precedent in our Church whereby you are justified in breaking into pieces the diocese of a fellow-bishop, and disposing of it as you think proper, not only without his consent, but against his will and in direct contempt of every remonstrance he could make on the subject. For if you can tear away one part of his charge when you please, why not another and another, and so on till there be none left? Such must be the consequence of the precedent you are about to establish, if it be allowed to pass without opposition: a consequence much more dangerous to episcopacy than any inference that can fairly be drawn from what I had affirmed in my correspondence on this subject to be the necessary result of the truth which we all acknowledge that 'every bishop is the head and principle of unity in his own district.'

From this I had inferred that no presbyter is at liberty to leave his district, or, while he locally abides in it, to relinquish his subordinate station, without consent of him under whose authority he acts. But this Bishop Abernethy Drummond calls 'a strange and absurd' inference, because it would imply that 'a tyrannical, irreligious, or ill-natured bishop might prevent the consecration of the best and wisest man perhaps in the world, and so has a right to do a world of mischief to the Church.' Extravagant as his opinion may be both of the Bishop of Aberdeen and the presbyter presently pointed at, I hope he does not mean to apply the characters here described either to the one or the other. It is easy to form suppositions of what *may* happen; tho' 'tis not very probable that even such a bishop as is here supposed would refuse to let such a presbyter leave his diocese, if it were only to get free of a disagreeable connection with so much superior wisdom and goodness. But in fact the hypothesis may just as well be turned the other way, and it may as truly be said—'If any presbyter has a right to relinquish his subordinate station without the consent of his Ordinary, a turbulent and ambitious presbyter, aided by a tyrannical and ill-natured majority of bishops, might distress the best and wisest bishop perhaps in the Church, and do a world of mischief to it.' That even a majority of bishops among so small a number as we are might be thus disposed will not, I dare say, be disputed by those to whom I now write, because they will remember the time, when it so happened, that a *majority* of the bishops of this Church were actually accused of being *tyrannical and ill-natured* on account of their opposing the promotion of one of its presbyters whom they represented as *turbulent and ambitious*, and therefore unworthy of being promoted. On that occasion, as well as now, I ventured to go against the opinion of a majority of the bishops of this Church, from whom I had often heard that Dr. Abernethy Drummond at Edinburgh, and his friend Mr. Strachan at Dundee, were the great disturbers of its peace, and for that reason ought not to be raised to a higher order in it. Yet you have not, I suppose, forgot that I was at the trouble of going all the way to Dundee and Edinburgh for the purpose of settling matters, so as to get this unfavourable opinion removed, and thereby pave the way for the promotion of the very gentlemen, which was soon after accomplished. On that occasion, then, you will not say that I was such an enemy to peace as I am now represented; yet what I was then I continue to be, and through God's grace I hope ever shall continue—a firm and steady friend to

peace on just and proper terms, though I am not to be amused by empty professions of *panting for peace*, where I see nothing but 'panting for preferment.' A forced, unequal peace is seldom lasting; what is extorted by violence can be retained only by superior strength. You feel yourselves powerful just now, and can therefore offer peace on any conditions you please. On such terms, it seems, I must accept it or go without it. In either way the prospect is gloomy and uncomfortable. To the God of peace and consolation I commit my cause, with fervent prayer and humble hope that He will dispose of it and me as He sees best. In that hope I shall wish to continue as long as you will let me, with all due regard,

"Right Reverend Brethren,

"Your affectionate Brother and faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN SKINNER, *Bishop and Primus.*"

Primus John Skinner to the Right Rev. Bishop Strachan, Dundee.

"*Aberdeen, June 20th*, 1796.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"Being informed that my right rev. colleagues still persist in their resolution of holding the proposed synodical meeting at Dundee this week, I think it my duty to protest against it as *uncanonical* and *irregular*, and am therefore obliged to give you the trouble of the enclosed letter and *protest*, which I hope you will do me the justice to present at your meeting, and not deem them unworthy of your serious consideration. Had I been certain of Bishop Watson's being with you, I should have applied to him as our clerk for this purpose; but, as the case stands, you will forgive the freedom I have used, and believe me to be, with deep concern for the necessity I am under of acting so disagreeable a part, right rev. Sir, your affectionate brother and faithful humble servant,

"JOHN SKINNER, *Bishop and Primus.*"

The bishops gave their decision regarding the protest, and expressed it in the minutes of the Synod as follows:—

"As it is a fact which Bishop Skinner cannot deny that he was required by the Right Reverend Bishops Macfarlane, Abernethy Drummond, and Strachan, to call a meeting in this place on the 24th of June, for the express purpose of consecrating the Reverend Mr. Alexander Jolly, presbyter in Fraserburgh, which request he did not comply with, they, as a majority of the bishops of this Church,

had a right to meet on said day and act synodically without him. And being of opinion that the two first reasons in support of his protest are frivolous, and the danger mentioned in his third reason is without foundation, and having clear and undoubted evidence that the fourth is a mere mistake under the hand of said Mr. Jolly, whose certification shall be recorded in the Register of the Church—they therefore find themselves at liberty to hold a Synod and proceed to the consecration without regard to the said protest.

"The Synod next took into consideration an appeal of the said Mr. Jolly from the prohibition of the Right Reverend Bishop Skinner, his Ordinary, who, knowing that a day and place had been appointed for his consecration, did expressly discharge him to attend said meeting in these terms:—'And I do hereby forbid and prohibit your attending any meeting which shall be called or held for the purpose of altering the form or boundary of the diocese without my consent, or appointing you to any office or station that may be subversive of or inconsistent with the duty and obedience which you owe to me your regular diocesan.'

"The Synod having considered the words of this prohibition are clearly of opinion that such a power is not competent to any bishop, and that the claiming of such a power subjects the claimant to the penalty denounced in the 3rd canon of 1743; and when the bishops call to mind the ample testimony which the Right Rev. Bishop Skinner has given to the merits of the candidate, both in a letter to himself and to some of the bishops, they are utterly at a loss how to account for his attempt to prevent the intended consecration. In consideration thereof the said Right Rev. Dr. Abernethy Drummond, Primus, Bishop Macfarlane, and Bishop Strachan hereby annul and make void the said prohibition, and declare that the said Mr. Jolly is pitched upon by the said Bishop Macfarlane to be his coadjutor with the full consent and approbation of all the presbyters of the Diocese of Ross and Moray signified to him in a letter of the 27th of May last and laid before the Synod, he has a right to be consecrated, and that they are determined to proceed to his consecration accordingly.

"Wm. Abernethy Drummond, *Primus.*
"Alexander Jolly, *Clerk.*"

After delivering this judgment, the Episcopal Synod adjourned, and the consecration of Mr. Jolly was proceeded with, the three

bishops who had been present at the Synod taking part in the solemn service.

The Episcopal Synod met again in the afternoon, and gave this deliverance concerning a letter which the Primus *pro tempore* had received from Bishop Watson of Dunkeld :—"The consecration being over, and the Synod, which had been adjourned before noon, being resumed, a letter from the Right Reverend Bishop Watson was received by Bishop Abernethy Drummond, apologising for his absence on account of a severe indisposition, and for his not sending the Minute Book, because he expected to have it conveyed by his friend, Mr. Jolly, which apology the Synod accepted."

The bishops at this Synod, as an answer to the fourth objection of Primus John Skinner to Mr. Jolly's consecration, caused the latter to sign the following declaration :—

"*Dundee, June* 23*rd*, 1796.

"I do hereby solemnly declare and certify that I acquiesce *ex animo*, agree, and fully consent to what the bishops of this Church have done to express their dutiful submission to the present civil Government of these kingdoms, and that I will unite in Church communion with the clergy of the English Mission in Scotland upon Christian Catholic principles, and as the bishops of the Church shall agree."

Thus ended the matter which had given so much trouble and anxiety to the Primus and to the bishops who differed from him in regard to Bishop Jolly's consecration. There can be little doubt that this consecration brought manifold blessings to our Communion in Scotland.

The bishops present at this Synod signed a declaration to the effect that Mr. Jolly had been duly consecrated. This document and another, the deed of election of the bishop to the diocese of Moray, together with his letters of orders, have been placed in the custody of the synod clerk of the diocese of Moray and Ross, for preservation among the diocesan archives, by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, emeritus incumbent of S. Andrew's Church, Glasgow. The following are the words of the declaration referred to :—

"These do certify to all concerned that the Reverend Mr. Alexander Jolly, presbyter at Fraserburgh, was this day consecrated bishop to be coadjutor to the Right Reverend Mr. Andrew Macfarlane, Bishop of Ross and Moray, in the Chapel of the Right Reverend

Bishop Strachan in Dundee, by us the subscribing bishops. Given at Dundee this twenty-fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

"WM. ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, *Primus.*
"ANDREW MACFARLANE, *Bishop of Ross and Moray.*
"JOHN STRACHAN, *Bishop of Brechin.*"

ELECTION OF BISHOP JOLLY AS BISHOP OF MORAY.

The presbyters of the diocese of Moray met at Keith on February 14th, 1798, in obedience to a mandate from the Primus and the other bishops, authorising them to meet and elect a bishop of the diocese of Moray, Bishop Macfarlane having resigned that part of the diocese, previously united under his episcopal care. The assembled presbyters, only four in number, proceeded to elect a bishop in terms of the mandate, and Bishop Jolly was unanimously elected to the vacant see. The deed of election runs as follows:—

"In the name of God. Amen.

"Blessed be the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Amen.

"We, the underwritten presbyters of the Diocese of Moray, having taken into our consideration the present state of the district now vacant by the resignation of our late Ordinary, Bishop Macfarlane, and having before us a mandate from the Primus and the other bishops of the Church, authorising us to meet and elect a bishop to take charge of said diocese, and to dispense to us the offices peculiar to the episcopate, have unanimously made choice of the Right Rev. Mr. Alexander Jolly, at Fraserburgh, and we hereby nominate and elect him to be our bishop, promising him all due and canonical obedience upon this our deed of election being ratified and confirmed by the Primus and other bishops. In testimony whereof, we have subscribed these presents at Keith, this fourteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight.

"HUGH BUCHAN.
"ALEX. CHRISTIE.
"JAMES WALKER.
"ALEX. SHAND, for Fochabers."

There had been a proposal that Bishop Jolly should reside within the ancient diocese of Moray, and that the boundaries of that diocese should be altered. Some diversity of opinion arose upon these points between the bishops and the presbyters of the diocese,

the latter being decidedly opposed to any change in the limits of the Moray diocese. Primus John Skinner did not think the boundaries of the diocese should be changed, but thought it would be more for the good of the Church if the bishop left Fraserburgh, and accepted a pastoral charge in Moray. Bishop Macfarlane, on the other hand, thought there was occasion to alter the ancient limits of the diocese, but that there was no need that Bishop Jolly should leave Fraserburgh. The presbyters assembled at Keith on February 14, 1798, to elect a Bishop of Moray, at the same time drew up the following memorial in favour of retaining the ancient bounds of the see :—

"The memorial of the presbyters of the diocese of Moray to the Right Rev. the Primus and the other bishops of this Church

"We, the presbyters of the diocese of Moray, met at Keith on the 14th February, having taken into our consideration the scheme in agitation of disjoining the said diocese, and annexing in future that part of it presently under the pastoral charge of the Right Reverend Bishop Macfarlane to the Bishopric of Ross, beg humbly to represent our opinions to the bishops with regard to the above measure, in hopes that they will not alter the ancient boundary of our diocese without urgent necessity. At present we can see no reason for making the proposed annexation to the diocese of Ross, as the 9th canon sufficiently secures to Bishop Macfarlane, during his residence within this diocese, the congregation of which he has the charge. We therefore humbly beg of your reverences that you will be kind enough to pay attention to this our request that the ancient limits of the diocese may be allowed to remain as they have been aforetime, which we conceive may be done without any material disadvantage or inconveniency to the Church in general, and which will be gratifying to the presbyters of Moray in particular.

"Hugh Buchan.
"Alex. Christie.
"J. Walker.
"Alex. Shand, Fochabers.

"Keith, February 14th, 1798."

The proposal seems to have been that Inverness should be added to the diocese of Ross in order to secure the rights of Bishop Macfarlane. These, however, were already secured by the 9th canon, so that it was unnecessary to make a permanent separation of Inverness from the diocese of Moray.

The following remarks were appended to the memorial by Primus John Skinner and Bishop Macfarlane respectively :—

"*Aberdeen, February 22nd*, 1798.

"With regard to the memorial from the presbyters of Moray on the following page, I hereby give it as my opinion that what they suggest is reasonable, as there appears to be no occasion at present for altering the ancient limits of the diocese. I likewise think that Bishop Jolly's having a pastoral charge in the diocese of Moray, and residing personally in it, would be more for the good of the Church, and of that diocese in particular, than his present situation. "JOHN SKINNER, *Bishop of Aberdeen.*"

"*Inverness, 27th February*, 1798.

"With regard to the memorial from the presbyters of Moray on the *foregoing* page, I hereby give it as my opinion that what they suggest is without any good reason, as there appears to be no occasion at present for altering the ancient limits of the diocese. I likewise think that Bishop Jolly's having a pastoral charge in the diocese of Moray, and residing personally in it, would be *no* more *for* the good of the Church and that diocese in particular than his present situation; as he might within that diocese be further distant from his electors, as was their late bishop, than where he is.

"ANDREW MACFARLANE, *Bishop of Ross.*"

Thus ends the story of Bishop Jolly's consecration and subsequent election and collation to the diocese of Moray.

RECONCILIATION OF BISHOP JOLLY WITH PRIMUS JOHN SKINNER.

The way in which this reconciliation was brought about is best told in Bishop Jolly's own words, found in the following letter written by him to the Rev. John Cruickshank, of Kinharrachie, on July 11th, 1796:—

"I have hastily scribbled a letter from Inverness to go by this day's post, and wish also to impart to you by the same opportunity what has occurred. I have not seen the bishop. He went from Cuminston to Linshart, and from that to Lonmay on Saturday morning. In the meantime, I was quite in suspense, and could not conjecture how he had shaped his course. He has not visited at Auchiries, tho' he was expected there, and would have met with

due respect—the good people wishing to bring us together, and to have sores healed up. My good honest neighbour, on Saturday evening, after all was over, and the bishop gone, obligingly took a ride to this place to satisfy my anxiety about what had passed. The moment he appeared I saw that he was happy. He had found his reverence in a very different mood from what he expected—in a state apparently mortified, mild, and humble—very much altered from what he had usually seen on similar occasions. He seemed reluctant to enter upon the sad story, but at length, when near the time of parting (for he returned to Linshart, taking up his lady at Haddo, to go to which he had set her down in the morning), broke silence by observing to Mr. Sangster that he had got a bishop in his neighbourhood. To which he answered that it was so, and that he was very glad of it, stating the matter in a very free and easy way, which he was encouraged to do from the temper in which he found the bishop. He then expressed his regret at the thought of our standing aloof, and his wish to see us embrace and unite becomingly. The bishop replied that he had no objection—that he would be glad. And, in the end, Peterhead was proposed as the place of our meeting, Mr. Sangster undertaking for me that I would gladly accede. And indeed I do, in hopes of finding the satisfaction which my worthy friend holds out to my expectation; but with firm purpose, you may depend upon it, constantly to stand by and maintain to the utmost of my power the honour and credit of those good men who, to their own no small personal trouble and vexation, have, with apostolic-like firmness, acted such a part as they believed the position of our affairs required, and have done it on *their* side with the purest motives, I am perfectly convinced. Assist me with your daily prayers to God, that their good design be not frustrated through my great unworthiness and insufficiency! The thought of the continuance of your firm friendship is a great support to me; and you will never imagine that any change of situation can have the least undue influence upon the love and good-will to you and yours, with which I ever am, my very dear reverend brother, your own most affectionate and obliged,

ALEXANDER JOLLY."

The two bishops doubtless became reconciled at Peterhead, and ever afterwards continued steadfast friends. When Primus Skinner died, and his body was laid in its last resting-place in S. Peter's Churchyard, Aberdeen, there was no mourner more sincere than the

Bishop of Moray, and no one knew better the loss the Church had sustained by the death of so able an administrator. Very touching are those words of the saintly bishop, quoted elsewhere in this book, addressed to the Rev. John Skinner of Forfar, the son of the Primus: —"The longer I live, the more I lament the loss we have suffered by his translation to a better world. The lovely likeness of him which, from one of my copies of your annals, hangs in my closet, excites the warm emotions of my heart, while I reverently kiss it in affectionate veneration for his memory! May we tread in his steps, and, through the mercy of our Lord, follow him to Paradise, where all is peace and all is joy."

CONVOCATION AT LAURENCEKIRK.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were in Scotland a number of congregations calling themselves Episcopal, but yet refusing to yield obedience to the Scottish bishops. Primus John Skinner, thinking that the only way to bring back these congregations to the Church was the signing of the Thirty-Nine Articles by the clergy, summoned a convocation of the bishops and clergy to meet at Laurencekirk on October 24th, 1804. There were present the Primus, the Bishops of Ross, Dunkeld, and Moray, thirty-eight presbyters, and two deacons. The chair was taken by the Primus. From the diocese of Moray there were present the Very Rev. Dean Buchan of Elgin, the Rev. J. Walker of Huntly, and the Rev. John Murdoch of Keith.

BISHOP JOLLY'S SPEECH AT LAURENCEKIRK.

After the other bishops had spoken, Bishop Jolly made a speech conciliatory in its tone, and based on S. Paul's words to the Corinthians, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." Having shown that forms of doctrine were recorded by Irenæus and Tertullian, he said that the Church of England had exhibited in her Articles of Religion her wise regard to primitive antiquity. The changes made in the Articles after the return of the English divines from their exile, were intended "to admit a general subscription of persons agreeing in the main." In Bishop Jolly's opinion, the adoption of the Articles was not inimical to the use of the Scottish Communion Office, nor to the holding

of anti-Calvinistic views concerning the doctrines contained in the Articles. Finally, he advocated openness and fairness in their subscription, quoting this rule from a sermon of Dr. Conybeare: "A good man will be cautious, but not subtle; he will first examine with impartiality and care, and then subscribe with sincerity and plainness."

UNION WITH THE SEPARATED CONGREGATIONS—ADOPTION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTCLES.

The Articles of Religion having been formally adopted and signed by all the members present, conditions of union with the separated congregations were agreed to unanimously. They were six in number, and bore the mark of charity and moderation. Within a month after the convocation, they were signed by the Rev. Dr. Sandford, of Edinburgh, and his example was soon followed by others.* On February 9th, 1806, Dr. Sandford was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh by the Primus and the Bishops of Moray and Dunkeld.

BISHOP JOLLY'S DIOCESE.

Inverness and Strathnairn being under the episcopal care of Bishop Macfarlane, Bishop Jolly's diocese only included six charges. These were Aberchirder, Ruthven, Keith, Fochabers, Duffus, and Elgin. Such a small diocese was suitable for a bishop whose constitution was not very strong, and whose habits were those of a recluse.

ADVICE TO A CANDIDATE FOR PRIEST'S ORDERS.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the clergyman at Keith and Ruthven was the Rev. John Murdoch, a young man of scholarly attainments and great ability. In the summer of 1801, Bishop Jolly ordained him priest at Ruthven. Previous to the ordination day, the bishop gave the candidate the following words of advice:—"May God by His gracious Presence be with us, and fitly dispose us all for our respective parts. I am glad that you have read Comber's *Comment*, and been the better enabled thereby to digest the solemn vows which you are to make to God, and unalterably to seal with the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. To His Cross we look, and on it must continually keep our eye fixed, that we

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., pp. 115-124.

may war a good warfare under His banner, and endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. 'Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the Grace that is in Christ Jesus.' Often should we read and meditate on the epistles to Timothy and Titus. But, indeed, the whole divinely inspired Scripture is 'profitable for doctrine, &c., that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works.' May God ever bless you, and grant you good success by His Holy Spirit."

UNBELIEF AND FALSE ENTHUSIASM.

"How deplorable," wrote Bishop Jolly, "is the state of true religion, between infidelity on the one hand, and false enthusiastic zeal on the other! How shall we answer for our own lukewarm, slumbering state at such an awful crisis? Our poor weather-beaten bark, going to pieces, and we snugly sleeping, as if all were safe! In His own time He will arise and rebuke these winds of false doctrine, and threatening floods of infidelity. May He extend His mercy to us also, and bring us to the haven where we would be!"

AGE OF CANDIDATES FOR CONFIRMATION.

This bishop preferred candidates for confirmation to be about fourteen years of age at least. He usually visited his diocese on a confirmation tour during the fourth or fifth week of Lent. Writing to the Rev. James Walker, of Huntly, on February 27th, 1802, he says of this:—"Some circumstances induce me to go before Easter—that is, in the week before Holy Week. You have been so good, I doubt not, as acquaint Mr. Murdoch according to the request of my last. Since the Church now makes the personal susception of the baptismal engagements a requisite for that ordinance, it is no doubt necessary in order to this that the candidates be of understanding and discretion, and have attained to actual devotion and an operative sense of religion; and, therefore, very young children, though in respect of their innocence the fitter temples of the Holy Ghost, are not, especially in these careless, cold times, ordinarily fit for the awful profession which they are called to make in the presence of God and the Church. Indeed, I here now confirm only such as are about to communicate at the altar. The time of Lent is a good opportunity for the more immediate preparation."

THE LABOURERS ARE FEW.

The Rev. J. Murdoch of Keith, after having contemplated the project of removing to Inverness about 1804, resolved to remain where he was. This decision was a great relief to the good bishop, who did not wish to lose such a valuable labourer from the vineyard of his diocese. To Mr. Murdoch he expressed his delight in the following letter :—

"As the thought of your removal was very unpleasant to me, to which only the hope of its superior advantage to the Church reconciled me, so now that the case seems to be altered, and you have so explained it to the bishop, I joyfully acquiesce in your resolution to remain where you are. Well do I know that your situation there has its manifold discouragements, and heartily do I wish that it were in my power anyhow to remove them. Meantime, the contemplation of our Divine Master's low state when He 'came to visit us in great humility' will tend to alleviate our hardships, and for all 'we spend' and 'are spent' in tending the charge He has committed to us, when 'He shall come again in His glorious majesty,' He will superabundantly repay us !"

"FEED MY LAMBS."

In a letter to Mr. Murdoch, Bishop Jolly remarked : "Our worthy dean does not encourage me to think of the visit for next summer, which, were we in a more flourishing situation, should be triennial. Still, we must be indefatigable in our endeavours, towards the rising generation specially, it being vain to look for good sheep if we neglect the lambs ! May the great and good Shepherd of all graciously guide and nourish both the pastors and their flocks ! "

A DESPONDENT PRESBYTER CHEERED.

Mr. Murdoch having written despondently to his bishop, received from him a reply containing these words : "Sadness, as far as it is voluntary, is sinful and dangerous. 'Spiritus enim Dei, qui datus est in carnem, tristitiam non sustinet. Indue te ergo hilaritate, quæ semper habet gratiam apud Dominum et lætaberis in eâ. Omnis enim hilaris vir, bene operatur et bona sapit' (says Hermas's *Pastor*)."

EPISCOPAL SYNOD OF 1809.

This Synod met at Aberdeen on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1809, the Primus, the Bishops of Moray, Ross, Dunkeld, and the Coadjutor-Bishop of Brechin being present. Six canons were agreed to at this meeting, requiring the clergy of each diocese to receive directions only from their own bishop, and forbidding presbyters to make innovations in the service without the consent of the bishop.

BISHOP JOLLY AND THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1811.

Towards the end of 1810, the bishops of the Church saw that it was necessary to have a more perfect Code of Canons than those of 1743. Writing to the Bishop of Moray, on December 27th, 1810, Primus John Skinner said:—

"Indeed there is now such a spirit breaking out among us for everything that is English, and such a restless desire to abandon whatever is not English, that in a very few years, I am afraid, we shall have nothing remaining but the vestige of a Scottish Church, while everything connected with its orders and services is derived from England. One thing which must naturally contribute to this unhappy defection is the want of a regular constitution and code of discipline, which our Church has ever laboured under, owing to the troublesome times in the days of its civil establishment, and the sad, unhinged, broken state into which it was thrown by the overthrow of that establishment. Touching on this subject in a letter which I wrote lately to Bishop Gleig, I had the satisfaction of finding by his return that he entered fully into my views, particularly as to the propriety of our holding a national Synod, comprehending all the bishops and representatives from the clergy, for the purpose of establishing a constitution and canons that may in future regulate the order and discipline of our Church, so as that both bishops and clergy may clearly see their line of duty, and how to adhere to it. It is well known that few or none of the English canons will be found applicable to the state of things in our Church: and those adopted by our bishops in 1743, tho' well calculated to answer the purpose which they were intended to serve, yet embrace but a few points of duty, and are nothing like a system of ecclesiastical law. I earnestly wish, therefore, that you would turn your thoughts to this subject, revive your knowledge of the ancient canons, observing where they would be found to suit

our situation, and how they may be best adapted to every part of our religious service. In digesting such a plan of ecclesiastical economy with the assistance of the best informed of our clergy, I think the present bishops are as likely as any that may come after them to co-operate in a cordial manner, by evincing a spirit of mutual concession, alternately yielding to one another, so as to promote the unity and order of the whole body. Could such a happy object be accomplished in my day, I should take my leave of the Church on earth with the comfortable hope of meeting it again in a higher station, reaping the reward of its obedience and uniformity here below. Write me as soon as you can what you think of this matter, without waiting for a private bearer, as in such cases I never mind postage, and care not what I pay for letters of real importance, and such as on the present subject I shall deem ours to be."

On the receipt of this letter from the Primus, Bishop Jolly at once began to direct his attention to the study of canon law, and in the following words gave his opinion about the proposed new Code :—

"Your reverence in return to my communication imparts to me a design, the success of which I do most ardently wish. It is a long time since—being sensible of our deficiency in point of ecclesiastical canons, which you state exactly according to my way of thinking—I began to try if I could cull out from the councils most worthy of regard what might suit the state of our little Church at the present day, and command the more ready and respectful obedience as being adopted from early antiquity. Although I may not now find those notes and references, which I scratched on loose papers, I will fall to work again, please God, more steadily than before. It is the collection of Binius that I have in 9 vols., fol., but Labbe's is much better. The latter I have much wished to look into, that I might examine a particular passage in which Binius is deficient. When I had the pleasure of being with your reverence in King's College Library, I began to ask Mr. M'Lachlan if it was there, and when he was about to look into the catalogue for it, something diverted the attention from it. It is Binius, I think, not the other, that they have at Marischal."

Bishop Jolly's letter elicited a reply from the Primus on February 8th, 1811 :—

"It gives me much satisfaction to learn that the measure which

I had suggested has met with your approbation, and that you are now employed in making some preparation for the accomplishment of the object which we have in view. I can hardly think, however, that for effecting the purpose which we have in contemplation, you will find it necessary to search such a vast collection as Binius' *nine volumes in folio*, much less to wish for the additional work of Labbe to complete your design. I should suppose that all which we may judge necessary to be adopted will be found in one volume of Du Pin, or even in Johnson's *Abstract*, as it is not so much the *letter* as *the spirit* of the primitive code that will be found to suit our situation; and if we can but preserve the latter, we need not much care about adopting the former, where the difference of the language and idiom will not properly admit of it. We must endeavour, however, to introduce our little plan of ecclesiastical discipline (I call it *little*, because it will not be swelled out by any mixture of matters of state) by a proper preamble representing the real nature of our spiritual society, its foundation and constitution, and the consequence of those various struggles, which it has maintained with much vicissitude of fortune for more than two centuries past. During those turbulent periods of our national history, when the minds of our ecclesiastical rulers were continually agitated either by the hopes of gaining or the fears of losing the support of civil establishment, it may well be supposed that they would scarcely think of forming anything like a permanent system of ecclesiastical discipline amidst the many political changes which their country was undergoing. All this should be taken notice of in the introduction to our canons, as an apology for the deficiency which we wish to remedy, and for the feeble attempts which were made for that purpose, between the years 1724, when it was first thought of, and 1743, when Bishop Rattray's new canons were adopted. I wish, therefore, you would keep this in view, and be trying your hand at it, when you have leisure. It is proposed that besides the deans, who are already appointed, every diocese which has more than four presbyters in it should, along with its dean, send another presbyter to the Synod, chosen by the clergy, but approved of by the bishop. And as the place of meeting and the time most convenient for it are matters which ought to be settled among the bishops themselves before they be promiscuously talked of among the clergy, I could wish that my colleagues would endeavour to settle these points by mutual correspondence, that when their sentiments are communicated to me I may be able to propose such a time and

place for our meeting as may be most likely to meet the wishes of all concerned. For my own part, I shall be ready, God willing, to attend my brethren at any place within the kingdom which may be thought most convenient, and at any time, unless during the three weeks in the ensuing summer, when, if my Blessed Master pleases, I must again endeavour to go through my triennial course of duty in the diocese."

Bishop Jolly, in reply to this letter, gives his reasons for wishing to consult Binius and Labbe :—

"When I mentioned Binius and Labbe, I was far from thinking that the perusal of the one or the other was an advisable pre-requisite to our design, but meant merely to insinuate my wish, by Mr. Skinner's favour, to discover if the latter is to be found in Aberdeen. When it easily falls in his way, I still hope that he will inquire. It is on a different subject that I wish to look into his collection. The reading of the councils is very entertaining, and a very venerable system of doctrine, as well as discipline, might be extracted from them. Since the Reformation the study of canon law has, perhaps, been too much neglected. It will give me wonderful comfort to see a neat little code of salutary canons constructed and established for our little Church, but I hope that, by the Divine favour, it shall be effected—all concurring with one only view—to promote the glory of God by furthering the salvation of souls. I cannot unriddle Bishop Gleig's declining early communication of the design to Bishop Sandford—which alarms me a little. Yet all, I trust, is and shall be well. Great caution and circumspection, I am well aware, are necessary to lead the business successfully forward. And, therefore, before it advance far, I am very desirous that we should have a quiet meeting, and take hopeful measures," &c.

Primus Skinner met by appointment with Bishops Torry and Jolly at Aberdeen, to consult about the coming General Synod, regarding the expediency of which they were all agreed. Bishop Sandford, when informed of the proposal by the Bishop of Moray, answered, "I am glad to hear that you have intentions of holding a Synod for the useful purpose which you mention, and shall be happy to contribute my weak assistance to the furtherance of so good a design." Bishop Macfarlane said he thought some of the English canons might supply materials, but should be modified to suit the Scottish Church. He hoped that a good understanding would be

come to regarding the Scotch and English Communion offices, "and some check given to the silly rage for *Anglification in all things.*"

When it had been arranged that the General Synod should be held on June 19th, 1811, the Bishop of Moray, in the accompanying letter, communicated the design to the clergy of Moray through Dean Buchan:—

Bishop Jolly to Dean Buchan, Elgin.

"*Fraserburgh, April 6th,* 1811.

"My Dear Reverend Brother,

"The business upon which I am now in duty obliged to write to you will appear to you, as it does to me, in itself good and worthy of our best industry—although the exertion of it may occasion to us some fatigue and inconveniency. It has for a good while past been a *desideratum* with us to have our authorised canons extended to somewhat like a complete code, and the bishops have of late been corresponding upon the subject, and are unanimous in approbation of the proposal, as a measure tending, by God's blessing, to promote our spiritual welfare. By attending to the spirit and genius of the ancient canons, and retaining what is purely ecclesiastical in the modern (those of England, Scotland [Caroline!], and Ireland), it seems easy to make a little, neat compilation, adapted to our primitive-like situation. So easy and hopeful of accomplishment does the design appear, that the Primus, after consulting with his colleagues, has appointed a Synod to be holden at Laurencekirk, in the Mearns, upon the 19th day of June next, for deliberating and concluding upon this important business. In consequence of this appointment, I make intimation to you, my reverend brother, requesting that, if it please God, you will then and there attend as canonical Dean of Moray. And, meantime, as I apprehend that in Synod the deans represent the clergy, I beg that you will take an early opportunity of imparting the design to our other two diocesan brethren, with my most affectionate regards to them, that they may turn their attention to it, and send their instructions to you, if anything which they apprehend to be important to the design occur to them. I earnestly hope that the bishops will be as attentive to the rights of the presbyterate as to those of the episcopate—regarding only, and with a single eye, the honour and glory of our Divine Lord and Master! In the larger districts, where the number of the clergy exceeds four, it is proposed that an additional delegate,

elected by the clergy, be sent with the dean. May all be so decently and orderly arranged and conducted as that the true edification of the Church may be the result!

"I fervently wish you and yours all the blessings of a happy Easter, and beg that you will then and always pray for me, who ever am, my dear reverend Sir, your most affectionate brother and faithful humble servant, ALEXANDER JOLLY."

THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1811.

This Synod, in the preparations for which Bishop Jolly had taken so great an interest, met at Aberdeen, on June 19th, 1811. All the bishops of the Scottish Church were present, and the Deans of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, and Brechin. One clergyman was present from each of those dioceses. After the opening address had been delivered by the Primus, the clergy, with the consent of the bishops, retired to their own chamber to discuss the merits of each new canon as it was brought forward. Some of the new canons were substantially the same as those of 1743. In all future General Synods the clergy were to be represented by the deans and one clerical delegate from each diocese in which there were more than four presbyters. Before their ordination, all the clergy were required to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The Scottish Liturgy was declared to be the authorised service of the Church in the celebration of the Holy Communion, and permission was given to use the English office in all congregations where it had been previously in use. To secure the primary authority of the Scottish office, it was ordered to be used in all consecrations of bishops. The canons, twenty-six in number, had prefixed to them an introduction drawn up by the Primus.

MISS PANTON'S BEQUEST.

In the year 1811, much of Bishop Jolly's correspondence was taken up in arranging the terms of Miss Panton's bequest. The Bishop of Moray first communicated the donor's pious intentions to Primus John Skinner, who recommended the use of the best legal advice, in case the relations of Miss Panton should afterwards dispute the will.

MR. BOWDLER, OF ELTHAM, KENT.

The Rev. John Bowdler, of Eltham, was a great benefactor of the struggling Communion in Scotland, and devised many ways of

helping it. In the summer of 1815, Bishop Jolly, at the instance of Mr. Bowdler, sent through Dean Buchan a paper of queries to be filled up by the clergy of Moray, about the size and requirements of their various chapels. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Howard Elphinstone, Bart., commanding the Royal Engineers in Scotland, had promised his help to the scheme of enlarging the chapels, especially if they were "wanted in or near the forts."

AN ORGAN IN THE KEITH CHAPEL.

A new organ having been introduced into the church at Keith in 1815, Bishop Jolly wrote to the clergyman, Mr. Murdoch: "My congratulations upon your erection of an organ in your chapel. I could not have so long delayed, if I had not found another channel, the best and the shortest to be sure, for conveying my subscription for it. Although I had, and still have, some doubts as to the supporting of it, I hope they shall prove vain, and that the good and pleasant use of it, as I pray, shall be permanent, to the glory of God's great Name."

DEATH OF PRIMUS JOHN SKINNER.

Primus John Skinner died at Aberdeen on July 13th, 1816, his father, the Rev. John Skinner, of Linshart, having died nine years previously. On October 27th of the same year, William Skinner, son of the late Primus, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen by Primus Gleig, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunkeld, and Moray. In a letter to the Rev. John Murdoch, of Keith, Bishop Jolly remarked of this consecration: "The journey to which I allude was the consecration of Bishop Skinner, in which blessed office Bishops Sandford, Torry, and your humble servant were assistants of the Primus. It gave me peculiar pleasure that good Mr. Annand, a very amiable and excellent man, accompanied us, and preached the consecration sermon from Galatians i. 10, inculcating the duty and happiness of studying to please God, instead of courting immoderately the applause or pleasure of men."

BISHOP JOLLY AND THE VACANCY IN ROSS AND ARGYLL.

Bishop Macfarlane, who died at Inverness on July 26th, 1819, left a blank not easily to be filled up. All the bishops of the Church were interested in the election, and none of them more so than Bishop Jolly. Several candidates were spoken of, the most of them

possessing special qualifications for the episcopal office. An Argyllshire clergyman, Mr. M'Coll, was mentioned, and of him the Bishop of Moray observed, "Of Mr. M'Coll I never would have thought." Bishop Jolly's favourite candidates in the northern district were Dean Paterson, residing in the Black Isle, and a Morayshire presbyter, Hugh Buchan, of Elgin. The former knew the Gaelic language, had maintained an irreproachable character, and had cultivated a steady course of theological study. Mr. Buchan had formerly been pointed out as a proper successor to Bishop Jolly when it was proposed that he should exchange the diocese of Moray for the see of Dunkeld.

The good Bishop of Moray was unable from his advancing years to agree to the union of Ross and Argyll to his own diocese. Of this idea he said, "I must not, even for the best purpose, become *felo-de-se*, and do evil that good may come." He expressed his opinion that it would be a wiser plan for Bishop Torry to resign Dunkeld and become Bishop of Ross and Argyll.

There were only four electors in the vacant diocese. At the time of Bishop Jolly's election, Inverness and the western parts of the Moray diocese were annexed to Ross, but it was surmised that the deed had not been recorded. The bishops in those days were wont to reject any candidate for the episcopal office who was not agreeable to themselves. It was therefore necessary to consult the Episcopal College before proceeding with any election. The Highland charges at that period were in a very impoverished state, and it was, perhaps, for their advantage that the bishops and the principal laity were so much interested in the election to the vacant see.

The northern candidates, however, were to be passed over, and three southern clergymen were proposed, the Rev. David Low, of Pittenweem, the Rev. Michael Russell, of Leith, and the Rev. James Walker, afterwards Primus of the Episcopal Church. The choice eventually fell upon the Rev. David Low, whose election was brought about principally by Bishop Jolly's influence.

On September 20th, 1819, Bishop Jolly, writing to Miss Duff Macfarlane, Inverness, requested that lady to use her influence on behalf of Mr. Low. His words to that effect were :—

"And so upon his [Bishop Torry's] refusal, the vacancy, which we lament, might for a long time remain in orphan state, against which, as a very great and general loss, I do strenuously stand up. I am now, then, very earnestly desirous that Mr. Paterson (to whom I know not how to direct a letter) would apply to the Primus without delay

for mandate, and in conjunction with his brethren, among whom Mr. Fyvie is to be considered at present, would elect Mr. Low—the undoubted votes of whose brethren, to whom he is best and has been long known, amount to strong testimony of his worth. He is also most earnestly desired by some of our most respectable and best lay-friends, and particularly by good Mr. Col. Mackenzie, as a person who would do credit to the episcopate among us. May I then presume to beg that by Mr. Fyvie's agency (to whom I wrote last week, but did not then foresee the crisis and danger which I now mention) measures may be speedily taken to preclude so great a risk? It is to be a check upon that letter which I wrote to him a few days ago that now address this to your goodness, which will pardon the liberty taken and direct dear Mr. Fyvie by your penetrating prudence to meet Mr. Paterson and Mr. Mackenzie perhaps, that they may jointly forward the important business. It is my ardent solicitude for the spiritual welfare of Ross and Argyll, &c., that prompts me thus to write and go beyond the bounds which otherwise I had set to myself. When I think of what the worthiest of men, the most excellent Mr. Bowdler, has done and is doing, I should lament the episcopal destitution of so large a country, where a great harvest by the Divine blessing is to be reaped. Pardon, then, my writing thus hastily upon the sharp spur of the occasion."

The meeting of the three bishops residing in Aberdeenshire took place on September 22nd, 1819, at Fraserburgh, probably to spare the venerable Bishop of Moray from journeying to Peterhead. At the meeting of this triumvirate, Bishop Skinner gave it as his decided opinion that the vacant district of wide extent and great importance ought to have a separate bishop. The three bishops, through Bishop Jolly, requested Primus Gleig to issue the requested mandate without delay, at the same time advising him, "in order to preclude any inconvenient observation, to adhere to the former mode of individual subscription and according to the old form." Bishop Jolly sent a copy of the form of mandate to the Primus, that he might have it ready to hand, suggesting at the same time that, sent from Stirling signed, it might pass from Fraserburgh, Peterhead, and Aberdeen directly and expeditiously to Mr. Paterson. To Bishop Torry and Bishop Skinner the episcopal deed was shown by Bishop Jolly, by which Inverness with its adjuncts was annexed to Ross. The three bishops agreed in asserting that the existence of this document would in the meantime cause Mr. Fyvie of Inverness to be regarded a

presbyter of Ross. In consequence of this, Bishop Jolly wrote to Mr. Fyvie, on August 23rd, and directed him, in conferring with his brethren of the Ross diocese to make use of a formal declaration to that effect.

Mr. Low's election became more and more probable, the difficulties supposed to have arisen in regard to it being among the bishops themselves, and not among the electors of Ross. Disquieting rumours caused Bishop Jolly to write to Dean Walker, of Edinburgh, on September 28th, 1819:—

"I had begun to consider Mr. Low's accession to us as a settled point, and have been at pains to impress the hope that it shall prove very beneficial and comfortable to us, forgetting all that is past, and uniting cordially in the true spirit of Christianity; for unless we join hearts and heads and hands we cannot thrive. We ought not to be blind to one another's foibles, but rather watch and guard against their unfavourable tendencies, while, in fraternal love, we consider them our own. Never did I hear Bishop Torry say that he would resist Mr. Low. He is probably afraid that the sores which we lament may not so soon be healed, whereas I strongly hope that they shall all very quickly be sweetly cemented, and we shall become stronger than ever. This I strenuously maintain, sure that good Mr. Low would not think of coming among us, if he were not resolved to embrace us all as brethren, joyfully united according to the psalm of this morning (cxxxiii.). The clergy of Ross and Argyll have applied for a mandate. It was thought at first that Bishop Torry would accept their election, should it be directed to him. But he finally declines. Mr. Low has been proposed, and they seem eager to get before Fife, hearing that Mr. Low would undoubtedly be elected for that, and so they be left destitute, which would truly be a hard case. . . . The Primus has repeatedly to me asserted his belief that Mr. Low is a man of sound principles, irreproachable morals, and strong good sense. All meantime *inter nos.*"

After being signed by the northern bishops, the mandate was sent directly to Ord, where the Rev. Mr. Paterson resided, he being in charge of Highfield, as well as of Arpafeelie and Fortrose. The Ross clergy had a wish to elect the Very Rev. Dean Walker, of Edinburgh, but in the following words written on October 6th, 1819, Bishop Jolly told Mr. Fyvie, of Inverness, that the Dean would not listen to the proposal:—

"A better choice than that of my excellent friend Mr. Walker,

whom I have long and ardently wished to see in the episcopate, you could not in my opinion possibly make; but too well do I know that he would not accept. It strikes me, however, that, consulting with the Dean [Dean Paterson], to whom as an old acquaintance I present my most affectionate remembrances, it would be very well, previously to your election, privately to *ask him*, and telling him, as you may safely do, without mention of my name, that *Mr. Low had been proposed to you* upon the supposition of his non-acceptance, beg his opinion and advice upon that point, as reposing much upon the soundness of his judgment who has long and perfectly known Mr. Low. This correspondence might tend very much to brighten your prospect and strengthen your hands."

There can be little doubt but the advice given in this letter was acted upon, and that Dean Walker's reply facilitated the election of Mr. Low. At all events, Mr. Low was duly elected Bishop of Ross and Argyll. The Bishop of Aberdeen was not pleased at this result, but the news of it was a cause of great satisfaction to Bishop Jolly, who, writing to Dean Walker, of Edinburgh, on October 27th, 1819, said concerning it:—

"Upon the joyful news yesterday received by the Primus's communication, I hoped to hear from you, as now I do. Although the journey be rather formidable to me at this season, yet I feel a great desire to be in Stirling on the happy occasion; and the melancholy doubt of good Bishop Sandford's being able to attend induces me the more strongly to push forward. I need not say that the hope of meeting you most affectionately animates and warms my heart. On this supposition, then, do you think that you could procure from Bishop Sandford the loan of episcopal dress for that day? The elect, perhaps, would lend me his, not fully vesting himself till after his consecration. I had Bishop Skinner's there formerly, and he himself appeared fully habited when he officiated in the evening. If you then, my dear sir, shall encourage me to go, I will go (*D.V.*) Happy and comfortable may all prove!"

Bishop William Skinner was not pleased at the election of Mr. Low, and he threatened to oppose the confirmation of the election. But the days for such arbitrary proceedings had gone by, and the choice of the electors could not be set aside. The aged Bishop of Edinburgh felt unable to go to Stirling to the consecration, this circumstance making it almost necessary that Bishop Jolly should undertake the journey to Stirling. Dean Walker, of Edinburgh,

having been appointed to preach the consecration sermon, the day appointed was November 14th, the anniversary of Bishop Seabury's consecration. Bishop Skinner declared that he would not be present, from which resolution Bishop Jolly vainly tried to dissuade him. On October 29th, 1819, Bishop Jolly wrote to Bishop William Skinner as follows:—

"With deep concern, I think of the painful feeling of your mind, which your fraternal favour of yesterday communicates to my participation. The Primus, indeed, makes use of *very strong language*; but my acceptation reduces such terms to very moderate and easy construction; and therefore I am not much moved, nor in the least shaken by them. They are both, bishop and priest, I firmly trust, very Christianly disposed, and each thinking that he needs to exercise forgiveness towards the other, does it, I doubt not, every time that he says the Lord's Prayer, as well as when he celebrates and receives the Lord's Supper. Who can read the Gospel which we all read yesterday without feeling in his heart the melting emotions of Christian charity? You, my good worthy brother, will regulate all your designs in that spirit, and so act according to the best convictions of it, and need no prompting to that purpose.

"It is true that, seeing Mr. Low's case in a different light from that in which your reverence views it, I had begun and advanced in a letter under the presumption that I might be able to bring you somewhat nearer to the point whence I take my look of it. So far from being afraid of ill consequences or jarring irritation from his accession to us, I hope, in our Lord's mercy, that it shall prove rather salutary to us, healing some little breaches which had unhappily disordered us. But it does not become me to insist. Only, my dear sir, let me now humbly crave (and I would go down on my knees to beg it of you!) that you will not found your reasoning upon the phraseology of the Primus' letter, which would quickly slip from under you, and leave him and us all, by sympathy in whatever concerns our poor afflicted Church, in perplexing difficulties, should the affair be brought to investigation. Christianity is not Stoicism, and therefore does not preclude the feeling of injuries, although it secures the instant and absolute forgiveness of them in respect of revenge and rancour, and provides and leaves room for restoration to favour and friendship upon due repentance. It is this latter for which we are now solicitous, and desire to promote by Mr. Low's consecration. Blessed, then, are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the

children of God. But pardon me for writing thus impertinently, as some would represent it, to you, who are perfectly pacific and actuated in all respects by the maxims of Christianity.

"Your worthy warm-hearted brother, too, thinks that he has been injured by us (but I am glad to find that he excepts you); and yet I am sure that he is well disposed to forgive, as Mr. Low also is. I had lately a very long letter from him wholly on that head, which puzzles me exceedingly as to answer, between the respect and regard to which he is exceedingly well entitled and the silence which we imposed on ourselves in an affair which we thereby in a manner rescinded, and which I ever think of with pain and blushing. I made as soothing and satisfactory return as I could; but it does not satisfy him, as I find by another letter from him which accompanied yours."

This communication was as a pouring of oil upon the troubled waters of the late election, and the good bishop was comforted by a letter from Bishop Torry expressing his leaning towards conciliation.

Having done his best to restore harmony among his colleagues, Bishop Jolly began to prepare for his journey to Stirling—a formidable undertaking in those days for one of his age and infirmities. Bishop Torry was to set out first, and he was requested when at Perth to secure quarters for Bishop Jolly—"Will you then bespeak a snug little bedroom (single), easily warmed by a good fire kindled some time before the arrival of the coach, that a friend of yours, valetudinary, may retire to it—making the proper acknowledgment for what he may want *there*, and not in the travellers' room?" The venerable prelate also wrote to Mr. Low, the elect of Ross:—"My right Dear (and in *paulo-post-futurum*) Right Reverend Brother,—Accept my best thanks for your most obliging confidential favour, and receive my most cordial congratulations upon your election to be of our humble number. The sentiment which you most properly express becomes the faithful servant of our Divine Master, who is our Strength as well as our Redeemer!"

A week before the consecration day, on November 6th, the Bishop of Moray wrote a final letter to Mr. Fyvie, in which, with a view of restoring harmony, he said:—

"Your elect, the Primus has repeatedly on the present occasion characterised to me as a *man of sound principles, irreproachable morals, and strong good sense.* I sincerely hope, therefore, that his accession to the episcopate shall prove every way happy and

comfortable to us. I am very sorry for good Bishop Skinner's prejudice on the occasion, and still more so for worthy Mr. Bowdler's mistake and mis-statement, by mis-information, of the case. When he comes to be better informed, he will see that there was no ground of alarm, and that those worthy gentlemen, on this as on every occasion, have merited our thanks instead of disapprobation. On Cyprianic principles and practices, which best suit the state of our humble Church, they have acted, with great delicacy, a useful part, with sincere desire to promote our welfare. But, I presume to say, they little dreaded the mention of it, which never should have been made, for its being so grossly misunderstood. If you, at any time, write to that most excellent gentleman, try to undeceive him; and, if you cannot otherwise introduce the subject, inform him of my writing thus to you, and transmit my very words. Tell him that my worthy neighbour, Bishop Torry, is decidedly of my opinion, and he well knows that good Bishop Sandford also is.

"Again I entreat you, without delay or waiting for any other consultation, to write, as most properly devolves upon you, it being the duty of one of the electors to do so, that you may assure our worthy friend that no improper tampering had been used in your election—the very supposition of your being unduly swayed, as you certainly were not, amounting really to a heavy imputation, and stamping a stigma upon you all—which you should decently but carefully wipe off. *Verbum sat.* God ever guide and keep you!"

On Sunday, the 14th day of November, the Rev. David Low was consecrated as Bishop of Ross and Argyll at Stirling, by the Primus and the Bishops of Moray and Dunkeld. The 14th of November was a most auspicious day, being the anniversary of Bishop Seabury's consecration.

DEATH OF GEORGE III.

George III. died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son, George IV. The reign of the third Hanoverian monarch of Great Britain brought unmixed blessings to the Episcopal Church of Scotland. It saw the removal of the penal laws, the healing of the schism between the Church and the separated English congregations, and the enactment of a Code of Canons for the better regulation of ecclesiastical government.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The house of the Rev. J. Murdoch, of Keith, was a kind of theological seminary where young men were prepared by him for the University and for the ministry of the Church. Among his pupils were William Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, Archdeacon Mackenzie, of Moray and Ross, known as Pastor Duncan, James Gordon Bennett, who established the famous newspaper known as the *New York Herald*, and the Rev. Dr. Sellar, a moderator of the General Assembly. The want of a theological college for the Scottish Church began to be felt at this time, and Bishop Jolly thought of utilising the English Theological College at S. Bees, in Cumberland.

VISIT OF GEORGE IV. TO SCOTLAND.

When George IV. visited Scotland in 1822, the Scottish bishops waited upon his Majesty at Holyrood, and presented an address to him from the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church. In the address the subscribers declared that Scottish Episcopalians now gave the same allegiance to the house of Brunswick as they had formerly given to the house of Stewart, and that in their breasts "a firm attachment to the religion of their fathers" was "inseparably connected with unshaken loyalty to their King." The King, during this interview, was much struck by the venerable appearance of the Bishop of Moray.

VISIT OF DR. HOBART, BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

Dr. Hobart, Bishop of New York, visited Scotland in 1823. He spent Christmas at Edinburgh, and the Epiphany of the following year at Aberdeen. The American prelate met Bishop Jolly in the Granite City, the Scottish bishop expecting to find in his Transatlantic brother a second Seabury. Bishop Hobart pronounced the Bishop of Moray to be "one of the most apostolic and primitive men he ever saw."

"You go," said he, "from the extremity of Britain to see the falls of Niagara, and think yourself amply rewarded by the sight of this singular scene in nature. If I had gone from America to Aberdeen and seen nothing but Bishop Jolly, as I saw him for two days, I should hold myself greatly rewarded. In our new country we have no such men, and I could not have imagined such

without seeing him. The race, I fear, is expired, or expiring, even among you."

THE LAY QUESTION.

Bishop Hobart's visit led to the opening up of the lay question in the Scottish Church. Influenced by what the American prelate said regarding the co-operation of laymen in the American Church, the Rev. John Skinner, son of the late Primus, then a presbyter at Forfar, addressed to the bishops and clergy a circular letter, advocating the admission of the laity to certain branches of the Church's work.

BISHOP JOLLY AND THE LAY QUESTION.

At that time the Church was not prepared for the change. The problem was at least partially solved by the establishment of the Representative Church Council, half a century later.

That Bishop Jolly regarded Bishop Hobart's visit as an event of considerable importance, appears from the following letter, addressed to Mr. Skinner in February, 1824:—

"My Dear Rev. Brother,

"Our late highly pleasing interview with good Dr. Hobart, the admirable Bishop of New York, must have been very animating and inflaming to your ardent mind, as in reality it was so also to the less sanguine heart of your humble servant, who hopes that he shall to good purpose retain the relish of it as long as he lives. But now, my good brother, permit me without offence to say that I think the exultation excited by the wonderfully gratifying visit, sent to us as an incitement from Heaven, I would say, has transported you rather out of measure. I plainly perceived and felt for my own share that coming into contact with so attractive a character gave an impulse to our hearts, and to yours in particular, very powerfully moving. But truly, I did not expect that your highly laudable zeal and earnest wish to excite some degree of his devout fervour among us, would have issued so suddenly in an attempt to do all things at once, which often terminates in doing nothing. But in the present case, I hope not; for surely, without any external monitor, our own consciences, in accord with the Divine Word, loudly call upon us to be more fervent in spirit, serving our Lord.

"For my own part I deeply deplore my deficiencies in all respects, and earnestly desire to repent and amend under the fullest conviction that every stimulus, every facility and aid for the right

performance of our several duties is richly provided on the side of our Church, and that nothing is wanting but our diligent use and application of them. And that in respect of our vineyard, we stand upbraided as of old by the Divine expostulation, 'What could have been done more to My vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?' Our paralysing sloth you contrast with the agitating bustling stir of the sectaries around us. But I well know that you would have our activity animated by a very different spirit. In heavenly rest and quietness our work shall advance the faster and the better. It is a striking circumstance that in the building of God's temple, no noise of the workmen's tools was heard: and the Church may most successfully be edified by the calm yet diligent and steady application of the labourers, who are most like to their Divine Master when they do not make a great noise externally, but go on in a laborious spirit and meek humility. For with this calm and quiet state of mind the most flaming zeal may well consist, and indeed will necessarily be its constant attendant, devoutly solicitous for the welfare of all, but ever busiest at home. While every bishop, with due inspection, takes care of his own proper diocese, declining to be ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, and every presbyter faithfully and diligently tends his own proper cure, all must go well. Each reforming one, the reformation shall be universal. And what do we want in order to promote this most important and desirable end? Provided richly from the inexhaustible treasury and storehouse of Holy Scripture, incited and directed by so many ancient and modern treatises of the pastoral care (among which our worthy Transatlantic friend shall allow me to number his choice little clerical manual with preface and prayers), and, for a fence of sacred discipline, furnished with a Code of Canons largely enough adapted to our narrow bounds, what would we have more? If we are not disposed to be guided by these as the rule of our conduct, had we all the canons of the multiplied volumes of Binius or Labbæus, we should still be at a loss, and have to seek. The multiplication of rules would but distract and confound us. *Frustra fit per plura*, &c. A few well-placed lights will show us our way more clearly and plainly than a great, glaring blaze, which would only dazzle our eyes. Laws are but dead letter without the spirit of grace and obedience to animate them. It is Divine love shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost that is the fulfilling of the law; and for this our devout

prayers must continually be presented. For the due performance of these we need no new canon, but only to insist upon constant compliance with the Liturgic order, which enjoins all priests and deacons to say daily, either publicly or privately, the morning and evening prayer: implied indeed in our ordination vow, to which, by our answer at the altar, we most solemnly bound ourselves. Will you be diligent in prayers? The heavenly-kindled fervour of the Liturgy will stir up our zeal in best manner, and daily bring us all together before God, linked to Him and one another by our best prevailing symphonious supplication, securing also the performance of that other branch of our vow, the devout reading of the Holy Scriptures, at least four chapters every day, with the sacred psalter monthly, exciting the Divine breathing, 'Lord, what love have I unto Thy law! all the day long is my study in it'—every other study, every other book, that we take in hand becoming subservient *to the Bible.* This, like the perpetual light and fire of the Temple, will keep our zeal ever brightly burning, maintaining and cherishing the true Catholic disposition and temper, embracing the whole Church, guided and governed by God's good spirit, all the members closely linked together in the perfect bond of charity. This being the universal spirit of bishops, clergy, and people, and our general conduct regulated by our synodically enacted canons, the particular requisites in each diocese for the precise application of them must be left to the diocesan, aided by the counsel and consent of the presbyters, attending to the spirit of the canons, as well as their letter.

". . . . Where, for instance, as in the lamentably dwindled and diminished diocese of Moray, there are only three presbyters, and they well-tried worthy men of long standing, who by personal and pastoral care have made full proof of their ministry, the bishop esteeming each of them better than himself, would it not be proud parade and the most ridiculous vanity to call them together that they may be charged to do what they already do with earnest application? In such case personal clerical conversation appears altogether sufficient for exhorting and comforting one another, with epistolary correspondence as need requires or occasion may be given; mutual prayer uniting and binding them together every day by the heart. Yet, certainly, where it is with propriety practicable, diocesan synods, frequent meetings, and clerical conferences are highly desirable, coal kindling coal, and fraternal intercourse, well managed,

productive of great advantage, while all love as brethren, pitiful and courteous. But now the new model, after the fashion of America, which your letter holds out, I must acknowledge, does greatly astonish me. It was an ease to my heart to find from your worthy bishop's information that what was so disgusting to the great and good Bishop Seabury, but what the state of things in America at that time rendered in some measure unavoidable, had been rendered by the overruling hand of God rather of advantageous tendency. But here, where our civil state is so happily different, the introduction of lay influence into our ecclesiastical scale would make our American brethren themselves, who felicitate our primitive purity upon the comparison, greatly wonder at our levity, and render us totally dissimilar to our nearer neighbour of England and Ireland, whose good liking it is our duty to conciliate as much as we can, consistently with our situation and the maintenance of primitive practices, of which, as a little body stripped of all secular ties and impediments, it is our duty and our wisdom to render ourselves a pattern, instead of assimilating somewhat nearer, as it would be thought, to the lay-elders of the Kirk. Whatever advantages might be derived from such a scheme we have already within our grasp, if we will only stretch out our arms to embrace them. Every clergyman may, and ought from time to time, to account to the bishop for the complete number and particular state of his charge (at which I myself, in my small circle, aim; but the excellent and amiable Bishop of Aberdeen upon a much larger and better scale), and by comparing notes, the bishops might speedily exhibit and tabulate the whole; upon which due observations might be made, tending to improvement and good progress. God direct the hearts and strengthen the hands of all concerned! Let everything be done that can be well devised. Only let our canons stand stable and lasting like the laws of Sparta till He return Who was at the head of their enactment! Such was the wise policy of Lycurgus. In stability is strength, in fickleness is frailty. Greatly averse was your ever dear and memorable father to lay management, even so much as that of vestrymen in a congregation. The longer I live the more I lament the loss we have suffered by his translation to a better world. The lively likeness of him, which from one of my copies of your *Annals* hangs in my closet, excites the warm emotions of my heart, while I reverently kiss it in affectionate veneration for his memory! May we tread in his steps, and through the mercy of our Lord follow him to Paradise, where all is peace and all is joy. I

trust that I have written nothing offensive in tiresomely scrawling all this to tell my opinion. Pray God grant me a better understanding in all things, who am, my dear reverend Sir, your affectionate brother and servant, ALEXANDER JOLLY."

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

When the victory of Waterloo put an end to the domination of Napoleon, it became safer for English families to resort to France and other continental countries. Some of these families, having become permanently resident abroad, were bereft of episcopal superintendence in their own Communion. The Rev. Dr. Matthew Luscombe, an English resident in France, seeing with great regret the evils consequent upon such a state of matters, applied to the English prelates for consecration as bishop, to superintend the continental English congregations. They could do nothing without the State; and the King's ministers were afraid to offend the French Government. Having applied to the Scottish bishops for consecration, Dr. Luscombe was raised to the episcopate on March 20th, 1825, by the Primus and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Ross. The Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Dunkeld did not see their way to approve of the consecration.*

BISHOP JOLLY'S VISIT TO HIS DIOCESE.

These episcopal visits took place triennially, excepting when there was a paucity of candidates for confirmation. Beginning at Aberchirder, the bishop proceeded to Huntly, and thence to Ruthven and Keith. Thence he went on to Fochabers, Elgin, and Duffus, vehicles, called the Huntly, Keith, and Elgin chaises, being arranged for beforehand. On one of these occasions Bishop Jolly wrote to Mr. Murdoch:—"I should be glad to meet you at Mr. Shand's, where I hope to arrive at 1 p.m., or earlier, upon Monday the 1st, and so we could proceed, slender as we all are, in the same chaise to Elgin. That I would leave on Wednesday, in time to take a plain quiet family dinner with Mrs. Murdoch on that same day." During one of these journeys in 1822, Bishop Jolly at Elgin received Mr. Hagar into the diaconate, and raised the Rev. Charles Pressley to the priesthood.

GENERAL SYNODS OF 1828 AND 1829.

The Primus, with the consent of a majority of the bishops, summoned a General Synod in 1828 to revise the Code of Canons

* For further details, see pp. 288, 289.

of 1811. The Synod met at Laurencekirk on June 18th, the Primus, the Bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dunkeld, the deans, and the representatives of the clergy being present. Bishops Jolly and Low, being opposed to the measure, did not attend the Synod. It was enacted that Synods, both general and diocesan, should henceforth be part of the canonical discipline of the Church. No measure was to be decided on in General Synods "but by the consent and approbation of a majority of the members constituting each chamber." The approbation of the bishop of the diocese was declared sufficient to authorise a change from one Communion Office "to the other." Another General Synod met in Edinburgh on June 17th, 1829, and was attended by all the bishops and deans, and the delegates of the clergy. This Synod made some changes on the Code of the previous year. From this time the holding of the annual Diocesan Synods was made obligatory.

DEATH OF GEORGE IV.

George IV. died in 1830, and was succeeded by his brother, William IV.

CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH AT KEITH.

On August 1st, 1832, the Bishop of Ross and Argyll, acting for Bishop Jolly, who, from old age, was unable to be present, consecrated the church at Keith. This church was built in the year 1807, but the consecration was deferred on account of debt on the building.

OPENING OF A NEW CHURCH AT FOCHABERS.

The new church at Fochabers was opened on August 12th, 1834, in the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Gordon. Bishop Jolly allowed the English Liturgy to be used in Fochabers, giving his reasons for so doing in the following words to the Duchess of Gordon:—"But now the case at Gordon Castle, upon which your Grace's observations are strikingly lucid, stands, as I am inclined to view it, in a different predicament from that in Elgin, or any other such congregation. It is one thing to thrust out an Office from where it has been long received and used, and another to meet an Office where it had not been found before, and embrace it there. And our Church, accordingly, has provided for both cases."

PRIMUS JAMES WALKER.

The Rev. Dr. James Walker, Pantonian Professor of Theology, and the intimate friend of Bishop Jolly, had been consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh on March 7th, 1830, the Bishop of Moray assisting at the consecration. When, in 1837, Bishop Gleig resigned the primacy, Bishop Walker was chosen Primus by a majority of votes.

EPISCOPAL SYNOD OF 1837.

An Episcopal Synod was held on August 9th, 1837, in the house of the Primus. The Synod having agreed that a General Synod should be held in the following year, recommended each bishop in the meantime to consult his clergy regarding the present Code, and communicate the result to his colleagues. The Bishops of Moray and Brechin having refused to resign, the Synod ordered a mandate for the election of a coadjutor-bishop to be issued to the clergy of Brechin. They did not propose to issue a mandate to the clergy of Moray, being of opinion that the few congregations in that diocese should, on the death of Bishop Jolly, be reunited to Ross, as formerly. A mandate was directed to be issued for the election of a Bishop of Glasgow, on the understanding that the new Bishop of Glasgow was to have no share of the Episcopal Fund during the lifetime of Bishop Jolly. New bishops not residing in their dioceses were recommended to visit them every second year at the least. Bishop Jolly heartily concurred in the several arrangements made at this Synod.

DEATH OF WILLIAM IV.

William IV. died in 1837, and was succeeded by her most gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria.

DEATH OF BISHOP JOLLY.

"No smile is like the smile of death,
When all good musings past
Rise wafted with the parting breath,
The sweetest thought the last."

KEBLE.

Bishop Jolly died at his residence in Fraserburgh on June 29th, 1838, none but God and His good angels being near at the moment of his departure. For some years his delicate constitution had been

giving way, and the infirmities of age pressed so hard upon him that his colleagues advised him to resign his see. This he declined to do, thinking it his duty to remain Bishop of Moray to the end. A few days before his death, it was evident to his friends that he was gradually sinking, and, with considerable reluctance, he was prevailed upon to allow an attendant to watch by his bedside during the night. On the evening of the 28th of June he felt so well that he insisted on being alone, directing the attendant to return next morning about seven o'clock. When the servant entered the room in the morning, he found the good bishop dead, with every feature and limb composed, as if in tranquil slumber. He had known that death was near, and had drawn, it was said, a white cloth over his face before the last moment. On the evening before his death, the last book which the venerable man had in his hand was a treatise by Christopher Sutton, entitled *Disce Mori* (*Learn to Die*). The hands of the dead bishop were found crossed on his breast, in token that he died humbly yet surely trusting in his crucified Saviour. Death did not take him unawares; all his life he had lived in close communion with his God. To him death was but the removal of the thin partition that during his life had separated him from the unseen world. While he was patiently waiting for the call to the world of spirits, he could cry, "Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus."

CHARACTER OF BISHOP JOLLY.

The saintly virtues that adorned the Christian character of Alexander Jolly have rarely been surpassed. Every day of his life was devoted to prayer and the reading of God's Word, and to his studies bearing upon the same. He read daily a certain number of chapters of the Hebrew Bible and of the Greek New Testament, and if other work kept him at any time from doing this, he read more than the usual number of chapters for several days to make up the arrears. The primitive Christian Fathers, Hermas, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others, were his constant companions; and he was well-versed in the works of Jewell, Andrews, Hooker, Bull, Hickes, Wheatly, and other English divines. Theological students of the Scottish Church will remember the annotations he made in the margin of nearly every book he read. He left his valuable library for the use of students for the sacred ministry, in his latter days looking upon himself as being merely its custodian.

One characteristic of his life was its simplicity. He lived upon the humblest fare that he might have the more to give to the poor of his congregation, and to the poor clergy of his diocese. Sums of £5 or £10 were frequently enclosed in his letters to his clergy, being, he usually said, "a shamefully small contribution from himself." When the clergyman had a family, he at times sent the money as a present to his children. The chief object of his laborious studies was to help him on in the practice of the Divine life; fame as an author he never cared for. In 1826 he did publish a "Friendly Address to the Episcopalians of Scotland on Baptismal Regeneration," showing the uniformity of the Church's doctrine upon that subject. His work on the "Christian Sacrifice" exhibited his thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in the original, and his erudition in the writings of the ancient Fathers. The closing words of this work found their echo at Oxford a few years later. They were, "Lord! stir up Thy strength, and come among us, that all Churches may know whence they have fallen; that they may repent, return to their first love, and do their first work (Rev. ii. 4, 5), to the glory of Thy great Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, blessed for ever. Amen." His life was an illustrious example of the holiness and the beauty of the Christian life as it is nurtured by the doctrines and practice of the Christian Church. A cold, calculating world may scoff at the apostolic character of the recluse prelate. But he lived the life best suited to his contemplative and studious nature; and who knows what untold blessings his prayers and holy example may bring to the humble Church in which were bound up all the thoughts and affections of his heart? Will not the Master say of such as he, "My servant hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from him"? And will not the grand award be given to him at the last, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"?

FUNERAL OF BISHOP JOLLY.

The remains of the saintly bishop were deposited in the grave of his brother, in the Turriff Churchyard, a large assemblage of clergy and people being present. The service was read by the Right Rev. W. Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, and the Very Rev. James Walker, of Huntly, the Dean of the diocese of Moray.*

* Stephen's *Episcopal Magazine*, vol. vi., pp. 288, 290.

FUNERAL SERMONS.

Two funeral sermons were preached and published on the death of Bishop Jolly. One was preached at Fraserburgh by the Rev. Charles Pressley, the late bishop's intimate friend and assistant in that pastoral charge, and was entitled, "An Inheritor of the Promises through Faith and Patience." "His character," said the preacher, "is an example of what Christians might be in the fostering bosom of the Church. Only those who, like him, have walked consistently in the 'unity of the Spirit,' and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, will ever exemplify the holiness of the Gospel as he did, or attain the same cloudless serenity which distinguished him."

The other sermon, entitled, "The Blessedness of the Pious Dead," was delivered in the church at Elgin by the incumbent. One passage in this sermon referred to the solitary death-bed of the much-loved prelate, and deserves to be recorded for remembrance:—"In thus dying unwitnessed by any mortal eyes, his own expressed wish was gratified. In the utterance of such a wish he did but give additional proof of that deep humility which so strikingly distinguished him. He shrunk from a *public* death-bed, because, seeking mercy, through Christ, as a miserable sinner, he could not bear that any should crowd round *his* latest scene, to witness the departure of a saint, and blaze abroad his dying utterances of faith and love. And in this he was fully borne out by the authority and example of the New Testament, which, so far from justifying that false and miserable excitement, which the modern religion is fain to draw even from the gibbet of a murderer, presents us no picture of a religious death-bed." *

THE DIOCESE OF MORAY REUNITED WITH ROSS AND ARGYLL.

The clergy of the diocese of Moray forthwith tendered an address to the Synod of Bishops, suggesting that Moray should still be kept a separate diocese, and that Inverness and Strathnairn should be added to that see. Acknowledging the receipt of the address, the Primus, writing to Dean Walker, Huntly, stated his objections to the proposal of the clergy, by which it was made to appear as if Moray was an extensive diocese. It appears too, from this letter of the Primus, that before his death Bishop Jolly had signified his approval of the arrangements made by the Synod of bishops. There can be

* Stephen's *Episcopal Magazine*, vol. vi., pp. 337, 340; also the Rev. Dr. Walker's *Life of Bishop Jolly*.

little doubt that the bishops were acting most wisely. It will be seen nevertheless how much the clergy were disappointed from the following quotation from a letter from Dean Walker to Mr. Murdoch, dated July 26th, 1838 :—

"The more I think of this arrangement I cannot but the more sincerely regret it. Indeed I wonder our late venerable bishop did not apprise us of what was intended to be done with our diocese after his death before he entered into the arrangement. I cannot help saying that they have dealt heavy measure to this poor diocese. If Bishop Low be appointed our diocesan, I feel he will be among the last Bishops of Moray. Now, why should we be refused a bishop resident, when, through the favour of a good Providence, we have one of our own number of unexceptionable qualifications for the office? Mr. Bigsby was so convinced of the reasonableness of our address that he left a proxy with me to vote for him."

The Moray clergy were not only to meet disappointment, they were even to incur censure for what they had done. Most likely the clergyman of their own number whom they wished to see elected their diocesan was the Rev. Mr. Fyvie of S. John's, Inverness, it being natural that they should think a bishop resident at Inverness would be able to do more for the diocese than one residing at Pittenweem in Fifeshire. It might have been deemed sufficient to point out the difficulties in the way of granting their petition to the Moray clergy, who were evidently unaware that Bishop Jolly had agreed to the new arrangement before his death. To censure all the clergy of the diocese was certainly an extreme step to take. The following is the resolution of the bishops containing the censure :—

"*Edinburgh, September* 1, 1838.—The bishops having assembled in Episcopal Synod this day, had before them a memorial from the clergy of Moray, subscribed also by Messrs. Fyvie and Mackenzie. They have seen Mr. Fyvie and conversed with him on the subject. Having, therefore, duly considered the whole case, they are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that the said clergy have acted (under some strong misapprehension doubtless) in an irregular and uncanonical manner. In a diocese, vacant in ordinary circumstances, the clergy may certainly meet, by order of their dean, to petition for a mandate of election, but they have no right to meet for any purpose of diocesan business without the cognisance and consent of the Primus. Still less are the clergy, or any of them, entitled, under any conceivable circumstances, to new arrange or new model their

diocese, separating and adding congregations from other dioceses. In all cases, and under all circumstances, this jurisdiction belongs incontestably to the College of Bishops; and we cannot allow it to be encroached upon in any way without a deep dereliction of duty. In thus expressing our opinion, which implies censure to a certain extent, we do it with all due respect and regard, both generally and individually, towards our reverend brethren. We have to attend to the government of the whole Church, and cannot always give equal satisfaction to each portion. In what we did, however, on the 9th August, 1837, we did all which the circumstances of the Church then permitted. Moray was only known to us, and to her deceased bishop, with whom the Primus was in constant correspondence, as consisting of four small congregations. We, therefore, with his full consent, determined to re-unite those congregations to Ross, and as they were in the time of Bishop Petrie, and in the time of Bishop Macfarlane, when they were separated in opposition to the most decided protest of the Primus, certainly the ablest administrator of his time. We intended no injustice. We cannot conceive that we have done any to those congregations by replacing them in the connection from which they were then rather rashly separated.

"The Church in the north is as dear to us as the Church in the south, and we will do all in our power to attend to its interests. Episcopal duties have been fully performed this season; we will take care, God willing, that Moray, notwithstanding, be fully visited again next year; and, when the circumstances permit, we shall be most happy to see in that quarter a resident bishop. In the meantime, having expressed our sentiments on a very important encroachment on Church discipline, and having done so with feelings of the most genuine Christian meekness, we trust that our reverend brethren will receive our reproof and the reasons thereof in the same spirit; that they will exert themselves to put an end to that agitation which has been rather rashly excited, and that they will co-operate with us in promoting by God's blessing the influence of the truth, in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.

"(Signed) James Walker, D.D., Primus.
Patrick Torry, D.D., Bishop.
W. Skinner, D.D., Bishop.
David Low, LL.D., Bishop.
Michael Russell, LL.D., Bishop.
David Moir, A.M., Bishop."

The diocese of Moray was in this way again united to the diocese of Ross and Argyll, entirely in opposition to the wishes of the Moray clergy, Bishop Low now becoming Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Argyll.

BISHOP JOLLY'S GRAVE.

The remains of Bishop Jolly were laid in his brother's grave, over which a monumental stone was placed by the bishop himself. A few lines of Latin verse were composed by the saint, and inscribed upon the stone. These were :—

"Hunc citius mortali nudatum carne superstes
Sincero Fratrem Frater amore gemit.
At, Tu, nos iterum renovato corpore junctos
O ! inter sanctos suscipe, Christe, tuos."

Translation.

"The surviving brother bewails with sincere love this brother, too soon bereft of mortal flesh. But do Thou, O Christ, receive us among Thy holy ones, united a second time with glorious body."

After these verses is engraved the inscription to Bishop Jolly :—

"In his brother's grave is deposited the body of the Right Rev. Alexander Jolly, D.D., Bishop of Moray, who departed this life on the 29th June, 1838, aged 82 years."

Some time after Bishop Jolly's death, it was proposed to erect a more expensive monument to his memory, but the scheme came to nothing. It is perhaps more in keeping with the simple and unostentatious character of the bishop that things have been allowed to remain as they are. He sleeps in peace near the spot where first he ministered the Word and Sacraments.*

* The author is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Garden L. Duff, of Turriff, for the inscriptions on the tombstone.

DAVID LOW, BISHOP OF MORAY.

CHAPTER XV.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED).

"Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."—2 TIM. ii. 3.

EARLY DAYS.

DAVID LOW was born at Brechin in November, 1768, his father being a tradesman in fairly prosperous circumstances. David was one of four children, and his father and mother were related to the family of Allardice, of Allardice, in Kincardineshire. He spent his youth under the shadow of Edzell Castle, the ancient stronghold of the Lindsays, and in a district devoted in the eighteenth century to the cause of the exiled Stewarts. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all staunch members of the Episcopal Church, the last named having fought for "King James" at Sheriffmuir. The bishop said that one of his earliest recollections was that of accompanying his father to the Episcopal meeting house when the Holy Communion was administered on festival days. They had some miles to walk, and the exemplary father oftentimes received on the way the remonstrances of the neighbours for "guiding the laddie so ill a gait."

From his earliest days David Low was of "a delicate frame of body," and showed evident indications of mental ability and fondness for learning. So much was this the case that his teacher, the Rev. W. Linton, the able grammarian, recommended his parents to make him a scholar. He was very fond of Latin, and outstripped other boys who had begun to study that language two years before him. After studying at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he decided to offer himself for the ministry of the depressed and proscribed Communion of his fathers.

In his early years much of young Low's time was spent in the Western Highlands among the Stewarts of Ballachulish and Appin. There he enjoyed familiar intercourse with the veterans of Sheriffmuir and Culloden, and acquired that minute knowledge of the

adventures of Prince Charlie which made him the delight of younger listeners in after days. His traditional knowledge was said to have extended to the wars of Montrose and Claverhouse, and even to the unfortunate introduction of the Service Book in 1637. David Low was as familiar with the relationships of families two hundred years before his time as with those of his own day.

HIS ORDINATION.

Bishop Gleig, who resided at Stirling, directed Mr. Low's theological studies. The latter was ordained deacon in 1787, when only nineteen years of age, and began his ministry at Perth. It was of considerable advantage to him as the minister of a Church suffering poverty, legal oppression, and social obscurity, that he inherited a small property at Brechin. The church to which he was sent by the bishop who ordained him * was a room called the Knights' Hall in the Watergate of Perth, fitted up with plain forms and in the humblest style. Mr. Low was ordained priest by the Right Rev. John Strachan, Bishop of Brechin, on February 4th, 1789, the assisting presbyters being the Rev. W. Nicoll, and the Rev. William Jolly. In September of the same year he took charge of the congregation of Pittenweem in Fifeshire, a connection never completely broken till the day of his death, sixty-six years afterwards. The Pittenweem congregation, though it assembled in an obscure upper room, comprised some of the principal families in the east of Fife. The meeting house escaped destruction after Culloden Moor, probably on account of being situated in the upper flat of a dwelling-house. It could not be destroyed without injuring the property of the owner.

ELECTION TO THE DIOCESE OF ROSS AND ARGYLL.

As already narrated, this event was brought about principally by the intervention of Bishop Jolly, and Mr. Low was consecrated Bishop of Ross and Argyll in 1789, his consecrators being Bishop Gleig, the guide of his youth, assisted by Bishops Jolly and Torry. He was well fitted from his previous acquaintance with Argyll to preside over that diocese. When Bishop Jolly died, Moray was added to his already extensive district. In the spring of 1820, Bishop Low received the degree of LL.D. from Marischal College, Aberdeen.†

* Bishop Strachan of Brechin.

† Rev. William Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 1-57.

INTRODUCTION OF ANGLICAN WORSHIP INTO THE CITY OF ROME.

Anglican services were introduced into the imperial city by the Rev. James Walker, a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and afterwards Primus. Writing to Bishop Low, who was now living in the Priory of Pittenweem, purchased by him, Mr. Walker observed: —"I do not recollect precisely what I said in my last respecting our Church establishment here; but I have had, and I have, the sincerest satisfaction in being so far useful in the way of my profession to a large portion of my countrymen. A very respectable man who, with his family, never misses, told me the other evening, 'It is singular enough, that I, who have been nearly three years on the Continent, should find, for the first time, the service of my own Church publicly performed in Rome, at the foot of the Capitol, and within a few minutes' walk of the Pope's palace!' The service has been regular, and always well attended, since the 30th of November; and from Christmas twice a day, for more general accommodation." This letter was written at Rome on March 5th, 1818.

THE CALLING OF A GENERAL SYNOD OPPOSED BY BISHOPS LOW, JOLLY, AND SANDFORD.

The Primus and others felt, about the year 1820, the expediency of summoning a General Synod to revise the canons of the Church. The Bishops of Moray, Ross, and Edinburgh were opposed to the proposal. Writing from Fraserburgh on December 22nd, 1820, Bishop Jolly expressed his opinion in these words: "From various considerations, I am fully convinced that the proposed Synod is earnestly to be declined, as not only unnecessary, but highly inexpedient, and rather of hurtful tendency under present circumstances. *Verbum sat*, &c. Our strength (verily) is to sit still in quietness and confidence, each, in humble dependence, studying and labouring at his post to do all the good he can; and so the whole shall prove good and happy. The times are cloudy and threaten storm; but when we look up, we know that the sun shines above the cloud, and will in due time dispel it. *Faxit!*" The proposed Synod was not held till 1828.*

BISHOP LOW AND THE VISIT OF GEORGE IV. TO SCOTLAND.

This visit took place in 1822, and the King graciously received six Scottish bishops and six of their clergy in the royal closet. The

* Rev. William Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 58-68.

address they made to the monarch was admired for its eloquence, moderation, and historical allusions. Bishop Low said that in taking the King's hand to kiss, he was careful to raise it to his lips by placing his own hand beneath the royal fingers. His Majesty observing this, grasped the bishop's hand, giving it a friendly and gracious squeeze.

THE REGIUM DONUM.

John Bowdler, Esq. of Eltham, long a correspondent of Bishop Low, made it his *dying request* to his lay and clerical friends in England that they would do their utmost to send material help to the struggling Episcopal Church of Scotland. This and other circumstances having drawn attention to the poverty of the Scottish clergy, Bishop Low and others endeavoured to obtain for them a resuscitation of the Regium Donum Grant. Nonconformist ministers in England were receiving annual grants to the amount of £6312, 7s. 10d., and Protestant dissenting ministers in Ireland were obtaining £13,984, 18s. 3d., and the question was why they should not be assisted, whose dissent from the Established Church of Scotland consisted in their holding the tenets of the Church of England. The bishop's efforts were rewarded with success. In 1828, the limited sum of £1200 was granted by the Government, and the grant was understood to be an annual one. It was, notwithstanding these expectations, only made biennially.*

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

After the peace of 1815, Dr. Luscombe, an English clergyman residing in Paris, saw with deep concern the unsatisfactory state of the Anglican clergy then ministering to English congregations on the Continent of Europe. They were under no episcopal supervision, and, in many instances, brought contempt upon the Church of England by their grossly inconsistent lives. About 1821, Dr. Luscombe wrote to Archdeacon Hook, strongly urging the appointment of an archdeacon to superintend the clergy officiating in France and Belgium. The Bishop of London, to whom the matter was referred, found the political difficulties so great that no progress was made with the measure for some years. Dr. Luscombe had once been master of a school at Haileybury, where Walter Farquhar Hook, the son of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, was among his pupils.

* Rev. William Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 69-91.

When the latter became curate to his father, the conversation frequently turned upon Dr. Luscombe's proposals. The attention of the Rev. W. F. Hook had been drawn to the Scottish Episcopal Church by some relatives in Scotland, and by Sir James Allan Parke, its zealous and steadfast advocate. He had also read the works of the first Bishop Skinner, and his son, John, and was much delighted with a charge addressed to the clergy of Ross and Argyll by Bishop Low. Knowing that the difficulties in the way of obtaining Dr. Luscombe's object were almost insuperable, Mr. Hook advised his former master to apply for help to the bishops of the Scottish Church.

Dr. Luscombe, though he had scarcely heard of the Scottish Episcopal Church before, prepared at once to act upon the suggestion of Hook, and sent his brother to open the matter by personal consultation with Bishop Low. From that time the Bishop of Ross and Argyll was a steady supporter of the project. Dr. Luscombe said he wished for authority to administer the rite of Confirmation, and exercise episcopal supervision over Anglican congregations on the Continent of Europe. The great political difficulty was the fear of offending the French Government. Bishop Jolly also favoured the plan, thinking it would be productive of much good by the overruling providence of the great Head of the Church, and "the guidance of His grace."

At length the Primus appointed March 20th, 1825, for Dr. Luscombe's consecration, and the latter proceeded to Scotland, accompanied by his former pupil, the Rev. William Farquhar Hook, curate of Whippingham, and afterwards the vicar of Leeds. The consecration took place at Stirling, as already related in Bishop Jolly's life, on the day appointed, the officiating bishops being the Primus, Bishop Low, and Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh. Mr. Hook preached the consecration sermon, in which he set forth in luminous style the principles and history of the Scottish Church.

Bishop Low afterwards met Bishop Luscombe and Mr. Hook at S. Andrews, where, a short time before, the first-named "had performed the funeral service in a churchyard *for the first time since the Revolution*," a large mob being on the ground.

Some in the Church of England objected to Bishop Luscombe's consecration, their argument being that it was wrong to send a prelate to a country where there are national diocesan bishops. This proved too much; for if it was wrong to send bishops, it was

also wrong to send presbyters. The Church of England had herself shown a precedent by sending a bishop to Canada, and the principal objectors to Bishop Luscombe's consecration were themselves, the main instruments in subsequently erecting a diocese on the Continent for the Bishop of Gibraltar. The only difference between him and Bishop Luscombe is the single difference that the Bishop of Gibraltar ordinarily resides on British territory.

Mr. Hook, in the course of time, became Dean of Chichester, and forty-four years after Bishop Luscombe's consecration, in 1879, he was asked to preach at the solemn opening of S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness. In declining the invitation on account of pressing engagements, Dean Hook remarked:—"In dedicating my sermon,* of which I send a copy, to the bishops, they refused any territorial titles. The dedication was indeed drawn up by Bishop Gleig. I insisted on giving the bishops their titles at *Jedburgh*, in spite of the grumbling of Bishop Terrot, but then I was a middle-aged man. Bishop Blomfield took offence at the action of the Scottish bishops in the affair of Bishop Luscombe—perhaps because they had not consulted him—then Bishop of Chester, and only thirty-seven years old. And yet he, some years after, followed their example. He proposed that the English bishops should send one of their order with a roving commission to the Continent; and, when urged to give him a local habitation and a *name*, or, at all events, a *name*, gave him the title of Bishop of Gibraltar, though saying he did it to meet the prejudices of weaker brethren. Bishop Luscombe was not equal to his position. He might have done much good, but got into controversies to support his own dignity, and, in doing so, he betrayed his own ignorance."

The Bishop of London appointed Bishop Luscombe his commissary to hold confirmations and receive stated reports from Anglican clergy residing on the Continent. The commission was withdrawn in 1835. The ultimate failure of Bishop Luscombe's mission was due to his forsaking the prudent course which he adopted at the time of his consecration.

In 1830 Bishop Luscombe preached with great acceptation before the Duke and Duchess of Clarence at Dieppe, and their Royal Highnesses treated him with much kindness, and invited him to Busby. When the Duke of Clarence became King, Bishop Luscombe, by special invitation, proceeded to the Pavilion at Brighton,

* Preached at Bishop Luscombe's consecration.

where he remained from Saturday, August 4th, 1830, to the following Tuesday.*

BISHOP LOW'S VISIT TO PARIS.

This visit took place in the summer of 1827, the bishop having been invited to preach the annual sermon for the benefit of the British Charitable Fund. The Scottish bishop was received and recognised in the French capital as a bishop of the Church of Christ, and, in that capacity, was invited more that once to the palace of the embassy. When Bishop Luscombe proposed to take the Scottish prelate to the ambassador's dinner in *his* carriage, Bishop Low said, "No, Sir, I will go in a carriage of my own. I will not let it be supposed that a Scottish bishop must even be dependent on a friend for the use of a vehicle." Some people called Bishop Low penurious, because he took care of the pence. But the self-denying father in God took care of the pence that he might be able to give the pounds to his Master's work. And when the credit of the Church, or the maintaining of his proper position so required, the bishop was not penurious.

BISHOP LOW OBTAINS HONORARY DEGREES FOR THE BISHOPS OF MORAY AND DUNKELD.

Bishop Low's charge to the clergy of Ross and Argyll, published in 1823, was read with great interest by some of the bishops of the American Church. In a letter to the Bishop of Ross from Bishop Kemp of Maryland, these words occur: "The Episcopal Church, being truly apostolic in her government, truly scriptural in her doctrines. and possessing a liturgy, to which there is nothing equal in the Christian world, will shine as a *light*, and maintain the primitive character of the Christian Church."

Bishop Low used his increasing influence to obtain honorary degrees for two of his Episcopal brethren. Though many of the Scottish prelates had deserved such distinctions, they were passed over, principally from the humble position of their Communion. English clergymen most qualified to give an opinion readily acknowledged the extensive theological learning of Bishop Jolly, and his reputation for classical and patristic erudition was well deserved. Entirely without the knowledge of his brethren, the Bishop of Ross requested the Bishop of Maryland to use his influence on their behalf

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 92, 133.

The result was a pleasant surprise to both. Bishop White, then the father of the American Church, obtained from the University of Pennsylvania the degree of D.D. for Bishop Torry, and Bishop Bramwell procured from Washington College, in Connecticut, then the only pure Episcopal College in the United States, the degree of D.D. for the venerable Bishop of Moray. The latter, in acknowledging the honour conferred upon him, said, in his characteristic way, "I am quite abashed and silenced by the exorbitant honour conferred upon me, towards which you have been the *primum mobile*, and I am really at a loss how to make my acknowledgments through the several gradations where they are most justly due." *

THE GENERAL SYNODS OF 1828 AND 1829.

Bishop Low and Bishop Jolly, thinking that the constitutional laws of the Church should not too often be exposed to alteration, were opposed to the holding of the Synod of 1828. They were not present when it met at Laurenceckirk. Next year another Synod was convened at Edinburgh to rectify some of the decisions made at Laurencekirk.

DR. WALKER ELECTED BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.

Bishop Sandford died in 1830, and the Rev. Dr. Walker, Professor of Divinity, the intimate friend of the Bishops of Moray and Ross, was elected as his successor. He was consecrated at Stirling on the 7th of March, 1830—Bishops Gleig, Skinner, Jolly, and Low taking part in the *solemnity*.†

NARROW ESCAPE FROM DEATH.

On Lammas Day, 1832, Bishop Low, acting for Bishop Jolly, consecrated the church at Keith, in the diocese of Moray. After the service, which had been a lengthened one, the bishop and the clergy present dined together in the house of the Rev. J. Murdoch, the incumbent. Bishop Low, always a most abstemious man, partook heartily of fish, which was served up for dinner. He seems to have been eating somewhat quickly, for a bone entering his throat he was nearly suffocated. The Rev. Mr. Thomson, the Established Church minister of Keith, who was present, assisted by the others, managed by a prompt effort to get the bone extracted, and its extraction was followed by a gush of blood from the bishop's mouth. The narrator

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 134-146. † *See* page 298.

of the story, the late Dean of Aberdeen,* said he never realised before, how in the midst of life we are so near to death.

BISHOP LOW'S VISIT TO COVENTRY.

Since Bishop Luscombe's consecration, the Rev. W. F. Hook had repeatedly urged Bishop Low to pay him a visit. He thought that the presence of a Scottish Bishop in his neighbourhood would excite an interest in the Scottish Church. Scottish prelates were then prohibited by a remnant of the oppressive penal laws from officiating in English churches. Judge Parke, to whom Mr. Hook was speaking of Bishop Low's intended visit, reminded him of the iniquitous Act of Parliament which prevented a Scottish bishop from doing duty south of the Borders. Mr. Hook, then vicar of Coventry, replied that he would elevate a seat for Bishop Low within the rails of the altar, "and though the State might *silence* him, the Church should receive him with the same episcopal honour" as she would offer to his own diocesan. The long-promised visit was paid in the summer of 1833, and the bishop was received at Coventry with all the honour which the clergy had it in their power to give him. Their sympathy for the sister Church, then unjustly debarred from active communion with the Church of England, was manifested in the honour they accorded to one of her indigenous bishops. The bishop's graphic accounts of the romantic scenery of the Scottish Highlands were so attractive, that some of the English clergy asked permission to attend him as chaplains on some of his Highland tours. Thus it happened that in subsequent visitations of his diocese, Bishop Low was accompanied by one or more English clergymen. They, on their return to England, exerted their influence to raise funds to maintain the services of the Church in these remote quarters. Dr. Hook was congratulated by Churchmen beyond the bounds of England for having entertained "an *angel* of the Church of Scotland, not *unawares*, in the person of Bishop Low."†

ADDRESS TO THE KING.

Agitating years followed the passing of the first Reform Bill in 1832, and the position of the Church of England, as an establishment was threatened. The Government, yielding to the clamour of Irish

* The Very Rev. Arthur Ranken.

† Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 147-167.

agitators, abolished ten Irish bishoprics, and reduced the emoluments of others. Further attacks being feared, the Scottish Bishops memorialised the King on behalf of the threatened privileges of the sister Church in Ireland. This address, drawn up by Bishop Low, was acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who said, "that it was not only graciously received, but *particularly noticed* by his Majesty."

ATTEMPTS TO ALTER THE LITURGY.

The enemies of the Church at this period, were endeavouring to cripple her position, by bringing about authoritative changes in her Liturgy. The bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church of Scotland took a deep interest in the question, and put forth a declaration protesting against any alteration in the noble Liturgy of the English Church. They felt that tampering with the venerable standards of the Church would most certainly lead to the destruction of her vitality, "as the pillar and ground of orthodox truth."

BISHOP LOW BECOMES BISHOP OF MORAY.

On the death of Bishop Jolly on June 29th, 1838, as previously narrated, Bishop Low became Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Argyll, by the addition of the first-named see to his spiritual jurisdiction. The extent of Bishop Low's diocese now comprehended at least one-third of the whole kingdom of Scotland.*

GENERAL SYNOD OF 1838.

The Synod met at Edinburgh on August 29th, 1838, continuing its sittings till the 6th of September. All the bishops were present except the aged Bishop of *Brechin*; most of the deans also *attended*, and representatives of the clergy from all the dioceses. The Synod altered and revised the canons of 1828 in various respects. The use of the Scottish Office was enjoined not only at the consecration of bishops, but also at the opening of General Synods. The wearing of the surplice *recommended* in 1828 was now *enjoined*. For the future, General Synods were to consist of two chambers, the first composed of bishops alone, and the second of the deans, the Pantonian Professor of Theology, and representatives chosen by and from the incumbents of each diocese. Diocesan Synods were made imperative as in the former code.

* Rev W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 168-197.

THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOCIETY.

The fortieth canon of the Code of 1838 authorised the formation of a society to be called "The Scottish Episcopal Church Society." The objects of this Society were to be the providing of a fund for aged and infirm clergymen and their assistants, general aid for congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties, assisting candidates for the ministry in completing their theological studies, and assisting in the formation and enlargement of diocesan libraries. A meeting was held in Edinburgh on December 4th, 1838, at which the Scottish Episcopal Church Society was constituted in terms of the canon. The canons of 1838 having been approved of by all the diocesan synods except Ross, which made no return, were declared to be fully valid by an Episcopal Synod which met at Aberdeen on July 11th, 1839. The Church Society is supposed to have been modelled by the Very Rev. Dean Ramsay upon the lines of the Gaelic Society, instituted by Bishop Low in 1831. The latter society, whose aims had been to organise schools in the Highlands, under Gaelic teachers, and to educate Gaelic-speaking candidates for holy orders, was now merged in the larger institution. The Bishop of Moray was a liberal contributor to the funds of the Church Society, having in five donations given it £945.

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1839.

Bishop Low held his first Diocesan Synod at Elgin, on August 8th, 1839, this being the first occasion on which the clergy of Moray had met in Synod since the Revolution. Bishop Jolly did not convene the Synod of Moray, even when enjoined to do so annually by the canons of the Church. This Synod was that of the united diocese of Moray, Ross, and Argyll, and Bishop Low himself presided over the meeting. The first proceeding of the meeting was the signing of the canons of 1838 by the clergy assembled, the first signatures being those of the Rev. James Walker of Huntly, the Rev. John Murdoch of Keith, the Very Rev. Charles Fyvie, dean of the united diocese, and the Rev. Duncan Mackenzie of Dingwall, afterwards known in the Highland districts by the name of "Pastor Duncan." Dean Fyvie having called upon his brethren to give a statistical account of their respective congregations, the following returns were given of the number of souls in the diocese of Moray:—Huntly, 130; Keith, 105; Fochabers, 100; Elgin, 150;

Inverness, 280 to 320; and Strathnairn, 250 to 260. A district committee was then formed in connection with the newly started Scottish Episcopal Church Society, his Grace the Duke of Richmond being requested to accept of the office of Patron. Thereafter the Synod was dissolved by the bishop.*

PROTEST AGAINST DIOCESAN SYNOD.

The bishop not being present, the Synod was constituted and presided over by the Very Rev. Dean Fyvie. The meeting took place in the vestry of S. John's, Inverness, on August 26th, 1840, and, with the exception of Strathnairn, statistical returns were sent in from all the congregations of the diocese of Moray. A letter was read from the Rev. Alexander Maclennan, of Fort-William, protesting against the proceedings of the Synod as uncanonical.†

FURTHER RELAXATION OF PENAL STATUTES.

In the midst of all his anxieties, Bishop Low always kept in view the obnoxious clause in the Act of 1792, which prohibited the Scottish clergy from officiating even occasionally in the English or Irish Church. He made every endeavour, in the face of all opposition, to obtain its removal or modification. The Bishop of Moray and Ross was encouraged by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose desire a memorial was drawn up, specifying the modifications requested. A committee was appointed to conduct the matter, consisting of three bishops, three presbyters, and three lay members of the Scottish Church. Bishop Low drew up the first draft of the memorial which contained demands not to be granted till the days of his successor in the see of Moray. The committee adjusted the memorial, and restricted it to a petition for ministerial communion only. This memorial having been presented to the English archbishops and bishops, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords on June 18th, 1840, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which aimed at the relaxation of the objectionable prohibitions upon the Episcopal clergy of Scotland and the United States of America. The bill was carried successfully through both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on July 23rd, 1840. The new Act allowed English and Irish bishops to "give permission, and to renew such permission from

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 1-4.; and Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 198-210.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 5-8.

time to time, to any bishop or priest of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, to perform divine service, preach and administer the Sacraments, according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, for any one day or two days, in any church or chapel within the diocese of these bishops." Deacons were not included in the operation of the Act, which in reality left matters not much better than before. The chief advantage gained from it was the possibility of illustrating the intercommunion of the Scottish Episcopal Church with the Church of England.*

DEATH OF PRIMUS WALKER.

Primus Walker died on March 5th, 1841, and was succeeded in the primacy by Bishop William Skinner of Aberdeen.

TRINITY COLLEGE, GLENALMOND.

In the autumn of 1841, the Scottish bishops, after some hesitation, sanctioned the proposal to establish a college "for the training of candidates for holy orders in the Episcopal Church, and also for the purposes of general education." Mr. Gladstone was the originator of the plan. Subsequently the college buildings were erected at Glenalmond, near Perth, and the Rev. Charles Wordsworth became the first Warden. In the list of subscriptions announced, the Duke of Buccleuch, Bishop Low, and Mr. Gladstone appeared as having contributed £1000 each.

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1841.

On June 30th, 1841, Bishop Low held his Diocesan Synod at Ballachulish, in Argyllshire. Only two clergy were present from the diocese of Moray, the other seven belonging chiefly to the Argyll district. The bishop delivered a charge to the clergy, and received from them the statistical returns of their respective congregations. Meetings of the Diocesan Committee of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society were held at Inverness this year on June 23rd and October 11th. At the former meeting the bishop took the chair.

VISIT OF THE BISHOP OF MORAY AND ROSS TO LEEDS.

The Bishop of Moray and Ross was the first to exemplify in his own person the effects of the Act of 1840. At Coventry he was not allowed to officiate on account of the invidious restrictions. In 1841

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 211-227.

matters were on a different footing, and Dr. Hook, then Vicar of Leeds, soon found an opportunity to mark the true catholicity of the Anglican Episcopal Churches. The new parish church at Leeds was almost completed, and the zealous vicar invited to its consecration the Rev. Dr. Doane, Bishop of Jersey, to represent the American Church, and the Bishop of Moray and Ross to represent the Scottish Episcopal Church. Parts of the Consecration Service were marked out to be taken respectively by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ripon, the Bishop of New Jersey, and Bishop Low. In his letter of invitation Dr. Hook mentioned that a former Bishop of Ross had held the vicarage of Leeds *in commendam* with his bishopric. This was the first occasion since the Revolution that a Scottish prelate had appeared in his episcopal character and exercised his sacred functions in England. The sermon, preached by the Bishop of New Jersey, contained these words of deep interest to Scottish Churchmen:—"And I am now here with my loins girt for my long voyage, to join with hand and heart, in this most interesting service, with the most reverend metropolitan, and the right reverend diocesan, and a right reverend bishop of the sister Church in Scotland, that so I may take back to my own altars the golden cord, three-stranded, of our Catholic communion. Warmly will they receive it who work with me there as fellow-helpers of the Gospel, and fondly cherish it. . . . Above all, they will remember how, when fervent Seabury set out on his adventure for the Cross, the bishops of the Church of Scotland heard his prayer, and sent him back, with the authority and grace of the episcopate, to be the first Apostle of the West." In the procession that day the figures of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ripon created less sensation than the tall and spare, but venerable form of the Bishop of Moray and Ross. People were bewildered when, on inquiring, they were told that this bishop was a Scotch one. Many did not know that the Episcopal Church of Scotland, though disestablished, had maintained its ground in the north. On the Sunday after the consecration, the Bishop of Moray and Ross presided at the Holy Communion in the parish church of Leeds.*

A HIGHLAND CLERGYMAN DESERTING HIS WORK.

On August 18th, 1842, the Synod of the united diocese of Moray, Ross, and Argyll met in S. John's Church, Inverness, the Very Rev. Charles Fyvie presiding in the absence of the bishop. A minute of

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 228-246.

the College of Bishops held at Aberdeen on June 3rd, 1841, was read to the Diocesan Synod. This minute declared—"1. That the commission to a dean does not expire at the death of the bishop who granted it, but continues valid till the collation of the succeeding bishop. 2. That the meeting of presbyters for the election of a bishop is a Diocesan Synod in which the dean ought to preside *ex officio*. 3. That none but instituted clergymen have a right to vote in the election of a bishop." A letter from the Bishop of Edinburgh that accompanied this minute, and the minute itself, were directed to be inserted in the diocesan minute book. The Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie had left his charge at Highfield without permission, and had written to the bishop in disrespectful language. The Synod respectfully advised the bishop not to ask Mr. Mackenzie to return to his charge.*

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

The Diocesan Synod was held in S. John's Church, Inverness, on August 17th, 1843, after being constituted by the Very Reverend the Dean in the absence of the bishop. Among the statistical returns presented at this meeting there was one from the newly revived congregation at Forres. The incumbent of this charge, the Rev. Alex. Ewing, moved "That this Synod express their desire that there should be no diversity of office between this Church and the United Church of England and Ireland in the administration of the Holy Communion, and that a memorial be presented to the bishops by the dean, in the name of this Synod, respectfully praying them to take all necessary steps to effect this purpose, by the abolition of Canon XXI." Mr. Ewing's motion was seconded by the Rev. J. D. Hull of Huntly, and unanimously approved of. This motion, adverse to the Scottish Communion Office, was doubtless prompted by the hope that its abolition would induce some of the English schismatics in Scotland to return to the Church. How much it would have grieved the heart of good Bishop Jolly, had the clergy of Moray in his day presented such a memorial to the bishops of the Church! Most of the clergy having maintained the claims of the Scottish Use, the College of Bishops declined to make any change. Probably the ultimate solution of this question will be the placing of both offices on an equal footing, leaving the choice of one or both uses to the clergy and the congregations. Bishop Low does not appear to advantage in his treatment of the Scottish Office.

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 16-18.

THE DISRUPTION.

The Scottish Episcopal Church took no part in the ecclesiastical struggles which led up to the disruption of Scottish Presbyterianism. Presbyterians had been divided into two parties since the St. Andrews Assembly of 1651. Designated at first by the names of Resolutioners and Protesters, the opposing parties became known in the nineteenth century as Moderates and Non-intrusionists. A great struggle arose upon the question of Patronage, the popular party insisting that it ought to be abolished. Since the Revolution settlement the formality of a call from the congregation, previous to the induction of a new minister, had never been dispensed with, and the majority of the General Assembly wished to make that call a reality. Matters reached a crisis when the decrees of the General Assembly came into conflict with the decisions of the Court of Session and the legislature. The ministers siding with the popular party resolved to give up their livings in the Establishment and throw themselves upon the liberality of their people. The proposed sacrifice was so great that some said they would relent when the supreme moment came. They were greatly mistaken. The General Assembly met in 1843 in S. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. After prayer, Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, read a protest signed by 203 members of the Assembly, after which he and 400 ministers of the Established Church left the Assembly. A noble act of self-sacrifice it was, worthy of the land of Bruce and Bannockburn. The courage displayed in the final act of the great conflict will attract the admiration of all succeeding generations. The Disruption in Scotland and the Oxford movement in England dealt blows at Erastianism from which it will never recover.

The separatists, having formed themselves into a *Communion*, called "The Free Church of Scotland," chose Dr. Chalmers as their Moderator. Thereafter 474 of their number resigned their livings in the Establishment, and forwarded the deed of demission to the body they had left. In after days the Established Church of Scotland conceded the point of Patronage, and an Act of Parliament was passed which gave the appointment of ministers to the congregations.*

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1844.

The Diocesan Synod met in S. John's Church, Inverness, on July rd, 1844, the Right Rev. the Bishop of the Diocese presiding. The

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., pp. 227-232.

Very Rev. Dean Fyvie, Archdeacon Mackenzie, and six of the clergy were present. The statistical returns having been given in by the presbyters, the members present resolved themselves into a meeting of the Diocesan Association of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society.*

THE REV. J. D. HULL.

This Synod met at Forres on April 23rd, 1845, the Right Rev. Bishop Low and twelve of the clergy of the united diocese being present. The Rev. W. C. A. Maclaurin of Elgin having been appointed clerk of the meeting, the dean explained "the circumstances under which he had been commanded by the bishop to assemble the Synod, and also to summon the Rev. J. D. Hull of Huntly to appear before his reverend brethren, and to account for certain irregularities of which he stood accused." The bishop then read the correspondence which had passed between himself and Mr. Hull. The latter had exchanged duties with an Aberdeen clergyman who had lately thrown off allegiance to the Scottish Episcopal Church. His reverence then declared that Mr. Hull was severed from the Episcopal Communion, "warning the faithful against ecclesiastical communion with him; and expressing a hope that no bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, or of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America," would henceforth receive any clergyman "who had officiated in Scotland, without letters from its bishops." This declaration having been unanimously adopted, and ordered to be made public, a motion was passed unanimously "protesting against Mr. Hull's censure of the clergy for dishonest subscription of the Articles." This was the last occasion on which Bishop Low met his clergy in the Synod.†

EVANGELICALISM IN ENGLAND.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century there arose, in the Church of England, a distinct class of clergy called *Evangelical.* In this school of religious thought there were many distinguished for piety, self-denial, and good works. They were mainly Calvinistic in their opinions, differing in this respect from the Methodists. One point of agreement there was between them and the Wesleyans, and that was their doctrine of *Conversion.* They insisted that every one really a Christian should be able to tell the day and hour of his

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 24-28. † *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

conversion, ignoring the fact that some pious souls have continued to grow in grace from childhood to the grave. The Evangelicals loved the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles, because they felt that there they found the concentrated devotion of many ages. Some of them gave too low a place to the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, rejecting altogether the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. Others were very intolerant of those who differed from them upon these points. At the beginning of this century some of this latter class of clergy were introduced into Scotland and gave great anxiety to the Bishops. It was in answer to these and in defence of his friend the Rev. Dr. Walker, Pantonian Professor of Theology, that Bishop Jolly issued his publication on Baptismal Regeneration. The Evangelicals did splendid service against Socinianism, and waged a most successful war against indifference and irreligion. Sunday schools arose everywhere in the Church under their influence, and the Church Missionary Society started by them carried the news of the Gospel to heathen lands. Christians of the present day do not always know how much they owe to the Evangelicalism of this and of the eighteenth century. Another school of religious thought of that century and the beginning of the present was called Orthodox, and embraced many pious and gifted minds. But it was as a development of the Evangelical movement that there arose that religious revival of the present century called the Oxford Movement.*

* *History of the English Church*, by Rev. Canon Perry, vol. ii., pp. 592, 593.

THE SECOND OXFORD REVIVAL.

"Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."
EZEKIEL xxxvii. 9.

NAMES GIVEN TO THE MOVEMENT.

The first Oxford Revival, inaugurated by John Wesley, was a protest against the religious indifference of the eighteenth century. The second Oxford Revival, which took place in the present century, protested against the spiritual deadness that pervaded many souls in the Church of England. Various names have been given to this religious movement. Some have styled it the Tractarian Movement, and others the Oxford Movement. The name Puseyism was also given to it, from the Rev. Dr. Pusey, one of its principal leaders. The avowed objects of its promoters were the revivifying of the Church of England, and the recalling her to a true sense of her spiritual responsibilities. The movement began to affect the Episcopal Church of Scotland and the diocese of Moray in the episcopate of Bishop Low.

STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 was a real blessing to our nation. At that time many were afraid that sweeping ecclesiastical reforms would follow in the wake of the political alterations which marked that period of reform and rapid change. The Church of England was not then adapting herself to the wants of the nation, and a spirit of hostility was rising against her. Many of the clergy took their obligations too easily, and some were absentees, devolving their duties upon ill-paid substitutes. All the efforts of the Evangelical and the Orthodox parties combined were insufficient to keep the Church in touch with the mass of the English people. Many nominal Church-people looked on the Church as a mere creation of the State, and could give no definition of their religious tenets. The first promoters of the Oxford movement claimed for the Church of Christ an independent spiritual existence, and an origin emanating from the Saviour and his apostles. Serious and pious souls,

who were making a brave stand against the prevailing worldliness of the day, were not receiving instruction and encouragement from those set over them in the Church. The great middle class of England were either Orthodox Churchmen or Evangelicals, whose sympathies were mainly with those favouring the Methodist Revival of the previous century.

THE REV. JOHN KEBLE.

The Rev. John Keble will always be looked upon as the source and origin of the second Oxford Revival. Long before the movement assumed definite shape his mind had been imbued with its leading principles. With him they might have remained a latent force, had he not associated with himself others whose endeavours were to carry out his theories into practice. The lightning is latent in the cloud till a change of atmospheric conditions sends it forth to shiver the tall column or rend the giant oak. So Keble's principles, imparted by him to Froude, Newman, Wilberforce, and others, became a mighty power in the Anglican Communion. John Keble published his *Christian Year* in 1827, and even then he felt the urgent need of a revival in the Church of England.

OTHER LEADERS IN THE MOVEMENT.

Richard Hurrel Froude, Robert Wilberforce, and Isaac Williams were John Keble's friends and pupils. Froude, who became fellow of Oriel College in 1826, introduced to Keble him who was destined to be the master mind and genius of the new revival. This was John Henry Newman, whose intellectual activity gave prominent shape to the principles of Anglican theology advocated by Keble. The religious agitation begun in the minds of these friends went on from 1826 to 1833, and occupied much of their communings with one another. Their deliberations were decidedly anti-Erastian, and opposed to what they considered the questionable tenets of Evangelicalism, Methodism, and Calvinism. About 1833, Hurrel Froude and John Henry Newman went to the Mediterranean. There, when becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio, Newman composed the world-known hymn, "Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom." Keble and his associates demanded what was real and thorough in religion. They wished to save the Church from spiritual deadness by raising it to the spirit and idea of primitive Christianity. Isaac Williams, John Copeland, and the Rev. Thomas Keble, vicar of

Bisley, were other leading minds in this religious agitation. Isaac Williams, a splendid Latin scholar, and a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, won the Latin prize poem, *Ars Geologica.* He was John Keble's pupil, and a fellow-student of Froude and Wilberforce. His heart was won by his master's consistency of life. He saw with admiration how the poet-priest respected the ignorant and poor as well as the great and the learned. When curate of S. Mary's, Isaac Williams published a volume of plain sermons, to give the movement a practical effect upon religious life. Charles Marriott was another who was influenced by Newman's teaching at Oriel College. He was a zealous theological student, whose faith in his mother Church stood firm in the hour of trial. Unfortunately, there was from the very first an extreme and Romanizing section among these religious reformers. They did much harm to the progress of the revival both in England and Scotland.

PROGRESS OF THE NEW REVIVAL.

Newman's sermon on National Apostasy, preached on July 14th, 1833, has been looked upon as the bugle-note summoning his comrades to the religious conflict. A meeting of the friends of the movement took place at Hadleigh that same year in the house of Hugh James Rose. The conference began on July 25th, and lasted for four days. Froude and Newman were present; Keble gave his opinions by written correspondence. The result of this meeting was the now famous series of *Tracts for the Times* which created such excitement in all sections of the Church of England. The tracts were impassioned appeals to conscience and reason, asserting that the principles of the faith of the early Christian Church were vanishing before the political changes of the nineteenth century. They appeared in rapid succession in the summer and autumn of 1833, and insisted that the Church of England had forgotten her descent from the Apostles of the Lord. Like "picked" soldiers, selected to storm the breach, these ardent Oxonians made it known that they were ready to head the assault against religious indifference, and to begin the rally in favour of the Church. A little work called the *Churchman's Manual* was another result of the Hadleigh meeting. The author of the book, Mr. Percival, professed to give a summary of the position held by the Church of England in reference to the Church of Rome and Nonconformists. Bishop Jolly and the other Scottish bishops warmly approved of this little work, which also received the commendation of

Judge Allan Parke, Dr. Wordsworth, Dr. Routh, and others.* The two principal leaders of the revival were men of refined and cultivated tastes. Keble's *Christian Year*, by which he earned the title of "the sweet singer of the Church of England," is a volume of tender and beautiful poems. The same may be said of the *Lyra Apostolica*, in which the poems of Newman and his fellow-writers appeared to express the ideas they were bringing into prominence.

Newman's four o'clock sermons at S. Mary's, Oxford, were another mode of spreading abroad the principles of the Church Revival. "They were sermons," wrote Dean Church, "plain, direct, and unornamented, that inculcated an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence." At these afternoon services the audience always noted the impressive way in which Newman read the appointed lessons—a circumstance the late Bishop Fraser of Manchester was wont to relate to his candidates for ordination. No great event in the Oxford Revival took place in 1834. In 1835 Dr. Pusey joined the movement, giving to it, as was afterwards said, both "a position and a name." He it was who planned out the translations and editions of the Christian Fathers anterior to the division of the Church into east and west.

ATTACKS UPON THE NEW REFORMERS.

The Romanizing party among these religious enthusiasts by their bitter speeches and extreme views set the authorities of the University and the English bishops against the movement. They had many hard things to say about the failings of the Church of England; they said little about the equally patent shortcomings of the Church of Rome. They called upon men "to take their side," and some took their side against them. Public opinion went at first against the revival, and Dr. Arnold wrote a furious article against "the Oxford malignants." At the end of 1835 the *Tracts* reached the second volume of publication, and the little band of friends grew into what was called the Tractarian party. The outside world now began to realise the rapid growth of the Oxford Revival, and had it not been for internal dissensions among its own leaders, still greater progress would have been recorded. Difficulties met the new reformers, and foremost among these were the Roman question and the definition of the Christian Church. Newman, who was always ready to acknowledge

* Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*, pp. 109, 110.

real Christian life wherever it existed, made a vehement attack upon Papal Infallibility, the key of the Roman position.

WAVERING IN THE ROMANIZING SECTION.

At the beginning of the fifth decade of the century, the differences among the promoters of the revival grew sharper, and the Romanizing section began to waver. The mind of the greater leader of the party became unsettled at the end of 1839. Up to that time, as Newman himself said, "all had been clear and hopeful to him," and he felt the position of the Church of England to be impregnable. A doubt coming across his mind at this time regarding the tenableness of this position, he began to waver in his allegiance to his spiritual mother. He announced that he was about to give up his fellowship in 1843, and at the same time he resigned the charge of S. Mary's. At that time it took all his will and influence to prevent some of his followers from advancing more rapidly in the direction of Rome. The bishops and the University authorities were now decidedly hostile to the movement. The extreme language used by the Romanizing party had prevented the prelates from putting themselves at the head of a religious agitation which had ostensibly for its aim the elevation and revivifying of the Church. Newman's impatient disciples had themselves to blame for this.

TRACT XC.

The publication of this *Tract* in 1841 brought matters to a crisis. Newman composed it to controvert a common statement that the Thirty-nine Articles were hopelessly at variance with the teaching of the Universal Church as expounded by the great Anglican divines. The Tractarian party, now divided beyond hope of reunion, was formally condemned by the University authorities. The latter neither ventured to cope with the tract-writers in logical argument, nor recognised the lofty earnestness of their religious convictions. Without discussion and without trial they only posted up a notice that *Tract xc.* suggested a dishonest mode of signing the Articles.

REVERSES.

Disaster now overtook some of the leading men in the new revival. Mr. Ward, an active writer of the controversial pamphlets of the Tractarians, was dismissed from his mathematical lectureship at Balliol College. Isaac Williams was unsuccessful in the competition

for the Poetry Professorship, vacated by the author of *The Christian Year.* His defeat happened at the beginning of 1842, and was due without doubt to his connection with the Tractarians. Unusual requirements were imposed upon a student of Corpus Christi College when he wished to take his B.D. degree. The authorities turned an ordinary pass examination into a test of doctrinal opinions to prevent the young Tractarian from graduating in divinity. The dispute on this course of action lasted for two or three years, until at last the student received his degree. In 1843 proceedings were instituted against Dr. Puscy himself on account of a sermon preached by him on the Holy Eucharist as a comfort to the penitent. The great theologian was suspended from preaching in the University for two years, without being told the name of his accuser, and without an opportunity of speaking in his own defence.

SECESSION TO ROME.

Persecution had the effect of driving the Romanizing party into greater diversities from Anglican teaching. The current now bore them swiftly towards Rome, Mr. Newman in 1845 causing his name to be removed from the books of Oriel College and Oxford University. He was received into the Church of Rome on October 8th of that year. His example was soon followed by fourteen or fifteen of the extreme wing of the party, and many thought that the attempt to revivify the Church of England was doomed for ever.

ADVANTAGES OF THE MOVEMENT.

John Keble, Dr. Pusey, Isaac Williams, and numbers holding similar principles, clung closer to their spiritual mother, when the others forsook her sheltering wing. The secession, which looked at first a loss, was a real gain. The revival of religious reality went on in the Church, and in a few years its effects were seen in many ways. Home and foreign missions received from it a tremendous impetus. Zealous soldiers of the Church's army have never been wanting since those days to seek out the sick, the sorrowing, and the outcast in the lanes and dens of misery of our crowded towns, and churches and new parishes have multiplied over all the land. Anglican bishops and clergy, brave standard-bearers of the Cross of Christ, and animated by the love of those souls for whom He died, are doing a noble work in America and India, in Africa and Japan. Every ten or eleven years Anglican prelates, from almost every land on the face of

the earth, meet together in the Pan-Anglican Conference for consultation about the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. Now it is a familiar sight to behold the clergy of the Church, headed by their bishop, holding special missions in large towns and country districts. These things are notes of the Church of Christ, and prove that, unworthy though she be, God is with her still. The revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries teach us that large allowances for differences of opinion must be made in a world-wide Church. All within her bounds should work together in steadfast faith and perfect charity, and as the ages roll along the smaller differences may melt away in the all-absorbing love of Jesus. When we think of all that God has done for the Anglican Church, we must see that He has answered the prayer, "Come from the four winds O Breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live."*

FIRST EFFECTS OF THE OXFORD REVIVAL IN SCOTLAND.

The Oxford Revival first affected the Scottish Church by the reaction which arose against it. The very prosperity which had come to her seemed to bring with it new sources of trial and vexation. Controversy on the subject of the Oxford *Tracts* spread to the sister Church north of the Tweed. The ultra-English congregations in Scotland that continued to disown the Scottish bishops, chose the occasion of the controversy to charge the Episcopal Church with Tractarian bias, and with the promulgation of doctrines contrary to those of the Church of England. The main point of their attack was the Scottish Communion Office, for the removal of which they began to make unreasonable and intolerant demands. They had sympathisers in the Scottish Church who also clamoured for the removal of the last relic of Scottish ecclesiastical nationality. The Rev. Mr. Drummond of Edinburgh, who renounced his allegiance to the Bishop of Edinburgh, defended the step he had taken by an attack on the Scottish Communion Office.†

Bishop Jolly and the Scottish clergy using the Scottish Liturgy, believed that it was further removed from the suspicion of Romanism than the English rite. They and their successors had as much right to be tolerated in their opinions on this point as the ultra-English party in their own peculiar views. Nay, they had more right to consideration, as being the followers of those who had suffered for

* Dean Church's *Oxford Movement*: Macmillan & Co.
† Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 256-267.

their Church principles in the dark days of persecution and adversity. The insubordination in Edinburgh lured others into the same mistaken course, and numerous individuals alienated themselves from the Scottish Episcopal Church. Bishop Low was favourable to the surrender of the Scottish Office, as in his opinion the two services were identical. On the other hand, the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen in an address to their bishop expressed their warm attachment to the Scottish Use.

THE BISHOP OF MORAY THREATENS THAT HE WILL REMOVE TO HIS OWN DIOCESE.

Some of Bishop Low's own congregation at Pittenweem, being English by birth, sympathised most strongly with the separatists. At one time their dissatisfaction caused the bishop so much discomfort that he resolved to leave Pittenweem. His intention was to remove to some central spot in his own diocese, where he might more efficiently superintend those under his episcopal care. Bishop Low's threat of removal brought the disturbers of the congregational peace to a speedy repentance. Petitions were sent in to him from the congregation, and from the landed proprietors in the district, insisting upon his remaining at Pittenweem. Lord Lindsay wrote to the bishop: "As for transporting your Penates elsewhere, my dear bishop, can you be serious? But the thing is impossible. If you ever hint such a thing again, Lindsays, Anstruthers, Bethunes, Giblestons, and the east of Fife, *en masse*, will rise and hold you a close prisoner the rest of your days, as a personage too precious to be trusted with his own disposal. You do not know the love, and value, and esteem with which you are regarded." * The remonstrances of his attached parishioners caused the bishop to give up all thoughts of leaving them.

EFFECTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN THE DIOCESE OF MORAY.

Bishop Low was exposed to new vexations in his own diocese arising from the conduct of the Rev. J. D. Hull and others, whose opinions were akin to those of the dissentients. The action taken by Dr. Newman and the Romanizing party in the Oxford movement embittered these men against the Scottish Church. The case of the Rev. J. D. Hull, of Huntly, who withdrew himself from the ecclesiastical authority of his diocesan, has been noted in this book. Like

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 267-278.

the rest of the seceders, he set up an "English Episcopal Chapel." He also, in the form of a letter to the Bishop of Exeter, published a most intemperate pamphlet, full of unproved assertions against the Scottish Church. Zeal for evangelical truth, and opposition to Romanizing and Tractarian error, were invariably alleged by the secessionists to be the causes of their separation. They also insisted that the Scottish clergy, "undeniably and hereditarily," held tenets at variance with the Thirty-nine Articles.

THE SECESSION AT NAIRN.

A new church, commenced at Nairn under the episcopal sanction of Bishop Low and assisted by his contributions, was withdrawn from his ecclesiastical authority. Many had subscribed to the building fund of this church on the assurance that it was to be in connection with the Scottish Episcopal Church. The leading parties took alarm at the recent ecclesiastical disturbances, caused by the reaction against the Oxford movement, and induced a majority of the resident subscribers to vote for the withdrawal of the building from the Church. Some of these had doubtless been misled by the assertion that the Scottish Episcopal Church was not in full communion with the Church of England. They were not aware that the separatists could enjoy no actual episcopal communion with the Church of England, however persistently they might call themselves "English Episcopalians." The Bishop of Exeter, who was reported by the local prints to be the intended consecrator of the new building, declared emphatically: "I have no more right to intrude into the Bishop of Moray's diocese than he has to exercise jurisdiction in mine, and I certainly have as little inclination as right to do so." The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to the Rev. A. Ewing, said to the same effect: "Of congregations in Scotland not acknowledging the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese the chapels are situate, yet calling themselves Episcopalians, *we know nothing.*" * The Bishop of London, who had subscribed to the building fund of the Nairn chapel, requested the return of his subscription on learning that it was to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Moray. The Rev. Alexander Ewing and the Rev. J. Ewing, original trustees of the new chapel at Nairn, withdrew, along with the bishop, from all connection with it.

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 278, 294.

SYMPATHISERS WITH THE SEPARATISTS.

All the Anglican bishops did not express themselves so favourably to the Scottish Church as the prelates whose opinions have been given. The Irish Bishop of Cashel, personally an excellent and pious man, expressed his sympathy with the seceders in a letter to Bishop Low. He objected chiefly to the Scottish Communion Office, ignorant of the fact that it had not been used in the church at Huntly, and was never intended to be forced on the congregation at Nairn. Bishop Low's rejoinder to the Irish prelate was marked by dignity, and contained a solemn warning. "Dark and gloomy days," he replied, "be assured, my lord, are approaching; nor think that by perpetuating discord and dissension you are serving the cause of truth, or increasing the purity, or strengthening the bands of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. And, my lord, allow me to assure you that, if judgment do befall the household of God, it will assuredly commence with the Irish Church." Fifteen years later the Bishop of Cashel, if alive, would remember these warning and prophetic words of the Bishop of Moray. An Irish beneficed clergyman, writing to Bishop Low, expressed his disapproval of the language used by the Bishop of Cashel. An English beneficed clergyman wrote to the same effect: "As the grandson of one who went from this country to be Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, I grieve that any bishop of that country could write to you, or act towards the Church in Scotland, as has the Bishop of Cashel." * The trouble arising from the seceders began to decline as soon as their true position was understood. The Chaplain-General of the Forces assured the Bishop of Moray that he would appoint to Fort George only such a clergyman as he (the bishop) would recommend. In criticising the conduct of the dissentients, however, it must not be forgotten that much of the blame must be laid at the door of the Romanizing party in the Oxford movement.

THE SNELL BEQUEST AND THE RULE OF *CY PRÈS*.

The Snell Bequest was a settlement which made provision for the education at Oxford of from five to twelve exhibitioners from Glasgow University. These exhibitioners were to be natives of Scotland, and attached by education and principles to the doctrine

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 294, 310.

and discipline of the Church of England. The will of the founder bound them down, under a penalty of £500, to take Holy Orders, return to Scotland, and "there be advanced as their capacity and parts shall deserve." Mr. John Snell of Uffeton, in Warwickshire, executed this will on December 29th, 1677, and it was proved in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury on September 13th, 1679. The Established Church of Scotland was then Episcopal, the nominators to the bequest, the professors of Glasgow University, being also at that time attached to the Scottish Episcopal Church. At the Revolution of 1688, the exhibitions, falling into the hands of professors opposed to the Episcopal Church, were completely diverted from the purpose of the donor. Under these changed circumstances, the heirs of Mr. Snell contested the will shortly after the Revolution. In 1693 their cause was lost, the Court of Chancery deciding against them. The Chancellor of the day, in deciding the case, proceeded on a rule known in that court by the term *Cy près*, the Norman-French for "as near." By this rule a charitable bequest did not lapse when it could not legally be carried into effect, but was carried out as nearly as possible to the object in view.

Lord Medwyn, in a letter to Bishop Low, gave this amusing anecdote regarding the application of the rule. A man bequeathed a sum of money to convert Christians to Judaism. This being against the law, the heirs expected the will to be set aside and the money handed over to them. "No," said the court, "we shall administer the bequest on the maxim *Cy près*." They accordingly decreed that the bequest should be applied to the converting of Jews to Christianity.

Bishop Low made strenuous efforts at Oxford University, and also through influential friends, to get these exhibitions restored to the Scottish Episcopal Church. These were unavailing. The Court of Chancery decided in favour of the Church, but on an appeal being made to the House of Lords this favourable judgment was reversed.*

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1846.

On the 6th of August, 1846, the clergy of the united diocese of Moray, Ross, and Argyll met in Synod, the Very Reverend Dean Fyvie presiding in the absence of the bishop. All that was done at this Synod was the routine work of presenting the statistical returns of the various congregations. After this, as in former years, the

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 250-255.

members resolved themselves into a meeting of the Diocesan Association of the Scottish Episcopal Church Society.*

ENDOWMENT OF THE SEE OF ARGYLL.

The anxieties arising from the reaction against the Romanizing party in the Oxford movement doubtless accelerated Bishop Low's determination to resign part of his episcopal charge. When he entered upon the duties of spiritual overseer of the four dioceses the number of congregations in them was extremely small. Their number having greatly increased, the bishop felt that he could not visit them regularly at his advanced age. In the advancing state of the Church, too, he saw that it would be much more advantageous for the bishop to reside in his diocese. Had Bishop Low resided within the bounds of Moray, the troubles at Nairn and Huntly might never have occurred. He therefore resolved to endow a new see to the extent of £8000 from his own resources, on the condition that his right reverend colleagues would hand over to him the nomination of the first bishop of the re-endowed diocese. His episcopal brethren were compelled to reply that they were utterly unable to comply with the condition, since the election to a vacant see was entirely in the hands of its presbyters. The generous donor may have been misled by remembering that the Episcopal College had handed over the vacant diocese of Moray to his jurisdiction against the expressed wishes of the resident clergy. The bishops offered all the help in their power to get the nominee of their aged brother elected. The Rev. Alexander Ewing was, in accordance with Bishop Low's wish, elected to the episcopal supervision of the re-endowed diocese of Argyll and the Isles, the election taking place at Oban on October 14th, 1846. All regretted that the Bishop of Moray and Ross was not able to be present at his friend's consecration, which took place at Aberdeen on October 28th, 1847, the consecrators being the Primus and the Bishops of Aberdeen and Glasgow.†

The endowment of the see of Argyll was the crowning act of Bishop Low's episcopate. Six centuries had passed away since that diocese had been separated from that of Dunkeld and erected into an episcopal see by the generous munificence of another Scottish

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 35-38.

† Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., pp. 251; and Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 321-337.

bishop, John the Scot, Bishop of Dunkeld. The endowment was diverted from its original purpose at the Revolution. Now, in the nineteenth century, Argyll was re-endowed to the extent of £8000 by one whose professional income never amounted to £250 per annum. The offering to God from the poor Scottish Bishop of Moray and Ross will contrast favourably with that of the rich mediæval prelate of Dunkeld. The bishop's preference for Argyll and the Isles was due to his early acquaintance with the district, and his knowledge of the difficulties attendant upon a non-resident bishop's oversight of the diocese. Also Iona, the cradle of our Scottish Christianity, was situated in the see of the Isles—a fact which will always make it interesting to Scottish Churchmen.

PANEGYRIC ON BISHOP LOW.

"I cannot suffer myself," said Bishop Eden in 1853, "to enter upon some of those many topics of interest in relation both to the Church at large and to this diocese in particular, on which I am anxious to address you, before calling to your affectionate remembrance the labours of my revered and venerable predecessor, who presided for so many years over this and the adjoining diocese of Argyll and the Isles. Having spent the greater portion of his ministerial life in the high and responsible position of a bishop in the Church of God; having laboured zealously and painfully, under the disadvantage of a distant residence, to promote the glory of God and the enlargement of His Church throughout his extensive diocese; having been spared to see much fruit of his labours, he sought that rest which his age and infirmities needed, and requested his right reverend brethren to accept of his resignation of the charge so long entrusted to him. But it would be impossible to record even a passing memorial of the venerable Bishop Low's services to the Church without recording that noble offer of his which led to the re-erection of the see of Argyll and the Isles into a distinct diocese. The recent annals of the Church of England tell of the endowment of two colonial bishoprics, through the Christian munificence of a wealthy and noble-hearted lady of that Communion. But while God has poured riches into the lap of many of the lay-members of our impoverished Scottish Church, it remains to be recorded that the *first* and *only* episcopal see in Scotland which has been endowed since the Revolution, was endowed through the munificence of a poor Scottish bishop."

Remarking upon these words of Bishop Low's successor, it was observed in the leading article of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* of October 1853:—

"The munificence of a poor Scottish bishop! Yes; and we would add, the pious and self-denying munificence of one of Scotland's *indigenous* clergy, whose orders as deacon, priest, and bishop were all received in his native Church; whose whole life of labour had been spent in and for the Church of his fatherland, and whose means of munificence have not been derived from inherited wealth or lucrative preferment, but from a studied life-long sacrifice of every personal consideration in the use of an income so scanty that few would consider it more than adequate for the bare necessaries of life. *O! si sic omnes!*" *

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1848.

The Synod of 1848 met at Forres, being attended by the Very Rev. W. C. A. Maclaurin, dean, the Very Rev. C. Fyvie, and other three clergy. The statistical returns having been laid before the Synod, the Rev. H. W. Jermyn, of Forres, the clerk of the meeting, proposed that "the Holy Communion be always administered before commencing the business of the Synod in this diocese." †

THE REV. WILLIAM PALMER AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

The Rev. William Palmer was a deacon of the Church of England and fellow of S. Mary Magdalene's College, Oxford. In July, 1842, some of the Scottish bishops and clergy were present at Aberdeen upon secular business. Mr. Palmer being introduced to the prelates presented to them letters commendatory which he had received from Bishop Luscombe. These had reference to the conversion of a Russian lady from the Russian Orthodox Church. This lady having renounced communion with her own Church, was received into the Anglican Church by the English chaplain at Geneva. Mr. Palmer, who was then resident at S. Petersburg, maintained that the reception of the lady into the Church of England was an unauthorised act, as that Church had never excommunicated the members of the Eastern Church, nor pretended to convert them. At the request of the lady's husband, Mr. Palmer asked the opinion of Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London. That prelate replied that a clergyman was bound

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 217, 218.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 41, 43.

to receive into the Church of England any one who declared his assent to the doctrines of that Church, and desired to be admitted to Holy Communion. Bishop Luscombe, before whom Mr. Palmer laid the case, said that a member of the Orthodox Eastern Church should be received into the Church of England, not as a convert, but on principles of inter-communion. Bishop Luscombe's letters commendatory requested all "orthodox and catholic Bishops" to receive Mr. Palmer into communion and give him their support in the question at issue, so that strengthened with this he might return to Russia. The bishops present at Aberdeen said they preferred in the meantime to pass the matter over in silence, as they were not at that time present in Synod. Mr. Palmer having returned to Russia requested the Holy Governing Synod to receive him into communion with the Russian Church. The request was refused on the ground that the British Church had never by any synodical act expressed her wish to restore that union with the Orthodox Catholic Church which she had lost, by disavowing all dogmas that were contrary to the Orthodox confession. Mr. Palmer was willing to say anathema to a considerable number of points alleged by the Russian clergy to be contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, but he refused to anathematise the Church of England or the Articles as a whole. In September, 1846, Mr. Palmer appeared before an Episcopal Synod which was sitting at Edinburgh, and produced a letter from Bishop Luscombe in which that prelate requested the Scottish bishops to receive Mr. Palmer as his proxy. The bishops declined to acknowledge Bishop Luscombe's right to sit in their Synod, either in person or by proxy, and next day they received intelligence of that bishop's death. The Bishop of S. Andrews received Mr. Palmer into communion, and authorised him to act as his deacon. The appellant now published a printed account of the whole subject, entitled, "An Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion." This appeal was favourably received by the Diocesan Synod of S. Andrews, but did not receive the approval of the Synods of Brechin, Glasgow, Argyll, and Aberdeen. How it was received in the diocese of Moray will appear from the following account of the Diocesan Synod of 1849.

THE REV. W. PALMER AT ELGIN.

The Diocesan Synod met at Elgin on June 20th, 1849, the Very Rev. Dean Maclaurin presiding in the absence of the bishop. Besides

the dean there were present the Venerable Archdeacon Mackenzie and other five clergy. The Holy Communion was celebrated by the dean, who was assisted by the Rev. W. Palmer as deacon. After the statistical accounts of the congregations had been laid before the Synod, the Rev. W. Palmer was introduced to the meeting, and presented to the Synod the printed volume containing his appeal. At the same time a letter was read from Bishop Low authorising the clergy to take the said appeal into their consideration. The first resolution, carried by the casting vote of the dean, was as follows :—

"It is resolved by the Synod, that this appeal has legitimately arisen, and is properly made to the Scottish Church, and to this Synod in particular."

The following other resolutions received the sanction of Synod :—

"That the Diocesan Synod of Moray and Ross, recognising the propriety of entertaining so far Mr. Palmer's appeal, recommends that the subject be not discussed here at present, but it be submitted to a General Synod."

"That the Synod of Moray and Ross respectfully applies to the Primus and the College of Bishops for the convening of a General Synod of the Scottish Church to examine the nature and merits of the aforesaid appeal."

"That we, the members of this Diocesan Synod, for ourselves, for our own branch of the Church, and for the branches also with which we are in communion, do solemnly disavow and repudiate the position that no person can rightfully be prevented from taking the communion in our churches, provided only he profess himself to be a member of the same."

DECISION OF COLLEGE OF BISHOPS.

Mr. Palmer's appeal came before the Episcopal College on September 7th, 1849, and it was decided by the assembled prelates that Mr. Palmer's appeal had not legitimately arisen. The bishops directed this resolution to be communicated to the several Diocesan Synods, the Synod of Moray and Ross being told that the Episcopal College did not consider it advisable to call a General Synod in relation to this subject.* The Scottish bishops were clearly unwilling "to make a forward movement" without consulting the English prelates.

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 45-50; Grub's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., pp. 252-262.

Moreover, Mr. Palmer's anathemas were most imprudent, and the conduct of the Russian bishops was neither charitable nor conciliatory. Shortly after this, Mr. Palmer seceded from the Church of England, and joined, not the Greek Church, but the Church of Rome.

THE GORHAM CASE.

Much anxiety and alarm were felt in Scotland, as well as in England, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed the decision of the Court of Arches on the appeal of the Rev. G. C. Gorham against the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Exeter. Memorials on the subject having been presented to the bishops by several of the Diocesan Synods, an Episcopal Synod, which met at Aberdeen, on April 19th, 1850, issued a declaration enjoining the clergy to teach the doctrine that "None can enter into the kingdom of God except he be regenerated and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost." The same doctrine was taught in the Nicene Creed, which says, "We acknowledge One Baptism for the Remission of Sins," and was reiterated by the 27th Article of Religion, and by the words of the Church Catechism.

DOCTRINE OF REGENERATION IN AND THROUGH BAPTISM.

The Diocesan Synod met at Forres on July 3rd, 1850, the Very Rev. Dean Maclaurin presiding in the absence of the bishop. The statistical accounts of the various congregations having been received, the bishops' declaration of April 19th, 1850, as well as extracts from the minutes of the Diocesan Synods of Aberdeen and S. Andrews were laid before the Synod. On the motion of the Rev. H. W. Jermyn, seconded by the Rev. J. Smith, it was resolved unanimously—

"That this Synod gratefully receives the declaration of our spiritual Fathers given at the Synod of Aberdeen on the 19th April, 1850, with reference to a recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and pledges itself in conformity therewith to teach, by God's help, as it ever has taught, the doctrine of Regeneration in and by Holy Baptism, according to the plain meaning of the formularies of the Church."

The Synod directed this resolution to be respectively sent to the Lord Bishop of Exeter and the Lord Bishop of London.*

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 51-54.

ELECTION OF A COADJUTOR TO BISHOP LOW.

The Diocesan Synod met at Elgin on October 2nd, 1850, the Very Rev. Dean Maclaurin presiding. Besides the dean, there were present seven clergy of the united diocese. The mandate for the election of a coadjutor to Bishop Low having been read, the clergy were requested to propose any whom they thought fit for the holy office. Two candidates were then proposed, one being the Rev. James Mackay of Inverness, and the other the Rev. Robert Eden, rector of Leigh. "The Very Rev. the Dean having taken the votes for these two persons, it was found that there were four for each, upon which he gave his casting vote for Mr. Eden. The Rev. H. B. Moffat, who had proposed Mr. Mackay, then entered two protests—one against the vote of the Rev. J. Smith, and the other against the casting vote of the dean. When the Synod met again in the afternoon, Mr. Moffat handed in a return of the election of the Rev. James Mackay, signed by those who had voted for him. The dean, however, refused to receive it, considering the election canonically decided in favour of the Rev. Robert Eden. Proceedings thus terminated, and the Synod was closed." *

LAST DAYS OF BISHOP LOW.

Weakness of body forced Bishop Low to retire from active service in the Church when he had been sixty-three years a presbyter and thirty-one years a bishop. To the last he manifested his intense interest in everything that affected the welfare of his beloved Church. He always rejoiced in her prosperity, and mourned over the adversities with which she had to contend. His thoughts were of "Zion," as he took his accustomed walks near the priory, and past the spot which he himself consecrated for his last resting-place. Sometimes, too, he thought of the religious men who had lived in the Pittenweem Priory centuries before his day, and he was pleased that the building had been restored by him to God's service once again. As long as his health permitted, he took part in the services of the church where he had been so long pastor. For some years before his death his house was cheered by the company of Captain Walker, the brother of his never-forgotten friend, Bishop Walker of Edinburgh. The death of this companion, in January, 1854, affected the bishop most keenly. On Christmas Day, 1854, the aged bishop

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 55-57.

attended Divine service, and took part in the celebration of the Holy Communion. This was his last appearance in his little sanctuary. Unhappily, on New Year's Day, 1855, the bishop, having caused a chair to be placed for him outside in a sheltered place, sat there, for some time, watching the falling snow. There he was exposed to a draught of cold air, which brought on a serious illness. After this he never left the house, and had to forego his outdoor exercise, that had become part of his very nature. Henceforth the brave prelate prepared even cheerfully to meet his death. He put away all thought of self-righteousness, trusting entirely on the mercy of his Redeemer. "Some talk of merit," he said; "what merit can a creature have before his creator?" The last day he was able to sit up, the dying bishop received the Holy Communion. When the service was over, he exclaimed, "It is the Communion of His body, and His blood, if I have taken it aright." His chaplain said to him, "Yes, dear bishop, and His blood cleanseth from all sin." The bishop then repeated, "God so loved the world as to give His only Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Lord, have mercy upon *me*, a miserable sinner." On Friday, January 26th, 1855, the dying servant of God sent hastily for his chaplain to pray with him. When the latter entered the sick-chamber, the bishop said to him, "I am going now." From that time he spoke no more, but lay, softly breathing out his spirit. He had fallen asleep in Jesus, before those who stood near realised that the silver cord had at last been loosened.*

FUNERAL OF BISHOP LOW.

The venerable bishop was buried at Pittenweem in a grave at the south end of his own church. In calm expectation of death, he had caused an enclosure to be made by the side of his favourite walk leading from the priory to the church door. This ground he had consecrated only eight months previously for himself and for his successors in the incumbency of Pittenweem. The funeral took place on February 1st, 1855, there being present the Bishops of Edinburgh and Moray and Ross, and a large number of clergy and laity. The chief mourners represented the gentry of the neighbourhood and the congregation of Pittenweem—"meet hands to commit to the dust the mortal remains of the pastor of fully two generations of their families,

* Rev. W. Blatch's *Memoir of Bishop Low*, pp. 370, 377.

in whose arms their children had been received into the Church at the baptismal font, whose lips had instructed them and their fathers in the words of life, whose hands had fed their souls with the Saviour's body and blood, whose blessing had hallowed their vows of love, and who had himself committed their sires to the tomb." At Pittenweem upon that February day all religious differences were laid aside, and all sectarian animosity was hushed "in the universal conviction that a Christian soldier of no ordinary stamp had taken his departure." The benediction at the grave having been pronounced by the Bishop of Edinburgh, the dust of the departed prelate was left in the grave by the old church wall till the dawning of the resurrection morn.*

CHARACTER OF BISHOP LOW.

Rarely has the Scottish Church possessed such a powerful and single-minded friend as David Low. He devoted all his life to her welfare and advancement, even from the time that he and his pious father were taunted for clinging closely to their spiritual mother. His youthful days, spent mostly in the Western Highlands among the Stuarts of Ballachulish, gave him a love for Argyllshire which eventually led him to endow the western diocese with the savings of a life-time. Like his predecessor in the diocese of Moray, David Low was venerated and venerable. His appearance at the consecration of the Leeds Parish Church in 1841 had an effect upon the spectators like that made on George IV., when he looked upon Bishop Jolly. One who heard the aged prelate taking part in the service at Pittenweem, said of the occasion, "Never shall we forget his remarkable and impressive appearance—the frail and tottering steps, the aged and withered frame, the simple piety in every word and gesture as he knelt at the altar, and in distinct yet trembling tones uttered for himself and his flock the prayers of the Liturgy. Never did those touching petitions seem to us more lovely or more heart-spoken." Bishop Low acted a prominent part in all those transactions of the first half of the nineteenth century which altered for the better the prospects of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. When quite a young man, he was one of the delegates on the committee appointed to make the preliminary arrangements for procuring the repeal of the penal laws in 1792. His zealous support was given to the movement which brought about further relaxation of oppressive measures in 1840, and

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. v., p. 195.

it was not his blame that the Act passed in that year was so disappointing. One of the latest actions of his life was to settle his residence at the Priory of Pittenweem and the ground attached to it upon the incumbency of that place.

The personal habits of the bishop were simple and even austere. He denied himself not merely the luxuries, but what others reckoned the very necessities of life, that he might have more to give to the work of Christ and his Church. "A most kind and noble heart," wrote his biographer, "gave a charm to his daily intercourse inexpressible by words, while the devotion of his every thought to the cause of religion and the special interests of the Episcopal Church of Scotland gave a consistent dignity amounting to grandeur to his whole life and conversation."*

There was considerable difference of opinion regarding the part taken by the Scottish bishops in the consecration of Bishop Luscombe. Bishop Low took a leading part in furthering that consecration, as he believed it would extend the influence of the Anglican Communion on the continent of Europe. He also thought that by their action in this matter, he and his episcopal colleagues would bring advantages to their own depressed Communion. The partial failure of Bishop Luscombe's mission was owing chiefly to his exaggerated ideas of his own ecclesiastical dignity and importance.

The only unsatisfactory incident in the life of this excellent prelate was his proposal to abolish the Scottish Communion Office, for it must have been with his consent that the Rev. Alexander Ewing proposed its surrender in the Synod of Moray. Here the sagacious prelate erred in judgment, thinking that the two offices were identical, and that the abolition of the Scottish Use might bring back some of the separated English congregations. Such concessions never conciliate clamorous dissentients, but rather tend to make them more unreasonable in their demands. In a world-wide Church like that of the Anglican Communion, there should be a wide margin left for differences of religious opinions regarding customs not of vital significance.†

The diocese of Argyll has been most prosperous since its endowment by Bishop Low. Now that diocese has, under good Bishop Haldane's jurisdiction, twice as many presbyters as there used to be in Moray, Ross, and Argyll taken together. May the great Bishop of the souls of men put it into the hearts of others to confer like

* *Scottish Eccles. Journal*, vol. v., pp. 21-22. † *Ibid*, vol. v., pp. 193.

benefits upon the Scottish Church. The earthly remains of the good bishop are at rest by the walls of the Priory on the Fifeshire coast; but far away among the mountains and lochs of his beloved Argyll, even to where Iona is washed by the Atlantic Ocean's foam, the members of his own Communion, to generations yet unborn, will bless the memory of David Low.

ROBERT EDEN, BISHOP OF MORAY.

CHAPTER XVI.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED).

"And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations."—ISAIAH lviii. 12.

EDUCATION AND ORDINATION.

ROBERT EDEN, born on September 2nd, A.D. 1804, was the third son of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart. He was sent to Westminster School, where, in A.D. 1822, he was one of the performers in the time-honoured Westminster classical play. He was a senior student at Christ Church, Oxford, when Bishop Wordsworth of S. Andrews was a junior. In his younger days, Mr. Eden was a great athlete—a circumstance used by Bishop Wilberforce to illustrate his capability of surmounting obstacles in very different spheres. Robert Eden was ordained deacon and priest in A.D. 1827 and A.D. 1828 respectively, and began his pastoral work as a curate at Weston, Messing, and Peldon, successively.

REV. R. EDEN APPOINTED RECTOR AT LEIGH.

Mr. Eden's conspicuous abilities as a parochial clergyman became widely known after he was appointed rector of Leigh in Essex. The Rev. Canon W. E. Heygate, a friend of his, and curate of Leigh for twelve years after Mr. Eden left that parish, gives the following testimony of the high estimation in which the rector of Leigh was held by his contemporaries:—"When Robert Eden was appointed rector of Leigh in 1837, Bishop Blomfield, who preferred him, said that he was sending a light into Rochford Hundred, and so it was. He had been intimate with T. Henderson of Messing, who doubtless influenced his opinions in the new, or rather in the old, direction. W. Gresley and F. Paget of Elford were his friends. Very soon he manifested both his character and his principles. Leigh obtained 'a zealous parish priest,' 'daily services which no Church near possessed,' and 'reverent and joyful celebration of festivals such as

* He was not a "Student", but a "Commoner".
R. A. Ed

Ascension Day.' 'Neighbours repaired to Leigh Church for privileges which they could not obtain in their own parishes. He taught and practised fasting, and in so kindly a manner as to lead others not only to try it, but to welcome it. Very soon he and his church were truly the light of the country; and although there was bitter opposition to his principles, to him there was none. All respected and loved him. I owe more to him than I can express, more by far than I can recall. His memory still survives at Leigh; but, like myself, the people there owe more to him than they can recall. Leigh became a new parish under his care. Having known Leigh from 1837, and having been curate of it for twelve years after Bishop Eden left, I can speak reliably."

WRECKERS ON THE ESSEX COAST.

Leigh was a sea-coast parish, and among its denizens there were some depredators and wreckers. On the evening of 3rd of March, 1840, the brig "Ewan" from Sunderland, laden with coals, having struck on the Nore Sand, was pillaged of its contents by wreckers from Leigh and elsewhere. The people seemed to think they had a right to property *over which the tide had passed.* Mr. Eden, the rector, exposed the fallacy of this proposition, in a powerful sermon, in which he said to those present: "Allow me to ask, if one of your own fishing-boats through some accident were to sink, and the tide to flow over it, should you think your brother fishermen justified in cutting and taking away, at low water, your mast and rigging, your nets and other property?" Two of the communicants of the congregation, who had been under the false impression regarding wrecked property came to the rector after the sermon, and confessed that they had taken part in the pillaging of the brig. Expressing their bitter grief at having unknowingly been guilty of so great a sin, they forthwith restored to the collector of customs the property they had taken.

ADDRESSES TO METHODISTS.

At Leigh, Mr Eden published two addresses to the Wesleyan Methodists in his parish, bearing on Mr. Wesley's views of the apostolical succession and the threefold order of ministers. In the discussion that arose on these addresses, it appeared that Mr. Wesley had said in the year 1784: "Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced me many years ago that bishops and presbyters are

the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain." To this statement Mr. Eden was able to reply, "Lord King's book was answered, and with so much success, that he himself was convinced of his error, and espoused the opinion he had opposed." The rector of Leigh bewailed the separation of the Wesleyan Methodists from the Church of England.

THE SHIPS "EMMA EDEN" AND "HAWK."

Mr. Eden always took a deep interest in foreign missions, and especially in the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. To the work of the society in Newfoundland the rector of Leigh made a munificent donation by presenting to it a missionary ship, called the "Emma Eden." This vessel being too large, the generous donor allowed it to be sold and the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of a smaller and more convenient vessel called "The Hawk." In 1851 the Bishop of Moray was present at the celebration of the third jubilee of the Society, on which occasion there was printed a book of verses in commemoration of the event. One poem there was among them, entitled "The Hawk Church Ship and the Coast of Labrador," which must have been most interesting to the bestower of the useful gift. The weekly offertory, then much neglected by the Church of England, was strongly recommended by Mr. Eden as the primitive and best auxiliary for Church work at home and abroad.*

THE REV. ROBERT EDEN CHARGED WITH TRACTARIANISM.

Mr. Eden took the most intense interest in the education of the young of his flock, frequently making great sacrifices to promote its advancement. At that time the schools were not inspected by the Government, and the rector of Leigh was requested by Bishop Blomfield, of London, to undertake the inspection of the schools in Essex. The Rev. Edward Feild, afterwards Bishop of Newfoundland, was then engaged in the inspection of the schools in the diocese of Worcester. With Mr. Feild's permission, Mr. Eden accompanied him to learn the then novel lesson of school inspection. Armed with this experience, the zealous rector inspected the schools in Essex.† His distinctive Church principles did not please all, and Lady Olivia Sparrow, who had schools in the parish of

* See Appendix xvii.

† Rev. H. W. Tucker's *Life of Bishop Feild*, pp. 19, 20.

Leigh, withdrew them from Mr. Eden's superintendence. Nothing daunted, the rector carried on his own schools, taking care that the scholars were carefully instructed in Church of England principles as declared in the Book of Common Prayer.

An anonymous letter was circulated among the parishioners of Leigh on the morning of Christmas Day, 1846. This epistle charged the rector with being at heart a Roman Catholic, and with adopting doctrines calculated to lead his people "to adopt the errors and embrace the faith of the Church of Rome." The writer insisted that the rector had been teaching in the schools withdrawn from his charge "the first principles of Tractarianism," and that the difference between him and Mr. Newman, who had seceded to Rome, was only a question of *degree*. Mr. Eden in a printed reply repudiated this unfounded charge against him as a minister of God, and declared that he had never taught anything in the said schools but the doctrines of the Church of England. Doubtless like many others the rector of Leigh was affected by the Oxford Movement. He had caught up its true spirit, and was most earnest in his endeavours to make his Church principles a reality in the religious life of his parish. If the visitation of the sick and the poor, and if more frequent and devout services were Tractarianism, the rector of Leigh had certainly laid himself open to the charge. But he never evinced any sympathy for Newman and his fellow-seceders, nor for the errors of Rome.

HONOURABLE RIVALRY.

The Rev. Robert Eden and his friend, Mr. Trower, were candidates for the vacant bishopric of Glasgow, the rivals agreeing that the unsuccessful candidate was to preach the consecration sermon of him who was elected. The promise was kept, and the rector of Leigh preached a powerful sermon at the consecration of his friend, in which there were these heart-stirring words:—"Who in this season of danger will desire to be captain of the Lord's host? Who will now covet the dignity of an episcopal throne, where the full knowledge of its awful responsibility is vividly impressed upon him? Happy is the man who has found it when he sought not for it! Happy art thou, my brother, dear friend of my earthly youth, who, whilst tending thy little flock in another fold, wert thought worthy, and found meet by thy Divine Master, to be chosen a shepherd of shepherds in these lowly pastures! He will gird thee, my brother,

and He will strengthen thee for thy gentle government of His people; He will be near thee at what time the storm falleth upon thee; He will support thee, if at any time, when thou seest the waves boisterous, thy faith begin to fail . . . I would say to thee, in the words of S. Basil to the Bishop of Iconium, 'Quit thyself like a man, and be strong, and go before the people whom God hath committed to thy trust.'"*

THE REV. ROBERT EDEN ELECTED COADJUTOR BISHOP OF MORAY AND ROSS.

In October 1850, Mr. Eden was informed by the Rev. H. B. Jermyn, that he had been elected coadjutor to the Right Rev. David Low, bishop of the diocese. As already stated four clergy then voted for Mr. Eden and four for the Rev. James Mackay, incumbent of St. John's Church, Inverness. The election was carried in favour of Mr. Eden by the casting vote of Dean Maclaurin. Objection was taken to the dean's casting vote, and the question was referred to the College of Bishops. Meanwhile, Mr. Eden was informed by Mr. Jermyn that Dean Maclaurin had since the election seceded to the Church of Rome. The rector of Leigh at once replied, "that, whatever might be the decision of the bishops on the question pending before them, relative to the casting vote of the dean, nothing would induce him to accept the election procured by the vote of one who acted as Dean Maclaurin had done."† The Bishops having refused to confirm the election of either candidate, as they disallowed the casting vote of the dean, Bishop Low withdrew his application for a coadjutor. On December 19th, the aged Bishop of Moray formally resigned his see, and expressed his earnest wish that his successor should be immediately appointed. Two days afterwards, Bishop Low communicated the fact of his resignation to Mr. Eden.

MR. EDEN ELECTED BISHOP OF MORAY AND ROSS.

The clergy of the united diocese of Moray and Ross assembled at Elgin on January 21st, 1851, in obedience to the mandate of the Primus, requiring them to elect a successor to Bishop Low. The Very Rev. H. B. Moffat of Keith, who had been appointed dean on the secession of Dean Maclaurin, presided over and constituted the Synod.

† Bishop Eden's letter of 1885 to the clergy and laity of Moray and Ross.

* See printed copy of Mr. Eden's *Sermon*, pp. 11 and 12.

After the mandate ordering the election had been read, the Dean proposed to read a protest drawn up in his own name and that of the Rev. James Mackay against the legality of the Synod and all its proceedings. This having been objected to, but allowed by a majority was duly read. Dean Moffat also entered another protest against the vote of the Rev. James Smith of Aberchirder. The election was then proceeded with, and the Rev. Robert Eden, rector of Leigh, Essex, being proposed by the Rev. J. Smith, seconded by the Rev. J. F. Macdonald, received their votes and those of the Venerable D. Mackenzie, the Rev. J. Paterson, and the Rev. H. W. Jermyn. The Rev. J. Mackay, who himself refused to vote, received the votes of Dean Moffat and the Rev. F. H. Mackenzie. Mr. Eden was therefore elected by five votes to two, and the return was signed by the majority accordingly. The bishops of the Church in an Episcopal Synod held at Aberdeen on January 21st, 1851, confirmed the election of Mr. Eden.* Congratulations poured in upon the bishop-elect from all quarters, his old friend, Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, in the following letter, regretting that other engagements prevented him from taking part in the consecration.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD (S. WILBERFORCE) TO BISHOP EDEN.

"*Cuddesdon Palace, Feb.* 1851.

"My Dear Bishop of Moray (Elect),

"First accept my heartiest desires and prayers for you that God may bless you abundantly in this great office to which He has called you. You cannot yet tell its heavy burden, but He who lays it on you will, with that burden, give you the strength to bear it. Believe me, that I have the liveliest recollection of our early friendship, and the warmest interest in your well-doing. I wish that I could join in laying hands on you and sending you to the work.

"One thing occurs to me, and that is to advise you strongly to take your D.D. *at once.* Some difficulty was threatened about the Bishop of Glasgow, because he had subscribed the Scotch Service Book; and things are now in a more unstable state. If you could arrange to come whilst I am here, I should be very glad to see you. I expect to be here Feb. 14, 15, 16.

I rejoice to think of your working with Trower, and if you can

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, pp. 58-60.

ever add Prevost to your college (who would join it) you would be strong indeed. I am ever, most sincerely yours,

"S. Oxon.

"The Lord Bishop of Moray (Elect)."

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP EDEN.

Bishop Eden's consecration took place in S. Paul's Church, York Place, Edinburgh, on March 9th, 1851, the consecrating bishops being the Primus, the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway, and the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. The sermon was preached by an intimate friend of the bishop-elect, the Rev. Canon R. Seymour, rector of Kinwarton, Warwickshire. The preacher's manner was earnest and solemn, and he hailed the consecration of his friend as one of the proofs of the entire unity between the Churches of England and Scotland. "Men were called," he said, "out of the English Church; they were told that God had a work for them to do in Scotland, and they rose up and obeyed the call, leaving the homes they loved, the churches they had built, and dearer still, the flocks they had tended." * Dr. Eden's elevation to the episcopate was welcomed by all parties in the Church with the utmost thankfulness and joy.

FAREWELL SERVICES AT LEIGH.

A year after his consecration Bishop Eden held farewell services in the parish church of Leigh. He exhorted his old parishioners to continue faithful to the doctrines taught by him, impressing upon them that he had built upon none other than the true foundation, Jesus Christ. His old congregation, going home from church that day, would recall the many kindnesses they had received from their late rector—some of them, doubtless, remembered how, during the cholera epidemic, he had tended the sick, and had even rubbed the sufferers with his own hands.

THE REV. DR. ABERIGH MACKAY.

After his consecration and collation Bishop Eden appointed the Rev. H. W. Jermyn, of Forres, dean of the united diocese. The Rev. James Mackay, the unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric, was very popular at Inverness. When he left that town in A.D. 1856, he received from the people a testimonial of £300 as a token

* See *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. i. pp. 58-59.

of esteem. He was chaplain to the British forces in India during the Mutiny in A.D. 1857-58. The University of Aberdeen, in A.D. 1881, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.*

THIRD JUBILEE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

The new Bishop of Moray took up his residence at Duffus House, Elgin, having been appointed incumbent of the church of Holy Trinity, in that city. He held his first Diocesan Synod on July 16th, A.D. 1851. At this meeting a letter was read from the Bishop of Exeter, thanking the Synod for the sympathy they had accorded to him in the Gorham case. In deference to the wish of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a resolution was passed agreeing to a celebration in the diocese of Moray of the third jubilee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A message was sent by this Synod to the Metropolitan and suffragan bishops of Australasia, in answer to a communication received from the Bishop of Newcastle in Australia. In this message it was observed: "It does not a little gladden our hearts to find, as we do, that you do proclaim in the face of Christendom that you hold inviolably that cardinal doctrine of our holy faith, the one baptism for the remission of sins." †

Soon after he entered upon his episcopal duties, Bishop Eden reopened the small church at Duffus, consecrated the apse and transepts, added to the church at Forres, consecrated a new church at Huntly, and also a new cemetery on the Cloven Hills, near Forres.‡ Bishop Eden was able to inform his Diocesan Synod on June 24th, 1852, that he and other three Scottish bishops had been present at the third jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. "The greeting on the part of the English Church," he said, "was hearty, and the meeting altogether of the most cheering description, auguring well for a closer and more frequent communion between the various branches of the Reformed Church." The bishop at this Synod introduced his favourite project of admitting the laity, under certain conditions, into the ecclesiastical Synods of the Church.§

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. vii., p. 33.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., p. 61, 67; Appendix xviii.

‡ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. ii., p. 67.

§ *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 68, 71.

BISHOP EDEN REMOVES FROM ELGIN TO INVERNESS.

Before the close of the year Bishop Eden's heart was cheered by the restoration to his authority of the church at Fochabers. The building had been alienated by the appointment of a clergyman not subject to the bishop of the diocese, so that the Duke of Richmond and most of the congregation refused to attend the services. When, in October 1852, the church was handed over to the Duke of Richmond by the Duchess of Gordon, his Grace immediately placed it at the service of the bishop, at the nominal rent of half-a-crown. The bishop in A.D. 1853, resigned the incumbency of Holy Trinity, Elgin, and removed with his family to Hedgefield House, Inverness.* Services were this year held at Glenurquhart, a district visited by St. Columba in the sixth century. Mr. Archibald H. F. Cameron, of Lakefield, gave over to the bishop a building for a church there, an excellent house for a parsonage, and two and a half acres of ground as a glebe.†

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1853.

The bishop informed the Synod of A.D. 1853 that, having failed to bring back to the Church the schismatical congregation at Nairn, he had started a mission there under the Rev. John Comper. The mission was prospering in every respect, and would have to be considered an independent incumbency. This Synod took into consideration copies of a petition to both Houses of Parliament for the repeal of the disabilities still affecting the Scottish Church. The bishop stated that he had been authorised by Mrs. Fyvie, widow of the late Dean Fyvie, to say that she was ready to make a donation to the diocesan library of certain of her late husbaud's books. On the motion of the Very Rev. Dean Jermyn, it was agreed that a remit be made to the Episcopal College, suggesting that the Scottish Church should "enter herself upon a course of missionary labour abroad, by sending out, if it be but one bishop, priest, or deacon, to preach the Gospel among the heathen." This appeared to the meeting to be the best way of securing God's blessing upon Christian labours at home. After a discussion about the need of a missionary college or cathedral as a centre of missionary work in the diocese, the bishop dissolved the Synod with the benediction.‡

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii., p. 66.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., p. 73. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-79.

BISHOP EDEN'S FIRST VISITATION.

On the day after the Synod, the bishop held his first visitation and conference with the lay representatives from the different charges in the diocese. In the most able charge delivered by his reverence on this occasion, he touchingly appealed to his future labours among them :—

"To win your affection," he said, "and that of the laity of the diocese will be my aim, my prayer, and my endeavour. If I shall be so happy, through God's blessing, as to secure that, and that you may be led to view your bishop as your *father* in Christ, and as a father, bound to 'be so merciful that he be not too remiss, and so to minister discipline that he forget not mercy,' I shall feel myself constrained to labour more abundantly lest I forfeit that affection, and shall rest in the conviction that episcopal authority, sustained by love, no more needs extrinsic aid for its support than does the authority of a loving father over his affectionate children. Bear with my infirmities, my brethren, judge me charitably, and pray for me unceasingly, as I will do for you." In this charge Bishop Eden passed a splendid encomium upon his predecessor, Bishop Low, and said that the faithful preaching of the Cross of Christ by a holy and hard-working man of God would be found a far more powerful weapon for conversion than controversy. He said, "It will win people's souls to Christ and the Church at the same time; to Christ, consciously—to the Church, unconsciously."*

THE CHOLERA.

The cholera visited Scotland in A.D. 1853, and Bishop Eden, who had experienced its dread ravages at Leigh, exhorted his clergy to be more instant than ever in prayer that the Lord might be pleased in mercy to stay the pestilence.†

PENAL DISABILITIES.

The bishop's ready participation in all schemes for the benefit of Inverness contributed to make him much beloved in the Highland capital, and it was he who originated there the "Clothing and Coal Fund Society." Diocesan work was prospering, and especially the mission at Nairn with its flourishing day and Sunday schools. The Diocesan Synod of 1854 took up the subject of the removal of the

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 217-220. † *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 260.

penal disabilities, concerning which communications had been made to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The meeting was informed that the Episcopal College could not at present see their way to send out a bishop to heathen lands.*

SERVICES AT WICK.

Bishop Eden preached at Wick, the county town of Caithness, on February 18th, 1855. On the previous day he had arrived by steamer in the Bay of Wick, and Sheriff-Substitute Russell went on board to welcome him. "Is it safe," inquired the bishop, "for me to come to Caithness? I have read that once upon a time they roasted a Bishop of Caithness." The sheriff, who also was a man of genial humour, promptly replied, "I think your lordship may feel quite safe when you see *me* here; for at the time they roasted the bishop they boiled the sheriff." Bishop Eden was wont to relate this anecdote at social gatherings of Church-people. A distinguished citizen of Inverness was in the habit of whispering to him at the close of meetings, "Bishop, you have forgotten to treat us to roast bishop and boiled sheriff."†

FUNERAL OF BISHOP LOW.

Bishop Eden informed his Synod of A.D. 1855 that during the year he had attended the funeral of their late diocesan, Bishop Low, at Pittenweem. He had also visited England, where he had found a growing desire to remove the uncatholic restrictions resting on the Scottish clergy.‡

THANKS OF SYNOD TO RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

The thanks of the Diocesan Synod of A.D. 1855 were tendered to the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., for the able manner in which he had drawn the attention of her Majesty's Government and the members of the House of Commons to the disabilities under which the Scottish clergy were labouring.§ The enactment prohibiting Scottish Episcopal clergy from holding preferment in England appeared for the first time in A.D. 1792, in the Act of Parliament designed to sweep away the severe penal statutes against the Scottish Church. A Roman Catholic priest by

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 80-84.
† *Scottish Guardian*, vol, viii., p. 430.
‡ *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 112-117. § *Ibid.*, pp. 118 124.

renouncing the errors of Rome could accept a living in England without re-ordination; but a clergyman, ordained by Bishop Eden or any of his colleagues was debarred from holding such preferment.

WITHDRAWAL OF REGIUM DONUM.

The withdrawal of the Regium Donum, a grant of £1200, made biennially by the State to the bishops and poorer clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church, led indirectly to the removal of the obnoxious prohibition. This is evident from the following Treasury Minute of September 12th, A.D. 1856:—"Write to Mr. Forbes* that any Bill introduced into Parliament with a view to remove the restrictions which at present attach to Episcopal ministers in Scotland will have the best considerations of her Majesty's Government."†

LETTER FROM RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., TO BISHOP EDEN.

This letter had reference to the removal of the penal disabilities resting upon the Scottish clergy.

"*Hawarden Castle, August 30th*, 1856.

"RIGHT REV. AND DEAR BISHOP,

"I am very sensible of the kindness of your reverence's letter; but my wish would be not to appropriate your thanks, nor to receive any from the Episcopal College, were they minded to give them, until I can see some fruit from the movement for the removal of the disabilities.

"I felt the blow struck at the grant created an opportunity of the rarest kind, and such an one indeed as could never occur again. *Nothing* can so much assist the cause as this act of the Government, and I have great hopes the Government itself may assist in passing a proper measure. I am sorry to say that all my fears are from the quarter to which we have a *right* to look for aid and encouragement; and it is against the enemy there that all our measures must be taken.

"There is one part of the preliminary measures which, if the bishops think fit, I think I can undertake without detriment to the cause, that is, I can write to the Lord Chancellor and obtain

* W. Forbes, Esq., of Medwyn.

† *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. i., p. 43.

his mind about it. He is a candid man, and I should have great hopes of his support. Perhaps you could learn from the College, when they have considered the subject, whether it would be agreeable to them that I should propose any plan to the Chancellor.*

"I am very glad to hear that your reverence's energy and perseverance have succeeded in making an impression on the laity, and bringing them into a more active relation to the affairs of the Church.—With much respect, I remain, your reverence's very sincere and faithful, W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Right Rev. Bishop of Moray.

"I am strongly for proceeding at the very *commencement* of next session."

REFUSAL TO SURRENDER THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

Fears were entertained at this time that the Scottish Church might be asked to surrender the primary authority of her Communion Office in return for the removal of the disabilities. Bishop Eden said to the Synod of 1857 that his episcopal colleagues would not receive the removal of the restrictions at such a price.†

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

The horrors of the Indian Mutiny, the gallant defence and relief of Lucknow by Havelock, and the stamping out of the rebellion by Lord Clyde's army occupied the attention of British subjects at this time. In the prayer issued by Bishop Eden for the use of his clergy these words referred to the beleaguered garrison:—"Spare them, good Lord, spare them: O deliver them from the wicked doers, and save them from the blood-thirsty men. Protect them, their wives, and little ones, in this their hour of danger, and cover them with the impregnable shield of Thy defence."‡

OXFORD MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND.

The Oxford Revival extended itself to Scotland, and caused a great excitement in the Church during the years A.D. 1858-60. In northern Britain the movement appeared in what became known as

* Lord Palmerston's Government was in power, the Chancellor being Lord Cranworth.

† *Synod Records of Moray, Ross, and Caithness*, vol. i., pp. 126-136.

‡ *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. vii., p. 177.

the *Eucharistic Controversy.* The learned historian of the movement in England tells of the reverses that came upon the revival at its commencement. Four great defeats marked the beginning of the movement in Scotland. These were the suspension and degradation of the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, the venerated incumbent of S. John's Church, Aberdeen; the censure of the Right Rev. A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin; the resignation of the learned Theological Tutor at Glenalmond; and the deposition from his decanal office of the Very Rev. James Smith, the Dean of Moray and Ross.

PRIMARY CHARGE OF BISHOP FORBES.

Bishop Forbes issued a primary charge to his clergy on the doctrinal teaching of the Eucharist, which called forth a declaratory protest from Bishops Terrot, Ewing, and Trower. The arguments of this declaration were severely criticised in a courteous letter by the Rev. John Keble, the pious author of *The Christian Year.* With one exception, Bishop Forbes received the support of his presbyters, and fifty-five of the Scottish clergy directed an address to the bishops in which they remonstrated against the declaration of the three bishops as being extra-judicial and calculated to unsettle and perplex the minds of Churchmen.*

THE REV. PATRICK CHEYNE.

The Rev. Patrick Cheyne, who, in support of Bishop Forbes, had stepped into the controversial arena, preached and published "six sermons on the doctrine of the most Holy Eucharist." For the doctrines contained therein he was tried before the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen, which met on June 14th, 1858. By a small majority the Synod decided against Mr. Cheyne, who was suspended from his office of presbyter by the Bishop of Aberdeen. The Episcopal Synod confirmed the sentence, the Bishop of Brechin dissenting and protesting.

DEPOSITION OF THE DEAN OF MORAY.

The Very Rev. James Smith was deprived of the office of Dean of Moray by Bishop Eden for presiding at a meeting of the clergy, held at Laurencekirk, in support of the position taken up by the Bishop of Brechin and his sympathisers. Dean Smith was a truly

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal,* vol. viii., pp. 19, 21, 69.

apostolic man, greatly beloved by his parishioners at Forgue and Aberchirder.*

"PASTOR DUNCAN."

Throughout the whole of this controversy Bishop Eden took a middle course, and won respect and affection from the controversialists on both sides. He acted as arbiter in some of the points at issue between the contending parties. In the Diocesan Synod of A.D. 1858 he advised his clergy to keep out of the arena of controversy, and to address themselves "to the hearts," as well as "to the heads" of their people. With much feeling, the bishop passed a high eulogium at this Synod upon the Christian character of the late Archdeacon Mackenzie. The latter, lovingly called "Pastor Duncan" by his people, acted as their physician as well as their priest. For many years he itinerated between the congregations of Highfield, Arpafeelie, Fortrose, Dingwall, and Strathnairn, charges separated from one another by many miles of moors, mountains, rivers, and ferries. "I shall sadly miss him," said the bishop, "as a friend and counsellor, and not less so as a most unwearied and devoted priest of my diocese. His life was at once a lesson and a reproach to the wealthy."†

APPEAL OF DEAN SMITH.

A motion was brought forward in the Moray Synod of A.D. 1859 expressing regret that Dean Smith had appended his name as chairman to the Laurencekirk resolutions of January 20th, 1859. This motion, being most unfair to the dean, whose case was pending before the Episcopal Synod, was withdrawn in accordance with Bishop Eden's advice.‡ The Episcopal Synod of A.D. 1859 dismissed Dean Smith's appeal.

CLOSE OF EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY.

The Eucharistic Controversy in Scotland was virtually closed in March, A.D. 1860, by the decision of the Episcopal Synod in the case

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. ix., pp. 101, 120.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 137, 150, and *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. viii., pp. 101, 111.

‡ *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 151, 156.

of Bishop Forbes of Brechin. The charges against him were to a certain extent found relevant, and the sentence was limited to a declaration of censure and admonition.*

All parties rejoiced when the controversy came to an end, and it must be said for the Scottish bishops that they discouraged further prosecutions. The censure of a saintly bishop and the degradation from his office of an aged and faithful presbyter were causes of serious misgivings to many. Neither did it seem even-handed justice to depose a presbyter and merely censure a bishop upon what was practically the same charge. The Scottish bishops did not at first, any more than their episcopal brethren in England, comprehend the volume and strength of the movement for revivifying the Church. Much alarm, too, was caused by the extreme language of the English Romanizing party, and by the secession to Rome of its leading members. In Scotland all was overruled for good. The Rev. Patrick Cheyne was unconditionally restored by the same bishop who deposed him; Bishop Forbes lived and laboured for many years afterwards for his diocese and beloved Church; and above all, the Church was taught the lesson that if progress was to be made in Scotland there must be a toleration of differences in matters of secondary importance. The winning party in the controversy made no boast of their victory. Had they done so, they would have worn but the fruitless laurels of a Pyrrhic triumph. Prosecution for religious opinions is always akin to persecution. A few more such prosecutions of the best and most earnest clergy must have heralded ruin to the Scottish Episcopal Church. The defenders received the sympathy of many whose religious views were not the same as theirs, and during the whole of the contest nothing was more marked than the moderation and courtesy of Bishop Eden.

KINDNESS TO FATHERLESS CHILDREN.

The Diocesan Synod of 1861 was informed by the bishop that a new mission had been opened at Craigellachie under very favourable auspices. This mission afterwards developed into the church and widely-known Orphanage of S. Margaret's, Aberlour, Strathspey, under the fostering care of the Rev. Charles Jupp. Bishop Eden specially noticed in the Diocesan Synod of A.D. 1861 the more than brotherly kindness shown by the Established minister of Fortrose to the Episcopal clergyman of that place on his death-bed. He not

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. x., pp. 48-56.

only attended upon him during his illness, but raised a fund for his fatherless children after his death.*

BISHOP EDEN ELECTED PRIMUS.

On the 6th of July, 1862, Bishop Eden was elected Primus of the Scottish Church in the room of Bishop Terrot, resigned. It was a very critical time for the Church, as the General Synod was about to meet to revise the canons, and especially that which related to the Scottish Communion Office. Concerning this subject, Primus Eden said to his Synod of A.D. 1862:—"Now that the English bishops have, as I think, most ungenerously and unfairly connected the removal of our disabilities with the removal of the Scotch Office, and when now, but for totally different reasons, that Office appears but too likely in a few years to be removed, is there not a *moral* bar to our going to Parliament now for the removal of our disabilities? I, at least, under such circumstances, cannot." †

GENERAL SYNOD OF 1862-1863.

The General Synod constituted at Edinburgh on July 8th, 1862, was continued by successive adjournments and prorogations until Feb. 13th, 1863. The fourth canon in the Code then enacted gave the laity a share in the election of a bishop. The thirtieth canon of the same Code declared that the English Communion Office was to be used at all consecrations, ordinations, and synods. Thus, on the pretext that it was for the peace of the Church, the Scottish Communion Office was deposed from its primary position. The peace of the Church could have been as easily secured by placing both Communion Offices upon an equal footing.

EASTERN AND AMERICAN CHURCHES.

In A.D. 1863, the Diocesan Synod of Moray petitioned the Scottish bishops to take into consideration the subject of inter-communion between the Eastern Church and the British and American Churches.‡

LAST PENAL LAWS REPEALED.

Victory at last crowned the efforts of the Primus for the removal of the disabilities affecting the Scottish clergy. A bill for this purpose was framed by eminent English lawyers, and was recommended

* The Established minister was the Rev. Mr. Young, of Fortrose.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., 191-209. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-211.

to the acceptance of Parliament by the Duke of Buccleuch in the summer of A.D. 1864. The debate upon the bill had the effect of removing much ignorance, indifference, and misrepresentation, militating against the Scottish Church. The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham having objected to the educational status of the Scottish clergy, were promptly told by Bishop Tait, of London, that candidates actually rejected at the entrance examination of Trinity College, Glenalmond, had been accepted and ordained by the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle. In the course of the discussion, Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford said of the Scottish Communion Office:—"I have paid some attention to the particular Office which has been spoken of, and I believe that so far from its tendency towards Rome, any theologian whatsoever, knowing theology and studying the question, would say that it is more remote from the Roman view than our English Office." On the 22nd of July the bill passed through the House of Commons, notwithstanding the obstinate opposition of a small minority. Sir William Heathcote, member for Oxford, delivered the best speech in favour of the bill.* The Diocesan Synod of Moray, in A.D. 1864, recorded its special and grateful thanks to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir William Heathcote, for their able and unwearied exertions in carrying the bill successfully through the two Houses of Parliament. Since the passing of this just measure, preferment in England has been open to clergymen in Scottish orders.†

DIOCESE OF CAITHNESS REVIVED.

An Episcopal Synod held in Edinburgh on October 6th, 1864, formally united Caithness to the diocese of Moray and Ross, and collated Bishop Eden to the revived see. The Primus now became Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness.‡

CONDEMNATION OF BISHOP COLENSO.

The position of the Church in South Africa occupied the attention of Anglican Churchmen in A.D. 1865. Bishop Gray, of Cape-Town, the Metropolitan of South Africa, received the hearty and expressed admiration of the Moray Synod of that year for his courage, firmness, and devoted love of the truth shown in the

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. i., p. 352.
† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 218-227.
‡ *Scottish Guardian*, vol. i., p. 566.

trial and condemnation of Colenso, the heretical Bishop of Natal. The question became complicated by the judgments given in England, which declared the letters patent creating dioceses, or appointing bishops with ecclesiastical jurisdiction in colonies, to be *ultra vires.* The Bishop of Cape-Town and his colleagues attracted the sympathy of the Scottish Church, whose bishops would have consecrated a successor to Bishop Colenso had there been no other way out of the difficulty. As it was, they recommended the consecration to take place in South Africa itself. In A.D. 1866, Primus Eden was present in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury during the debate on the question of communion with Dr. Colenso.*

LETTER FROM BISHOP GRAY.

The following letter, written to Bishop Eden in 1868, gives some idea of the anxieties endured by the brave-hearted Bishop of Cape-Town on account of the Colenso case:—

"*Exeter, January* 23*rd*, 1869.

"My Dear Bishop,

"I telegraphed to —— immediately on my receipt of the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter this morning advising the postponement of the consecration, to say that I withdrew my application to the Scotch bishops for leave to consecrate in Scotland. I need scarce say that I am very thankful to be able to release them from a painful and embarrassing position, and that I shall never forget how deeply indebted I, and the Church in Africa, are to you personally for your courage, faithfulness, and sympathy at this crisis. I have no doubt that if the consecration had taken place in Scotland that that act would have as much strengthened that Church, and raised it in the estimation of all Christendom, as Bishop Seabury's consecration did in a former generation. What the future is to be, God only knows. The question now is not only whether the weak and suffering Church in Natal is to stand or fall. The Church of England is herself on her trial before the whole Church. She has by the attitude which her bishops have assumed, left it to be inferred that she regards Dr. Colenso as in communion with herself, and as her true representative bishop in Natal. Unless she clears herself of her present apparent complicity with heresy, she cannot stand

* Appendix. *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i. pp. 228-235; and *Scottish Guardian*, vol. iii., p. 276.

before God or man. I am sure that your approaching Synod will not repent of doing whatever may be needful to clear your Church of all suspicion of being in communion with one whom the Church in South Africa has been constrained to depose from his office for flagrant heresy. You are a free Church, not trammelled with those State restrictions which bid fair to compromise, if not destroy, the character of the Church of England as a true witness for Christ in these days.—Believe me, my dear bishop, your faithful brother in Christ, R. CAPE-TOWN."

DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN KEBLE.

The Rev. John Keble, the accomplished author of *The Christian Year*, and the source and spring of the Oxford movement, died in 1866.

PRIMUS EDEN'S VISIT TO RUSSIA.

In May 1866, Primus Eden left Britain for S. Petersburg and Moscow, to hold confirmations of English residents in Russia. He arrived in S. Petersburg on May 23rd, and on the following Sunday, which was Whitsunday, according to the Russian calendar, he confirmed upwards of fifty candidates in the presence of a crowded congregation. On the following Sunday other fifty-five were confirmed in the handsome chapel of the British factory in the city. Much good was done in Russia by such visitations of Anglican prelates; they revived the national as well as the religious feelings of the British exiles. The bulk of the English population consisted of cotton-spinners and mechanics, who were in receipt of excellent wages. Unlike the Germans, the English and the French races would not amalgamate with the Russians. They usually married their own country-people, and few of them remained to die in Russia. The subject-matter, tone, and manner of delivery of Primus Eden's addresses were much appreciated. It was at the request of Bishop Tait of London that the Scottish primate held these confirmations in the principal cities of northern Russia.

INTER-COMMUNION.

The Primus resolved to make use of this opportunity to ascertain what might be the feelings of the members of the Orthodox

Church in Russia towards the Anglican Communion. With this view he received from the Rev. Eugène Popoff, chaplain to the Russian embassy in London, letters of introduction to Count Poutiatine, the late Minister of Public Instruction, and to his Excellency Count Tolstoy, the then Minister, who held also the important office of Ober Procureur of the most holy Russian Synod.

RUSSIAN BISHOP IVAN.

Two days after the Primus arrived in the Russian metropolis, he was taken by Count Poutiatine to the Alexander-Nevsky Spiritual Academy, the Theological Training College for the priests of the diocese of S. Petersburg. There he was introduced to the Suffragan-Bishop Ivan, the rector of the Academy. The first question put by the Russian bishop to the count was, "Is the bishop favourable to the union of the Churches?" His eminence then invited the Scottish bishop into his house, where a very interesting conversation took place on the subject of Union. Bishop Ivan having said that the Thirty-nine Articles required explanation, the Primus pointed out that they had been formed to establish concord touching true religion among the clergy of the Church of England. It was remarked by this Russian bishop that up to a certain period there was no question as to the validity of the Anglican episcopal succession. Being asked what period he alluded to, he replied, the Reformation. He said there seemed to be a flaw in Archbishop Parker's consecration. The Primus assured him that we possessed the most satisfactory evidence of Parker's consecration; whereupon he observed that this difficulty being removed "there could be no question as to the validity of the English succession." Bishop Ivan said that neither in the English nor Scotch Offices was the language of the consecration prayer sufficiently clear, as it did not positively declare that there was such a change in the elements as was implied in the word μεταβάλλων of their Liturgy. To this Bishop Eden answered that "it was our Church's special care to restrict her language on this mysterious subject as much as possible to that of Scripture, and to avoid every attempt to define so great a mystery." The Russian bishop conducted his distinguished Scottish visitor over the Academy, showing him the library and the dormitories of the students, who took a great interest in the union of the Churches. In such interviews the subject of union was invariably *introduced* by the Russians themselves.

COUNT TOLSTOY.

The Primus had also an interview with the Count Tolstoy, who took a lively interest in the subject of reunion. The Count hoped that steps would be taken, by means of proper translations, for making the members of the Anglican and Russo-Greek Churches acquainted with the authorised teaching of their respective Communions. Much was "to be gained," he said, "by friendly intercourse," but nothing by the overt act of individuals to force on communion prematurely. A few days afterwards, Bishop Eden met a distinguished company at Count Tolstoy's table, among whom were his Imperial Majesty's confessor, and four bishops who had been invited to meet him.

PHILARET, METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW.

On the 26th of May, the Bishop of Moray went to Moscow, where he had an interview with the venerable Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow. Regarding the English Confirmation Service, Philaret asked why, as we believed that inward grace accompanied the laying on of hands with prayer, we did not regard Confirmation as a sacrament. Bishop Eden answered that Confirmation was regarded in the Anglican Church as a *sacramental rite* from its two characteristics of the outward sign and the inward grace; but that in that Church only two rites were held to be sacraments, which had been instituted by Christ Himself. The Russian prelate then observed on the subject of reunion, "The bishops and learned men on either side may be able to reconcile the differences between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches, but the *difficulty* will be *with the people*." He was told that there would be the same difficulty in England, because the mass of the English people thought the Eastern Church to be much the same as the Roman. His eminence replied to this, "If the people of England think that the Eastern Church is like the Roman, I am not surprised that they should entertain a strong feeling against it." This gentle, pious, and humble Russian prelate gave away in charity almost the whole of his large income. It was most affecting, the Scottish Primus felt, to observe how the heart of this good bishop, then in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his episcopate, yearned towards the unity of Christendom.

BISHOP LEONIDAS.

The following evening, the Primus had an interview with Bishop Leonidas, one of the suffragans of Moscow, who had invited Count Alexis Bobrinsky to meet him. Bishop Leonidas was interested in reunion, but what he requested to be told about was the history and condition of the Scottish Church. On learning that the bishops in Scotland had then no *official* residences, he expressed the hope that "ere long every Scottish bishop would have his official residence, and in every official residence his own private chapel." Bishop Leonidas and Bishop Eden parted with the kiss of peace.

THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE.

When the Primus returned to S. Petersburg, he received a communication from Count Tolstoy, that his imperial highness the Grand Duke Constantine would be glad to receive him at his palace, about twenty miles from the capital. Almost as soon as the Primus arrived at the palace, the Grand Duke entered upon the same interesting subject of reunion. It was a matter, he said, in which he took a lively interest, considering it to be one "in which *all Christians* ought to feel an interest, for he was sure it must be pleasing to our Lord Jesus Christ to see any attempt being made to accomplish the object of His last prayer, that we all may be one."

Primus Eden met other learned and distinguished persons in his visit to Russia, some of them, as he surmised from their names, being descendants of the Jacobite exiles from Scotland after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In all cases the subject of the revival of inter-communion between the Churches was introduced by the Russians, and not by the Scottish Primate.* The Primus informed his clergy, in the Diocesan Synod of 1866, of what he had learned in Russia about inter-communion between the Anglican and Eastern Churches. He told them that the Eastern Church Association had been formed in England to inform the English public concerning the state and condition of the Eastern Churches, and to make known the doctrines of the Anglican Church to the Christians of the East.†

* Primus Eden's letter to the Rev. Chancellor Massingberd, published in 1867 by the Messrs. Rivington, and the *Scottish Guardian*, vol. iii., pp. 275, 321.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 236, 253.

HISTORY OF S. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL, INVERNESS.

The first work of the Primus, when he returned from Russia, was to make preparations for laying the foundation stone of his cathedral. At Elgin he had seen the grey but glorious ruins of the former church of Moray, erected by Andrew de Moravia, and he determined to raise up again, though in a humbler way, "the foundations of many generations." In December, A.D. 1853, shortly after he took up his residence in Inverness, Bishop Eden recommended to his clergy and laity the proposal to build a cathedral in the capital of the Highlands. Some scouted the idea as being Utopian, but others were pleased, and subscriptions began to flow in. The idea of the Primus was that the cathedral system, with the bishop, and the chapter as the council of the bishop, should be the living heart of the diocese. He did not propose to follow the English model. That he considered impossible, both from the poverty of the Scottish Church and her freedom from State interference.*

NUCLEUS OF CATHEDRAL CONGREGATION.

The cathedral congregation had its origin in a mission begun in Academy Street, Inverness, in A.D. 1853, by the Rev. John Comper, whom the bishop had transferred from Nairn to assist in this work. The room in Academy Street was also used for a girls' school, and soon became too small for the increasing congregation. In A.D. 1856 Bishop Eden purchased for the mission services a building which, originally used as a Free Church, had by a strange vicissitude become the property of the famous "Lion Hunter," Mr. Gordon Cumming. Where the latter had then exhibited his African spoils, more glorious spoils were to be gathered in than those of the chase.†

SITE OF CATHEDRAL.

It had been originally intended to erect the new cathedral on the Castle Hill, but this site was abandoned for a beautiful stance on the other side of the River Ness. In A.D. 1863 the amount promised for the cathedral was £8000, and great was the disappointment when this was found not to be available, as the largest donor had become insane.

* *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii., p. 280, and vol. iv., pp. 14, 15.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 21.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE CATHEDRAL AT INVERNESS.

Nothing daunted, the Primus and the mission congregation resolved in A.D. 1864 to raise £10,000 for the erection of the cathedral. The first list of contributions amounted to £3600, and so popular did the proposal become in Inverness that many Presbyterians contributed to the fund. The site chosen was near the place where the river broadens into a tranquil and translucent basin, known as the Silver Pool. The foundation stone was laid on October 17th, 1866, by Archbishop Longley of Canterbury. The procession to the site had a most picturesque appearance as seen from the opposite side of the river, the uniforms of the Artillery Volunteers and of the Highland Light Infantry Militia, who formed a guard of honour, contrasting well with the white robes of the bishops, clergy, and choristers. After prayer by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the strains of S. Bernard's hymn, "To thee, O dear, dear country," rose sweetly and effectively from the lips of the assembled throng. The stone having been laid by the Archbishop in the name of the Holy Trinity, the great multitude heartily responded "Amen." The Bishop of North Carolina and all the bishops of the Scottish Church were present at this memorable ceremony. When the day's proceedings were over, Primus Eden went home and wrote in his diary that he would never forget the kindness he had received that day from the Presbyterians of Inverness.

ERASTIANISM IN THE "TIMES."

Shortly after this, an article appeared in the *Times*, written by Dr. Cumming, and commenting severely on the Archbishop's action in laying the foundation stone of the cathedral. The Erastian spirit of the article was seen in every line, and was sharply criticised in some of the leading periodicals of the day. It had the effect, too, of misleading those in high quarters who had to be assured by His Grace that what he had done was not at all likely to lead to "a rising of the Covenanters." The kindly action of Archbishop Longley to the humble branch of his own Communion in Scotland will be told in after days as a memorial of him, and has no doubt received its due award at the court of the King of kings.*

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. iii., pp. 512, 522, 537, 556, 562.

SOLEMN OPENING OF CATHEDRAL.

The opening of the cathedral took place upon September 1st, 1869, the select preachers being Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford and Bishop Claughton of Rochester. Dean Hook, who had been invited to preach, was obliged to decline on account of other engagements. The Diocesan Synod of the same year ratified the cathedral statutes, which, having been found unworkable, were revised in A.D. 1892.*

CONSECRATION OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Tuesday, September 29th, 1874, was the day appointed for the consecration of the cathedral. There were present at the solemn ceremony the Primus of the Scottish Church, the Bishops of Derry, Bombay, Edinburgh, Brechin, Aberdeen, Argyll, and a goodly array of white-robed clergy from all parts of Scotland. Canon Liddon was to have taken part in the services, but his engagements prevented him, as he said, from showing his "respect to the Church of Jesus Christ in Scotland," "witnessing as she does in honourable poverty to revealed truths." His place as preacher was ably supplied by Bishop Alexander of Derry, the poet-prelate of the Church of Ireland. The text was, "If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand." From this the preacher delivered a most eloquent sermon upon the ministry of the Holy Angels, and the present position of the Scottish Church. Speaking of the religious past in Scotland, he said, "It gave to the people of this country a high standard of pure morality; nay, to go higher than that, the picture in Burns' 'Cottar's Saturday Night' was surely sweet and pure. If the prevalent notions of the Sabbath had at times spread a Judaic gloom over these Highland hills, no fair thinker would deny that they had often given to the labourer and the mechanic a golden spot in the work-day heaven."

The sermon at the evening service was preached by Bishop Douglas of Bombay, himself a Scotchman. The preacher contrasted the Scottish Church of the day with what she was when S. Andrews Cathedral was completed from the spoils of Bannockburn. He also referred to the landing of S. Columba in Scotland, and his meeting with the Pictish King at Craigphadric, near Inverness.

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 268-283.

At luncheon, in the afternoon, in the Northern Meeting Buildings, interesting speeches were made. The Primus, in proposing the health of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, observed:—"Whatever may have been the names used or omitted by Episcopalians in their public prayers in former days, there was, this day, but one heart and one feeling when they prayed to God for Queen Victoria." Bishop Forbes, the saintly diocesan of Brechin, said that he spoke as a Scottish bishop, and as a Scotchman of the Scotch. "It is remarkable," he added, "to see how, in every department of Church life, fervour has increased during the last half-century, and I only hope and pray that the work of the next half-century may be parallel to it. . . . I am sure this must be one of the most gratifying moments in his (the Primus's) life. He has seen, as it were, the culmination of a long series of earnest, self-denying, zealous services in the work of his diocese. It has not been the consecration of S. Andrew's Cathedral, but it has been the consummation of the Primus's episcopate."

The poet-Bishop of Derry spoke of the two short visits he had paid to Scotland, and declared that the memories he would most fondly cherish would not be the magnificent scenery and the magic lights and shadows on the hills, but "the services of that day," and "the fair cathedral which had been raised by the liberality of Scottish Churchmen beside the clear flowing waters of the Ness."

The Bishop of Brechin spoke of the self-denying labours of the Primus. Few, however, knew at the time how great a self-sacrifice he had made. He spent on the erection of the cathedral and the purchase of the ground for the bishop's residence a large part of his fortune. To outsiders the building of the cathedral seemed to be accomplished "with a rapidity unexampled in the history of cathedral construction"; it rose, said Lord Waveney, "like an exhalation from the deep." But it was a work requiring from the Primus courage and perseverance in no ordinary degree. One anniversary of the opening of the cathedral was celebrated by special services, and the Primus in his sermon explained the nature of the cathedral system.

Next morning he received a letter from a Mr. Wood, of Rugby, from the Caledonian Hotel, Inverness, in which he said that he was in the cathedral on Sunday, and "was deeply grieved at hearing of the heavy debt upon the beautiful cathedral." He trusted soon to hear that the whole debt was liquidated, and enclosed a cheque for

£500 towards that object. Such instances of generosity were rare, but they cheered the heart of him who was building again the old waste places of the Church of Moray. The cathedral cost more than £18,000. On the evening of the consecration day the Primus wrote in his diary before he retired to rest—"Non nobis, Domine. But all glory, and honour, and praise, and thanksgiving be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen."

The Inverness Cathedral was built from the designs of Mr. Alexander Ross, now (in 1893) the honoured Provost of the Highland capital. The building, which is in itself a satisfactory proof of the cultured taste of its eminent architect, will have a more imposing appearance when the new Chancel and Chapter House and the two spires have been erected. Its style of architecture is technically known as the Late Decorated.*

FIRST PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE.

The first Pan-Anglican Conference met at Lambeth, in A.D. 1868, the Archbishop of Canterbury having invited to the meeting all the prelates of the Anglican Communion. In the Council, the calling of which had been suggested eighteen years before by the American Bishop of Vermont, the Primus and the Scottish bishops took their places. The aged Bishop of Vermont was there himself, seated next to Primus Eden. "One chair was vacant in that assembly," said the Primus to his Diocesan Synod of that year, "which should have been filled by a bishop in South Africa. But that bishop had been deposed for heresy by ecclesiastical authority. That deposition was recognised by the bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled at Lambeth, and no sound of disapproval was heard from any quarter in that great assembly, when the Archbishop informed us that he had not sent an invitation to Dr. Colenso." †

THE MOUND OF THE FAIRIES.

The hill of Tomnahurich, or "The Mound of the Fairies," is a detached mass of gravel nearly 200 feet high, springing up from the valley of the Ness, with a smooth level summit of about twenty acres. The top is reached by a winding carriage road, passing through beautiful plantations of fir and oak trees, and commanding

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. ix., p. 158, and Appendix.

† *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 254-259.

magnificent views in all directions. At the request of some of the Episcopalians of Inverness, the Primus consecrated the new cemetery on this "Fairy Mound," the ceremony taking place on March 14th, 1868.*

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

The Diocesan Synod of 1868 met on September 15th, in the Mission Church, Inverness. In his charge the Primus referred to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the state of the marriage law in Scotland.

His lordship informed the Synod that in February last he had received an application from the Metropolitan of Cape-Town, in which his suffragan-bishops then in England concurred, requesting permission to have the use of a church in one of the dioceses of Scotland, in which they might be allowed to consecrate the Rev. Mr. Macrorie for the Church in Natal, where a vacancy had taken place on account of the deposition of Dr. Colenso. The Archbishop of Canterbury, when applied to by the Primus, saw no objection to the consecration taking place in Scotland. Meeting on February 29th, 1868, the Scottish bishops were inclined to give a favourable answer to the application of their African brethren. "At the same time they were strongly and unanimously of opinion that, in regard to the future interests of the Church in South Africa, it would be most desirable that the consecration should take place, if possible, within the province of Cape-Town itself." †

ADMISSION OF THE LAITY INTO SYNODS.

The special Synod of May 4th, 1870, summoned in virtue of a remit from the Episcopal Synod, took into consideration the proposal to admit the laity into the Synods of the Church. The meeting decided that it was consistent with Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical precedent, and highly expedient that the voice of the faithful laity should be heard in the Councils of the Church. It was also passed unanimously that, with the exception of the power of veto upon doctrinal points reserved for the bishops and clergy, the laity should speak and vote as freely as the clergy. The Synod respectfully requested the College of Bishops to call a General Synod for the purpose of carrying these resolutions into effect, and consider at the same time the subject of cathedral institutions.‡

* *Scottish Witness* of 1868, p. 65.

† *Synod Rec. of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 260-267. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-292.

ANNUAL DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1870.

S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, was the meeting place of the Synod in October 27th, 1870. In his charge the Primus was able to report that on May 13th of that year he had consecrated the new church of S. John's, Wick, in the county of Caithness; and that new missions had been commenced at Craigellachie and Grantown.*

CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP IN INVERNESS CATHEDRAL.

The Diocesan Synod was held in S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness on September 27th, 1871. An event of unusual interest had taken place in the cathedral, Inverness, on S. Andrew's Day, 1870. This was the consecration in the Church of Moray of the new Bishop of the Orange Free State, the Right Rev. A. B. Webb, formerly rector of Avon Dusset in Warwickshire. After this and other events of the past year had been referred to by the Primus, the Synod took up the important subject of Foreign Missions, recommending them to the attention of the College of Bishops. The Rev. G. T. Carruthers, a clergyman of the diocese of Calcutta, and a native of Inverness, having applied to the Primus to send a clergyman to Chanda, an Indian heathen city of 20,000 inhabitants, the Synod cordially supported the application. The Bishop of Calcutta had sanctioned Mr. Carruthers' letter to the Primus.† Much practical help has been sent to the Chanda Mission since this application was made.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

At a special Synod held in S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, on April 18th, 1872, resolutions were unanimously passed in favour of the retention, in all its integrity, of the "Athanasian Creed" in the Prayer Book of the Church. These resolutions were called forth by the discussion then going on in the Church of England affecting the use of the Athanasian Creed, some rashly proposing to alter it without consulting the other branches of the Anglican Communion.‡

ANNUAL DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1872.

This Synod, which met on November 5th, 1872, in the cathedral, Inverness, had nothing of exceptional importance to discuss, the business being chiefly of a routine nature.§

* *Synod Rec. of Moray and Ross*, vol. i., pp. 292-299.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 300 307.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 1-15.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

THE LAY QUESTION.

The Diocesan Synod of 1873 was the first occasion of the kind since the commencement of his episcopate at which the Primus was unable to be present. A motion proposed by the Rev. J. Brodie-Innes of Milton-Brodie, and carried unanimously, was to this effect: "That in the present condition of the Church in Scotland, it is not desirable to introduce the laity to the Synods, at present composed of bishops and clergy." At the same time the Synod recommended that the clergy and laity should meet together in committees or councils, to carry out matters of practical administration and finance —"doctrine and discipline being distinctly excluded from the consideration of these committees."*

PRIMUS EDEN'S HEALTH.

As early as 1874, it was whispered among the clergy of the diocese that "the life of the Primus was hanging on a thread," and that he was threatened with "creeping paralysis." In April of that year he was in London improved in health, but unequal to much work. The safe arrival of the gallant 42nd Highlanders, in which his son was an officer, from the African war, no doubt did much to impart to him new life and vigour. The idea of building a residence at Inverness for the bishops of Moray took definite shape this year, and it was hoped that the subscriptions would soon mount up to the estimated £6000.†

CONSECRATION OF S. JOHN'S CHURCH, INVERNESS.

The Diocesan Synod met in the cathedral, Inverness, on October 5th, 1874, the Primus and fourteen of the clergy being present. The Primus in his charge alluded to the fact that last year for the first time in his episcopate he had been absent from their deliberations; he, however, quite concurred with the opinion of his clergy expressed at that time about the admission of the laity into the Synods of the Church. His own opinion on the subject was unchanged, though he thought it was not prudent in the meantime to press the question. Two days after the consecration of the cathedral, the Primus consecrated the Church of S. John, Inverness.‡

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 25-31.
† *Scottish Guardian*, vol. vii., p. 202.
‡ *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 37-41.

IMPROVEMENT IN CHURCH SERVICES.

The Diocesan Synod assembled in the cathedral, Inverness, on October 5th, 1875, the Primus and thirteen clergy being present. In his charge the Primus spoke of "the very great improvement that had taken place in the manner in which the Divine Services of the Church had been conducted" in the various congregations of the diocese. He also made a statement of the progress made in the diocese during the past year.*

SPECIAL SYNOD OF 1876.

A special Synod of the diocese of Moray, Ross, and Caithness was held in the cathedral, Inverness, on June 14th, 1876, to elect a delegate of the clergy for the approaching General Synod. The Very Rev. Dean Christie presided, and the Rev. John Ferguson, Synod Clerk, was duly elected.†

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1876.—ALTERATIONS IN THE CANONS.

This Synod met in the cathedral on August 29th, 1876, the Primus and ten of the clergy being present. After the delivery of a charge by the Primus, the Synod carefully considered the suggested alterations in the canons.‡

THE REPRESENTATIVE CHURCH COUNCIL.

The Church Society having been found unequal to the task of raising funds to meet the wants of the Church in its altered circumstances, a Church Finance Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1875 and 1876. In April, 1876, the Conference framed and adopted a constitution for the Representative Church Council, a new financial body which was to be the organ of the Church in matters of finance. It was to be composed of the bishops, the deans, all the instituted or licensed presbyters of the Church, a lay representative from each incumbency and licensed mission, and other official members. Canon XLII. of the 1876 Code of Canons sanctioned the formation and constitution of the Representative Church Council, recognising it as the organ of the Church in matters of finance only. In Canon XLV. of the Code of 1890 it was enacted that the Representative Church Council should be

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 45-52.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

recognised as the organ of the Church in matters of finance, "but shall not deal with questions of doctrine or worship, nor with matters of discipline, save to give effect to canonical sentences of the Church." No changes in the constitution were to be valid unless submitted to and approved of by the Episcopal Synod. Since its formation the Representative Church Council has done splendid work for the Church, raising every year more than £12,000 for the Clergy Fund alone, and largely increasing the amounts gathered for Home and Foreign Missions and other purposes.

THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1876.

The General Synod of 1876 was called into existence mainly to sanction the formation and constitution of the Representative Church Council. Besides doing so, it greatly improved the Code of 1863. The 1876 Code was formally enacted on November 16th, 1879. The Lower House in this General Synod expressed a wish to specify a uniform and higher standard of attainments for all candidates for Holy Orders; but the bishops, speaking through the Primus, declined to give up their dispensing power. The Primus insisted that the surrender of this power would make it impossible for himself and his colleagues to find clergymen for some of the poorer charges.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SCOTTISH METROPOLITAN.

The Diocesan Synod which met on August 29th, 1877, transacted routine business only. A special Synod, held at Inverness on December 13th of the same year, took into consideration the proposal to restore the office of Metropolitan in the Scottish Church. The meeting voted unanimously in favour of the restoration of the ancient office as being desirable for the complete organisation of the Church. It was also the opinion of the Synod that, during the rest of his life-time, the present Primus should hold the office of Metropolitan.*

PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE OF 1878.

In his charge to the Diocesan Synod of Moray, on October 2nd, 1878, the Primus made special reference to the Lambeth Conference, which had been held in July of the same year. He said that one hundred archbishops and bishops were present, and

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 61-64.

took part in the proceedings, and that he was sure the Conference would bear fruit, and mark an important era in the history of the Anglican Church. "The Scottish Church," observed the Primus, "stood in that Conference exactly in the position of several other branches of the Anglican Church. They were all one Episcopate, and they were all charged with the same solemn commission, to maintain and spread the faith as it was once given to the saints." * The Primus being absent from the Diocesan Synod of September 9th, 1879, only the ordinary business was disposed of.

FREE AND OPEN CHURCH MOVEMENT.

The Primus was a strenuous supporter of the movement. It having been reported that some of the seats in Inverness Cathedral had been appropriated, the Diocesan Synod of August 26th, 1880, expressed itself in favour of a free and open cathedral.†

SYNODS OF 1881, 1882, AND 1883.

In the Diocesan Synods of 1881, 1882, and 1883, the steady and quiet progress of the Church in every part of the diocese was duly recorded. At the Synod of 1883, the Primus urged strongly upon the clergy the necessity of using their influence against the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill. On the same occasion he thanked the Bishop of Calcutta for his recent visit to the diocese, with the view of promoting the cause of our mission at Chanda. This was the last time the Primus presided over his Diocesan Synod.‡

THE SEABURY CENTENARY.

The Centenary Commemoration of the consecration of the first American bishop was held in Scotland in October, 1884. One hundred years had passed away since Dr. Seabury was consecrated at Long Acre, Aberdeen, as the first bishop of "Columbia's primal see"; and on the suggestion of Primus Eden the centenary of that event was celebrated in Aberdeen. Distinguished Churchmen came from America to join in the celebration, the principal being the Bishops of Connecticut, Albany, Fond du Lac, Minnesota, Western Michigan; Professor

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 69-73.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 83-91. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-127.

Hart, Hartford College, Connecticut; Drs. Beardley and Hale, Professor Seabury, and the Revs. T. Scott Bacon, S. Crockett, S. F. Jarvis, and W. F. Nichols. Dr. Hale and Dr. W. F. Nichols are now assistant-bishops of Springfield and California respectively. These American bishops have their episcopal succession from Bishop Seabury and the prelates who were afterwards sent out from England. The latter were Bishop William White and Bishop Samuel Provoost, consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other English prelates on February 4th, 1787. Bishop James Madison, of Virginia, was afterwards consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of his episcopal colleagues. All the Scottish bishops were present at the celebration except the aged Primus, who was disabled by sickness. The Anglican bishops assembled at Aberdeen on this joyful occasion were—the Bishops of Winchester, Down and Connor, Meath, Carlisle, Gibraltar, Maritzburg, and Bishop Tozer. The commemoration proper began on Tuesday, October 8th, when the Bishop of Connecticut preached an eloquent sermon in S. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, from the text, "Thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." Isaiah lx. 5.

The central ceremony of the commemoration took place on Wednesday morning in S. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen. Prior to the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in the Communion Service, the Rev. W. F. Nichols presented the diocese of Aberdeen with a beautiful silver chalice and paten from the diocese of Connecticut. The Bishop of Aberdeen in receiving the gift thanked the Church in Connecticut for this expression of faith in God and of love to the Scottish Church. At the conclusion of the Communion Service an Episcopal Synod was held, in the proceedings of which the Bishops of the American Church were invited to take part. Bishop Williams, of Connecticut, then presented to the Scottish bishops an address from the House of Bishops of the American Church; and on the other hand, the venerable Bishop Wordsworth, of S. Andrews, delivered to Bishop Williams an address from the Scottish College of Bishops to the bishops of the United States of America. Another address, to which Bishop Wordsworth read a reply, was from the diocese of Connecticut to the bishops of Scotland. The proceedings of the Episcopal Synod ended with the presentation of a pastoral staff to the Bishop of Connecticut from members of the Scottish Church.

A public meeting was held on Wednesday evening in the Music Hall of Aberdeen, where close upon 3000 people assembled. The meeting was addressed by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Minnesota, Winchester, Albany, and by the Rev. J. M. Danson, R. T. N. Speir, Esq., of Culdees, and others. The most telling speech of the evening was that of Dr. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, the apostle of the Indians. His tall spare figure created as much sensation at the Seabury Commemoration as did the appearance of Bishop Low at Leeds long years before. When he was addressing the large meeting at Aberdeen every muscle in his bodily frame seemed to be quivering with emotion. And when he told of the Red Chief, the quondam hero of the tomahawk, the war-whoop, and the massacre, professing his belief in Christ on his dying bed, and ordering a cross of wood to be erected over his grave, a thrill went through the great assembly.

The culminating point of the Seabury Centenary Commemoration was reached on October 14th, 1884, when a grand and imposing service of thanksgiving was held in the cathedral of the English metropolis. Thirty Anglican bishops were present from the English, Scottish, American, and Colonial Churches, and the congregation numbered nearly 3000. The sermon on this occasion was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Celebrations of the Centenary were also held in Hartford, Connecticut, New York, and Long Island.

The one great drawback was the absence of the Primus. It disappointed him very greatly not to be able personally to share in the commemoration of an event in which one of his predecessors, Bishop Petrie, had acted so prominent a part. But he gave some of the American visitors a Highland welcome to Edencourt, Inverness, and this was some compensation for his disappointment.* All the proceedings of the commemoration were of the most enthusiastic and harmonious character.

PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH SINCE 1784.

The Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America met in 1892, and adopted a new standard Prayer Book, the alterations made being principally those of punctuation. At this meeting it was stated that there were on the active list in the American Church 72 bishops, 3965 priests, and 313 deacons. The Convention formally adopted the principles laid down by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 for the reunion of Christendom.

* *Scottish Church Directory* of 1884, pp. 164-168, and of 1885, p. 157.

DEATH OF PRIMUS EDEN.

In the early summer of 1884 the Primus was seized with a shock of paralysis, which took away the power of his right side. He was not able to be present at the Diocesan Synod on September 3rd, 1884. A message from the disabled prelate was read to the Synod, in which, among other things, he referred to the coming Seabury Centenary to be observed on October 8th that same year. The clergy were requested by him to interest their flocks in that commemoration, because "the consecration of Dr. Seabury marked the commencement of a new era in the history of their Church." Having expressed a wish to see some of the clergy in his sick-room, they were admitted to see him two at a time. Before leaving the room, they knelt down before him to receive his blessing, which he gave, holding up his left hand. The mental faculties of the Primus continued unimpaired to the very last, so that, with the assistance of his son, Canon Eden, he was able till shortly before his death to transact the ordinary business of Primus. In the summer of 1885, Bishop Kelly was elected as his coadjutor. Primus Eden appeared for the last time in public at a meeting of the Episcopal Synod, held in Edencourt, in August, 1885, and all wondered at the able way in which he presided over the meeting. On August 26th, 1886, the aged Primus passed quietly to his rest, all the members of his family being present. His long illness and his recent resignation of the office of Primus had prepared his friends at a distance for the announcement that his sufferings were over.*

FUNERAL OF PRIMUS EDEN.

The remains of the late Primus were consigned to their last resting place in Tomnahurich Cemetery, on Wednesday, September 1st, 1886. A solemn service was held in the cathedral, in which the Very Rev. Dean Ferguson and the Rev. J. Brodie-Innes of Milton-Brodie took part. The procession, on its way to Tomnahurich, passed through a crowd of spectators, looking on reverently, and with heads uncovered. In the funeral train were five bishops of the Scottish Church; clergy from the diocese, and from other parts of Scotland; the provost, magistrates, and town council of Inverness, preceded by the halberdiers; and many members of the cathedral congregation and of the general public. The hearse, drawn by four greys, was guarded on each side by a detachment of the Cameron Highlanders

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 129-138.

who belonged to the congregation of S. Andrew's Cathedral. The procession had an imposing appearance as it wound its way up the steep ascent that led to the summit of Tomnahurich. Arrived there, the bishops and clergy took their places near the place of sepulture, the immediate vicinity of the grave being reserved for the late Primus's family. The concluding prayers of the Burial Service were read by the Bishop of Brechin, the Benediction being pronounced by Bishop Kelly. A sudden storm of rain passed over Tomnahurich as the last hymn was being sung, and before the strains died away it was succeeded by bright gleams of sunshine. Nature herself seemed to speak of the Resurrection, and to illustrate the words that were being sung—

> "Christ is risen, we are risen;
> Shed upon us heavenly grace,
> Rain, and dew, and gleams of glory
> From the brightness of Thy Face."

Having lingered awhile after the service, the mourning throng departed, leaving on the summit of the "Fairy Mound" the corruptible body of the late Primus of the Scottish Church, till "soul and body meet again" on the Resurrection morn.*

CHARACTER OF PRIMUS EDEN.

The character of Primus Eden was marked with a decided stamp of superiority, not only as a man, but also as a Christian. His name will go down to future generations as one of the ablest prelates of the Scottish Church. Much of that prosperity which the Church now enjoys she owes to his wise administration. Four principal aims were ever before him during the thirty-five years of his episcopate. These were the extension and spiritual advancement of the Church in his diocese; the erection, completion, and efficiency of his cathedral; the drawing of the laity into a stronger sympathy with the practical work of the Church; and the promotion of a more intimate communion between the Episcopal Church of Scotland and the Churches of England, America, and the colonies. The assiduous and devoted labours of Robert Eden brought to his adopted Church much of the respect now shown to her as an independent branch of the Anglican Communion.

Personally this Primus was most munificent in his gifts to the Church. The proof of this statement is to be found in the

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. viii., p. 457.

large sums he gave to the building fund of the cathedral, and in his generous gift of £2000 to purchase the ground on which to build a residence for the bishops of Moray. That residence, called Eden-court, has unfortunately been found too large for the small income accruing to prelates of this northern see, and the general consensus of opinion has declared the undertaking to have been a mistake.

A few years before his death Primus Eden was presented with a pastoral staff for his own use and that of his successors in the diocese of Moray. The resolution to present the staff declared that the Primus had earned "not only the brotherly affection and esteem of his fellow prelates, but also the regard and veneration of the whole Church." The overflowings of his munificence reached every corner of Scotland, though it was most lavishly exercised in his own diocese. Even far Newfoundland and lonely Labrador were indebted to him for the missionary vessel called "The Hawk," which carried their bishop along their stormy shores in his periodic episcopal visitations.

The establishment of the Representative Church Council was chiefly due to the exertions of Primus Eden. It brought out the help of the laity into the active service of the Church, though it did not give to them that position in her councils for which he had so persistently contended. No one excelled him in the capacity of the chairman of a meeting. There Primus Eden was to be seen at his best. With the utmost courtesy he could curb the fiery spirits of opponents, and frequently allayed their enthusiasm with a humorous remark. Clearly and deliberately he could extricate a meeting from the perplexity into which it had been thrown by an accumulation of motions and counter-motions. In every stage of the Eucharistic controversy his moderation received the approbation of the whole Church. His predecessor, Bishop Low, had recommended the abolition of the Scottish Communion Office; Primus Eden, on the other hand, took every opportunity of preserving it from gradual extinction.

Every church in his diocese, during his episcopate, was either built, rebuilt, extended, or restored; and during the last decade of his *régime* new churches were erected at Aberlour, Thurso, Tain, and Keith. In place of the two parsonages found in the diocese, he left ten behind him; and during his episcopate the eight clergy in the united diocese increased to twenty-three, and the number of communicants from 503 to 1355.*

* *Scottish Guardian*, vol. viii., pp. 429-432.

JAMES BUTLER KNILL KELLY, D.D., D.C.L.
BISHOP OF MORAY, ROSS, AND CAITHNESS.

CHAPTER XVII.

ECCLESIASTICISM OF NINETEENTH CENTURY (CONTINUED).

"In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."—ISAIAH xxx. 15.

EDUCATION AND ORDINATION.

JAMES B. K. KELLY was a scholar of Clare College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1854, and graduating as M.A. in 1858. He was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1855 and 1856 respectively. The town of Abington in Northamptonshire was the next scene of Mr. Kelly's ministerial labours, which he left after a residence of one year to be domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Sodor and Man. He was vicar of Kirk-Michael, in the Isle of Man, from 1860 to 1864.

A VOLUNTEER FOR THE MISSION FIELD.

At this time, the indefatigable labours of Edward Feild, the Bishop of Newfoundland, were attracting the notice and admiration of the Christian world. He was crying out for "men" to assist him in his evangelistic work, and especially for a "good clergyman" to take a leading part in it. His wish was gratified in 1864, when "the good clergyman" came in the person of the Rev. J. B. K. Kelly. The latter was shortly afterwards made Archdeacon of Newfoundland. Bishop Feild, having found it difficult to accomplish all the work of his diocese, which embraced Bermuda and Labrador, as well as Newfoundland, was allowed to nominate his own coadjutor. His choice fell upon Archdeacon Kelly, who proceeded to England for consecration in the summer of 1867. On August 25th of that year he was consecrated bishop, his consecrators being Archbishop Longley of Canterbury, Bishop Claughton of Rochester, and Bishop Trower of

Gibraltar. The new bishop was thus connected with the Scottish succession of bishops, as Bishop Trower had been Bishop of Glasgow and received consecration in Scotland. Bishop Kelly took his place as junior prelate in the Lambeth Conference of 1867. He received the honorary degrees of D.D. and D.C.L.

BISHOP KELLY'S FIRST VISIT TO LABRADOR.

Bishop Kelly's first episcopal visit to White Bay and the Labrador stations was an event of great interest. "The Hawk" church-ship, the gift of Primus Eden, had been sold as unseaworthy, and a new mission ship called "The Star" was procured to carry the missionaries over those stormy seas. After evensong in the cathedral of S. John's, Bishop Feild went down to the harbour to bid farewell to the adventurous Christian voyagers. Prayers having been said in the cabin of "The Star," Bishop Feild gave them his blessing in a voice tremulous with intense emotion. The good ship bore Bishop Kelly and his companions to the remote settlements on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, where spiritual consolation and comfort was given to the isolated denizens.

WRECK OF "THE STAR."

Disaster befell the new mission ship in July, 1871. "The Star" was wrecked in that month on the south coast of Newfoundland, Bishop Kelly and the crew being saved only by great efforts. God rescued the future Bishop of Moray and Ross from the perils of the deep as he saved S. Paul, the greatest missionary of apostolic times. Compensation came to the Newfoundland mission for the loss of "The Star," though not from an insurance company. Lieutenant Curling of the Royal Engineers presented to the Bishop of Newfoundland his own yacht "The Laverock," to take the place of the lost "Star."

BISHOP KELLY PLEADS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Bishop Kelly was in England pleading the cause of Foreign Missions on the first "Day of Intercession for Missions," in 1872. That day of prayer brought visible fruit in the shape of volunteers, who wished to be sent to the front in the Church's line of spiritual war. One of these was Lieutenant Curling, the munificent donor of "The Laverock." He now gave himself to evangelistic work, and requested Bishop Feild to send him to one of the most arduous

posts in his diocese. In accordance with his own request, the brave sailor was ordained and sent to the Strait of Belle Isle. Lieutenant Curling was the author of a work on coastal navigation, and is still a missionary in S. John's, Newfoundland.

MISSIONARY WORK IN LABRADOR.

In the summer of 1874 Bishop Kelly had a long and arduous voyage, during which he visited the whole of the Newfoundland coasts as well as those of Labrador. In addition to this, he at the request of the Bishop of Quebec proceeded to a part of the Quebec diocese on the Gulf of S. Lawrence. Exposure one stormy night on a dangerous part of the Labrador coast brought on a serious illness, which compelled the coadjutor-bishop to return to S. John's. Like King Priam, when he girded on the armour upon his aged and tottering limbs, the veteran Bishop Feild set out at once for Labrador to complete the visitation. The effort was too much for the apostolic prelate, and he never rallied from its effects.

BISHOP KELLY SOLE BISHOP OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

Bishop Feild's principal comfort in the last days of his life was in the bishop chosen to be his successor. He said in his farewell address to the congregation of S. John's, Newfoundland:—"You have all enjoyed sufficient opportunities of Bishop Kelly's various and manifold qualifications for the high and important office to which he has been appointed." The great missionary bishop, "the true-hearted prelate and saint," closed his eyes on his earthly labours on June 8th, 1876, and Bishop Kelly became sole diocesan of Newfoundland.*

RESIGNATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

Bishop Kelly, on account of ill-health, was compelled in 1877 to resign the diocese of Newfoundland. He returned to England, where he was appointed vicar of Kirby, in Lancashire. Two years afterwards he became commissary to the Bishop of Chester,

* *Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild, D.D., Bishop of Newfoundland,* by the Rev. H. W. Tucker, M.A., pp. 196, 199, 219, 224, 225, 239-242, 251-258, 266, 274-290.

holding at the same time the archdeaconry of Macclesfield. In 1884-1885 the bishop was commissary for the Bishop of Salisbury, and resided in that cathedral city.

BISHOP KELLY ELECTED COADJUTOR-BISHOP OF MORAY, ROSS, AND CAITHNESS.

In terms of a mandate from the Primus, a meeting of the clergy and laity of the diocese who were qualified to vote in the election of a bishop was held in S. Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, on Thursday, July 16th, 1885, for the purpose of electing a coadjutor-bishop *cum jure successionis.* The Very Rev. Dean Christie, who was chairman, proposed that the Rev. John Ferguson, incumbent of Holy Trinity, Elgin, and synod-clerk of the diocese, be elected coadjutor-bishop of the diocese. The motion was seconded by the Rev. H. E. M. Hughes, incumbent of S. Columba's, Nairn. The Rev. George Boyes, incumbent of S. Marnan's, Aberchirder, seconded by the Rev. J. Archibald, incumbent of Trinity Church, Keith, proposed that Bishop Kelly be appointed coadjutor to the Primus. For the Rev. J. Ferguson there voted five clergymen and five laymen, while for Bishop Kelly there voted eleven clergymen and six laymen. Bishop Kelly was thus canonically elected Coadjutor-Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness. The Episcopal Synod which met in the following month unanimously dismissed an appeal against Bishop Kelly's election, and forthwith confirmed the same.*

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF 1885.

The Primus, disabled by infirmity, was unable to be present, but a message to the Synod signed by him was read by his son, Canon Eden. Regarding his lately appointed coadjutor, the Primus said, "I have granted to him a very full commission to act on my behalf in all diocesan matters; and I have directed that, at the conclusion of this message, that commission should be read to you. I desire to express to the electors of the diocese my great satisfaction and heartfelt thankfulness at the choice they have made." After the Primus's commission was read, the coadjutor-bishop presided over the Synod, observing, as he took the chair, that in his new office he hoped he might work harmoniously with all his clergy. A motion to secure perfect equality of position for the Scottish and English Communion Offices was passed unanimously.†

* *Synod Rec. of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 139, 160. † *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 177.

COMMENCEMENT OF BISHOP KELLY'S EPISCOPATE IN MORAY AND ROSS.

Soon after the confirmation of his election, Bishop Kelly began work in his new diocese, having been installed as Provost of Inverness Cathedral on September 6th, 1885. To the Diocesan Synod of 1886 he delivered an instructive and impressive charge. Little beyond the ordinary work was done in that Synod, but it was the first in which Bishop Kelly appeared as bishop of the diocese, the Primus having died in the autumn. The clergy did not separate without desiring to place on record their deep sense of the great loss the diocese and the whole Church had sustained by the death of the late bishop and Primus. The Diocesan Synod of 1887, which met in the cathedral on August 30th, transacted little more than the ordinary business.

THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE OF 1888.

Bishop Kelly attended this Conference, and made the following reference to it in the annual Synod of 1888, which assembled in the cathedral, Inverness, on September 11th :—

"No one who was not present at the welcome given by the Primate of all England at the Lambeth Conference to his assembled brethren from all parts of the world, from the chair of S. Augustine in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, could at all realise the heart-thrilling character of that service. Scarcely ever before in the course of its long and chequered history has that noble church been witness of a grander scene. Never before had it gathered within its walls so great an assembly of prelates from such widely-scattered sees, the very names of which as they were written above each bishop's robing-place in the long gallery at Lambeth, recalled the words of ancient prophecy spoken to the Church of old: 'Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes in all lands.'

"Some of us may remember the passionate lament of John Henry Newman at the close of his career in the English Church, in which he charges his spiritual mother with dry breasts. Had he but waited with more faith and patience to our own day, he would have realised that this was the last charge which could be laid against a Church that had nourished and brought up such sons as these brave standard-bearers of the Christian army in Africa and India, in China and Japan, in Australasia and New Zealand, in Canada and

the United States, in South America, and in the islands of the sea. All who looked on the spare ascetic form of the appointed preacher at Lambeth, and listened to the words which he spake with his lips because the fire had first kindled within, felt that they were in the presence of one who was full of the Holy Ghost and of faith—one who, in the course of his thirty years' episcopate, had nobly earned his title as the Apostle of the Indians." *

"But there was one thought which could not fail to impress itself upon the minds of those, only ten in number, who like myself had been present at the first Lambeth Conference, one-and-twenty years ago—it was the thought that though God buries the workers, yet the work goes on. The once well-known forms of Selwyn and Gray, of Longley and Hamilton, of Tait and Lonsdale, of Eden, Cotterill, and Ewing, and a host of others, had vanished, and their place in the Church knew them no more. They, 'having served their own generation, by the will of God had fallen asleep,' but the pastoral staff which they laid down in death was taken up by other hands, and the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha—the one spirit in the one body still." In this Lambeth Conference the Bishop of Moray and Ross was seated next to the learned Dr. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri.

HOME REUNION.

The Pan-Anglican Conference discussed the important subject of Home Reunion, laying down four articles as a basis on which an approach might be made towards Reunion. These were—(1.) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the ultimate rule and standard of faith. (2.) The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. (3.) The two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him. (4.) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and people called of God into the unity of His Church.

It is obvious that Presbyterians in Scotland, and Non-conformists in England would find little difficulty in assenting to the first three of these conditions of reunion; the difficulty arises about the fourth.

* This was the Right Rev. H. B. Whipple, D.D., Bishop of Minnesota.

This cannot be wondered at, when we consider the guise in which the Historic Episcopate has appeared, and especially in northern Britain, during the ages of the past. The venerated Bishop of S. Andrews has done more than any other to bring the subject of home reunion to the front, and we may be sure "that his labours will not be in vain in the Lord." Concerning this subject of intrinsic importance the Bishop of Moray said to his Diocesan Synod of 1888:—"We daily pray, and I hope more earnestly, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life." "And this is but the echo of our Lord's great intercession the night before His Passion. And the best way of translating our prayers into acts is, it seems to me, not so much the framing of schemes for speedy corporate reunion with our separated brethren, as the exhibition of the fruits of the spirit in our hearts and lives." *

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNION OFFICE.

In 1889, the proposed Revision of the Scottish Communion Office troubled the minds of many Scottish Churchmen. A movement had been set on foot to get the Scottish and English Communion Offices placed canonically upon an equal footing. This raised the question of revision, some of the supporters of the Scottish rite wishing it to be revised, while others called for the retention of the form generally in use for the last hundred years. A pastoral letter signed by all the bishops drew attention to the revision of the Scottish Use, and the Synod of Moray and Ross, which met on August 21st, 1889, considered the proposed new canons about the election and duties of Metropolitan and the second draft of the revised liturgy. Bishop Kelly, who presided over this Synod, made the following remarks about the Scottish Use:—

"I would far rather ask you to consider the importance of the duty which is ours, who have inherited so great a treasure, as this noble liturgy must be confessed to be, to make it as generally acceptable as is possible without the sacrifice of one jot or tittle of the truth, and in this manner to pave the way for its gradual adoption and use where it has not hitherto been regarded with favour. What God's

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 177-206. Bishop Wordsworth, the Apostle of Reunion in Scotland, died on December 6th, 1892, and was buried at S. Andrews.

Providence may have in store for it in the distant future we cannot tell. It has already influenced the revision of the English Office, it has given in the main its form to the liturgy of the American Church, and as years roll on, who shall say whether, combining as it does features taken from the great Oriental as well as Western rites, it may not be the liturgy of the Church of the Reconciliation, by means of which from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, the pure offering shall be made before the Eternal Throne? Bishop Maxwell of Ross, one of the chief, if not the chief compiler of the earliest form of the Scottish Liturgy, after a life of suffering and strange vicissitudes, was found dead upon his knees in the attitude of prayer—an end, as it has well been said, not unfitting for one who had laboured to promote God's worship. Let us then touch it with reverent hands, and with earnest supplication for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, that we may hand it on to our children's children, improved, if it may be, in the symmetry of its outward structure, but above all unimpaired in its witness to the truth; and may the blessing of God rest upon this and all our works begun, continued, and ended in His Holy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." *

REVISION POSTPONED.

The difference of opinion among the upholders of the Scottish Use caused the postponement of the endeavour to raise the canonical status of that Office to a position of equality with the English Office. The special Synod, which met at Inverness on March 25th, 1890, to consider the proposed revision of the canons, discussed only the draft before it, as it was understood that the canon relating to the celebration of the Holy Communion was in the meantime to remain as it was.

THE GENERAL SYNOD OF 1890.

The General Synod began its sittings in Edinburgh on June 3rd, 1890, and on Friday, June 13th, it adjourned to October 7th. On that day it adopted and enacted the new Code of Canons. These are a great improvement upon the Code of 1876, and have removed many ambiguities. The title of Metropolitan, however, was not adopted for the Scottish Primus. Some time in the future it may be found more acceptable to restore the ancient title of Archbishop to the first

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 207-226.

of the Scottish prelates, when this can be done with safeguards against the abuse of autocratic power.

DEATH OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

After mentioning the new Code of Canons in the Diocesan Synod which met at Inverness, on August 25th, 1890, Bishop Kelly delivered an eloquent address, in which he made a graceful allusion to the late Cardinal Newman. "This year," said the bishop, "will ever be remembered for the removal from our midst of one of the most remarkable—perhaps I should not be far wrong if, speaking ecclesiastically, I were to say the most remarkable—man of the century. Looking back upon the work which Dr. Newman was permitted to do for the Church which he left, far greater and more lasting than that which he did for the Church of his adoption, he must always be regarded by us with love and reverence, in spite of what we believe to be his subsequent mistakes. The Scottish as well as the English Church has felt the influence of that movement, of which, though in his humility he ascribes the inception to another, he must ever be regarded as the centre and director. A higher and nobler conception of what the Church really is, and of the work which God has given her to do, and as a consequence a truer standard of the spiritual life and devotion of her members, is his best legacy to the whole Anglican Communion, the value of which nothing in his after life can ever diminish. And it is surely a striking testimony to the influence of his saintly character, as well as a tribute to his great intellectual force, that after his death the din of religious controversy seems hushed, and men of the most diverse views agree to think and speak of him as one whom 'God is keeping secretly from the strife of tongues.' Now that all mists of human error have for him been cleared away in the more immediate light of God's own presence, let us ask that the memory of a life of such mingled sweetness and power may abide with the Church as an incentive to a more entire self-surrender, and a simpler, humbler walk with God. Such thoughts are not unfitting ones with which to close this brief review of the work of another year. May God give us grace (to use the words of Dr. Newman himself) to act upon the rules of holy living, as well as to adopt and admire them, and to say nothing for saying's sake, but to do much and say little." *

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 225-249.

CATHEDRALS.

The annual Diocesan Synods of 1891 and 1892 were occupied with the revision of the Cathedral Statutes, those enacted in Bishop Eden's episcopate having been found unworkable. "Their cathedral," said the bishop to the Synod, "was small at present as compared with the grander edifices on the other side of the Border, yet they should not despise the day of small things. Paulinus at York had worshipped in a cathedral built of wood." Having pointed out the abuses which had crept into the cathedral system, when the bitter mediæval taunt of "golden chalices" and "wooden priests" came to have too true an application, the bishop alluded to the renewed life in the present English cathedral system. He said that S. Paul's, London, "with its daily eucharists, its frequent services, its nave congregations reckoned by hundreds at the daily prayers, and by thousands at the Sunday offices and sermons, with a choral celebration, of which perhaps the highest authority has said that it is the finest musical service in Europe, stands in the very forefront as an example of this blessed change."

"And what meanwhile," continued the bishop, "of our Scottish cathedrals? Noble, yet with a pathetic grandeur all their own, are those roofless ruined piles, which at once attest the piety and self-sacrifice of our fathers in the faith. Hallowed still in their lonely solitude, it may seem scarce a fancied dream that, as the winds sigh through their empty aisles, there may be heard the echoes, faint and far, of holy chant and psalm, which for so many centuries sounded through their choir. And it was a great venture of faith which, when the crushing weight of penal laws was removed, sought yet once again to realise in this land the beauty of the idea which lay enshrined in their very ruins. It was seen that a diocese without a cathedral was but a maimed and stunted organism, and so, without endowment, as in our own case, or with but slender provision for their maintenance, as at Perth, Edinburgh, and Cumbrae, men were found to build again the old waste places, to revive the daily sacrifice of prayer and praise, and by the beauty of holiness in the external presentment to the world, to show that the King's daughter was all-glorious within."* Bishop Kelly's opinion is thus the same as that of Primus Eden, that the cathedral should be the living heart of the diocese.

* *Synod Records of Moray and Ross*, vol. ii., pp. 249-294.

BURNING OF S. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL, NEWFOUNDLAND.

In July, 1892, two-thirds of the city of S. John's, Newfoundland, was reduced to ashes by the ravages of fire. Thousands of the inhabitants were rendered homeless, and the cathedral, one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in British North America, became a heap of ruins. Touched deeply by the disaster that had come upon his old flock and cathedral church, Bishop Kelly appealed to the diocese of Moray to help them in their time of need. The bishop's appeal was well responded to, and the money received was forwarded to his successor in the see of Newfoundland.

SEMI-JUBILEE OF EPISCOPATE.

In August, 1892, Bishop Kelly completed twenty-five years of his episcopate. A quarter of a century had passed away since he sat as junior bishop in the Lambeth Conference of 1867, and in the spirit of true Christian love entered upon the arduous duties of coadjutor to Bishop Feild, the veteran missionary bishop of Newfoundland. To mark their appreciation of what Bishop Kelly had done to consolidate and extend the work of the Church in the diocese since he took up the pastoral staff laid down by his revered predecessor, the late Bishop Eden, the diocesan clergy signed an illuminated address. In this way they offered to the bishop their grateful acknowledgments for his diocesan work and his kindness to them individually, expressing a hope that he would "long be spared to preside over the ancient diocese, formerly superintended by S. Columba, and by Bishops Andrew de Moravia, Jolly, and Eden." *

CONCLUSION.

We are taught many important lessons from the record of the Historic Episcopate in Scotland. As the story is unfolded, we can see the guiding hand of God's Providence through all the centuries of the past. The Columban system arose in all the strength of its youth and spiritual vigour, advanced to the zenith height of power and influence, and then fell into corruption and consequent decay. Much the same may be said regarding the annals of the mediæval bishops and clergy. The first Christian teachers of that period were

* This Address, prepared in 1892, was formally presented to Bishop Kelly on March 22nd, 1893.

distinguished for purity of life and burning love for souls. To them Scotland was indebted for building the abbeys and cathedrals, whose very ruins at the present day have a solitary glory, all their own. Abundance of worldly goods led the later prelates of the mediæval period into spiritual carelessness and laxity of life. Performed by such men, the most gorgeous ceremonials became a mockery of God. They forgot their high privileges and awful responsibilities, and their places in the land knew them no more.

The epoch extending from the Reformation of 1560 to the present time tells of the struggles between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Each party when in power endeavoured to subdue the other by persecution and various unworthy expedients. No member of the Episcopal Church can now justify the cruelties to which Presbyterians and other Non-conformists in Scotland were subjected when Episcopacy was established during the Spottiswoode *régime* and in the reign of Charles II. Such means of strengthening the Church were utterly alien to His spirit who, when He was reviled, reviled not again. They were subversive, too, of the moral right of every man to worship God according to his conscience. On the other hand no fair-minded Presbyterian of the present day who has looked into the subject will say a word in defence of the cruelties to which Episcopalians and others were exposed in the time of the Solemn League and Covenant, and during the reigns of the first two Hanoverian kings. Further accounts of the persecution of members of the Episcopal Church have still to come to light, as Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod Records disclose their hitherto unpublished secrets. Possibly, further revelations of such persecutions may yet be revealed from the bygone annals of the Scottish Justiciary Courts. Surely, then, both parties should be ready to say in regard to these things, "Let the dead past bury its dead."

If Christianity in Scotland has suffered, as it must have suffered, from the divisions among professing Christians, is it not a duty incumbent upon all to pray for future union? Members of the Episcopal Church will rejoice to see such union beginning among their Presbyterian neighbours. When once they come to a closer union among themselves, may they not look forward to a wider union on the basis proposed by the late Lambeth Conference? In the not far distant future, there may be the happier days of such a concord, when there will be "one Faith and one Church" in Scotland, from Caithness and the Orkneys to the Cheviot Hills. If God has done so much

in the past, dare we set limits to what He will do in the future? We live in days of religious liberty, under the ægis of a Constitutional Government, and in the beneficent reign of the Most Gracious Sovereign of these Realms. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what Thou hast done in their time of old." "In quietness, and in confidence shall be your strength."

APPENDIX.

I.

LINES SUGGESTED BY BISHOP JOLLY'S WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE REV. J. MURDOCH.

SOLDIER, wearied with the fight,
  Faint not at the dark array;
Fear not yonder hosts of night,
  Those with us are more than they.

Lowering war clouds shroud the field,
  Lightnings flash and thunders roll;
Faith undimmed shall be thy shield,
  Guarding well thy ransomed soul.

See beyond the battle's roar,
  Gleams the golden city fair,
Yonder Zion's ramparts soar,
  Tow'ring through the ambient air.

Think not 'mid this earthly strife
  Work for Christ can e'er be vain;
In the noblest human life
  Gain is loss and loss is gain.

Treasure lost for Christ below
  Garnered lies in Heaven above;
From His throne what joys will flow,
  Bliss and glory, light and love.

In His Spirit's matchless might
Rouse thee for the battle's fray;
For the victor in the fight
Wait the joys of endless day. *

J. ARCHIBALD.

THE original copies of all letters (not otherwise accounted for in this book) from Bishops William Falconar, Abernethy Drummond, John Skinner, Kilgour, and Jolly, are in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Gordon, Glasgow, to whose kindness the author was indebted for their perusal. The originals of the late Primus Eden's letters belong to his son, the Rev. R. A. Eden, vicar of Old S. Pancras, London.

Dr. Abernethy Drummond to Bishop Petrie, Littlefollo.

EDINBURGH, *August 28th*, 1777.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

As I hear you are now become a diocesan, I take this opportunity of wishing you joy, and to acquaint your reverence that I have empowered Bishop Kilgour to notify my resignation of the Brechin election to the Primus, after having previously endeavoured to satisfy my electors of the propriety of that measure, in which I have not been so lucky as to succeed. But I am in hopes that when they find my resignation approved of by Bishop Kilgour, for the sake of peace, they will at least so far change their mind as not to take offence at it. Indeed I should be heartily sorry should they be offended. For their favour and friendship who have struggled so long on my account, and are still willing to persevere, I am in duty bound to cultivate; and as my poor services are certainly more due to them than any other, I not only beg, but I insist upon it, that if the partiality of my brethren in any other district shall hereafter fix upon me, your reverence shall not importune me to accept.

P.S.—I propose to make a second edition of the *Historical Catechism* to enlarge somewhat more upon schism and orders, and to supply some other defects. If your reverence wishes to have anything added, you may inform me at your convenience. I long also for another edition of the *Communion Office*. It is a shame to see what needless repetitions there are still in it, and that the thanks-

* *Scottish Guardian* of May 24th, 1889, page 237, page 256 of this work, and page 96 in Author's book on *The Church at Keith*.

giving should not be added out of S. James' Liturgy. It will not be used in this district at present I know, but hereafter it may, and some may directly introduce it into other districts. I am surprised that the Primus, who reprobated the Aberdeen election in favour of Bishop Forbes as fast as he could gather the sentiments of his brethren, has not had the courage to set aside the Brechin election, notwithstanding of all the opposition made to it in private. Indeed, were I disposed to tease him, I could now do it to some purpose; but, I thank God, I have no such disposition.

II.

Dr. Abernethy Drummond to Bishop Petrie.

I AM favoured with yours some time ago, and in return to it acquaint you that, since an improved edition of the *Communion Office* is not likely to be received, even in your own corner, I shall readily desist from the publication; for though the Primus told me I might cause to print it as a curiosity, I think I may bestow my money to a better purpose. I am sorry, however, that there is so great a change to the worse in Aberdeenshire; for, from the conversation I had with your reverence on this subject in Edinburgh, I had reason to believe that not only your reverence, but the generality of the clergy, eagerly wished for more alterations than I intended. I as readily give up the 5th Canon, because I am sensible that it confers no powers upon the bishops which they might not exercise if they pleased without a canon.

III.

Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Petrie.

PETERHEAD, *April 7th*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Yesternight I was favoured with yours of the 4th curt., and observe the contents, and in particular what Dr. A. writes with regard to the young man in his congregation. I am glad there is any such to be found, that he is willing to come north, and his own bishop willing to dispense with him, and I am hopeful that he might do for Arradoul, if he would accept of it. But, as I have had no correspondence with the Dr. for some time past, I know not how to

write him on this occasion; but, as he has applied to you, and proposed the young man for the Kaims and Elgin, if you do not think proper to come into this, I think it would come with great propriety from you to signify that, as the charge at Arradoul is vacant, where there is a very respectable congregation, you doubt not I would be very glad to have Mr. Reid for it.

IV.

Letter from Bishop Innes (of Brechin) to Bishop Petrie.

ABERDEEN, *May 5th*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter of the 2nd inst. lay in the post-office here until the post was gone north on Friday, so that I could not answer it sooner. I have indeed been in great distress these fourteen days past, being attacked by most violent racking pains in my breast and back, which the doctor called spasms, but seemed to me to be cramps. The first night I took seventy guttæ (drops of) laudanum before I got any ease; I was forced to take the same nauseous stupefying drug several nights afterwards in order to get some sleep and relaxation of pain. All thanks to God for His mercy, I find myself better to-day, having last night got a sound refreshing sleep without any opiate, so that if I continue better, I hope to be able to appear in my chapel to-morrow, where I have not been these two Sundays past.

V.

Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Petrie.

PETERHEAD, 12*th March*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with yours of the 8th curt., and am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in this affair of Mr. Reid. I am hopeful he is a young man that will give satisfaction; and it gives great ease to my mind to think to have the congregation at Arradoul soon and so well provided, and, I doubt not, to yours too, as that at Fochabers will thereby be also supplied. When Mr. Reid comes to your house I propose Mr. Cruikshank shall come here with him, but I will write to Mr. Cruikshank before that time.

Rev. J. Allan to Bishop Petrie.

EDINBURGH, 16*th May*, 1781.

Dr. Abernethy Drummond with compliments to Mr. Allan acquaints him that Mr. Innes in Perth is struck with a palsie; and as he was anxious, when in health, to have a clergyman settled in his place, to whom he professed himself willing to resign the congregation, there is an absolute necessity of having it done immediately, otherwise, as there is a qualified man there, the people will be lost. Simon Reid is willing to take his chance there in case Bishop Kilgour consents, and a decent provision can be made for him. And Mr. Taylor is to write Bishop Rose this night of Mr. Innes's situation and what Mr. Reid has agreed to; and therefore it is necessary to acquaint Bishop Petrie, and, through him, Bishop Kilgour, to know whether he will part with Mr. Reid; and at any-rate inform him that Simon will not set out for a fortnight, until this affair be settled. Mr. Allan will therefore please write Bishop Petrie a few lines by this post and beg of him to apply to Bishop Kilgour *quam primum*, and desire him to write his answer to Bishop Falconar by the first opportunity. The Dr. suspects that Arradoul is the best of the two, and so he told Mr. Reid who, notwithstanding refers all to Bishop Kilgour.

VI.

Dr. Abernethy Drummond to Bishop Petrie.

EDINBURGH, *May* 29*th*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

This serves to introduce Mr. Reid to your acquaintance. Be so kind as recommend him to some of the neighbouring clergy, and beg the favour of one of them to conduct him to Peterhead.

VII.

Bishop Kilgour to Bishop Petrie.

PETERHEAD, 23*rd June*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

The enclosed mandate I received yesternight from Bishop Rose, desiring when signed to send it to you, and that you transmit

it to the Primus again. Bishop Rose also writes me that he makes no doubt the Brechin clergy will again elect Dr. A., and suspects the Primus will approve of it. But I hope neither will happen, and that the Brechin clergy will have more regard for the peace of the Church, and the Primus to his former declared sentiments of the Doctor, which I reckon he has yet given him no reason to change.

VIII.

Rev. John Allan to Bishop Petrie.

EDINBURGH, 11*th August*, 1781.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

About six weeks ago I communicated to your reverence the substance of a letter I had received from your nephew, and as I presume it will be an additional satisfaction to know a little more particularly the reception he met with from General Campbell upon his landing in Jamaica, I have enclosed copies of his Excellency's answers to two letters of recommendation which Sandy carried out with him; one from the magistrates of Dunfermline, the other from our friend, Mrs. Adie. Has Sandy wrote to your reverence or any of his relations in the north at this time? I hope he has; because I should be sorry to find him chargeable with ingratitude to one who has acted so kind a part to him. I am glad you think so favourably of Mr. Reid.

IX.

Persons Confirmed by Bishop Petrie.

Ann Alardyce, Turriff	1777	James Hay	1780
Alexander Rob, ,,	1778	William Peter	,,
James Innes	,,	James Brown	,,
Isabella Petrie	,,	Theodore Stuart	1781
James Robertson	,,	Alexander Cheyne	,,
Margaret Stark	,,	Jannet Gordon	,,
Margaret Allan	,,	Francis Dyce	1780
William Wright	,,	George Forsyth	,,
James Panton	1780	William Andrew	,,
James Aberdeen	,,	Jean Torie	,,
Ann Cheyne	,,	Helen Alardyce	,,

Barbara Shirran	1780	Alexander Reid	1785
Andrew Torie	1782	William Duguid. . . .	,,
Elizabeth Hay	,,	William Small	,,
William Christie . . .	1784	Jean Stevenson	,,
Christina Low	,,	Alexander Ross	1786
Margaret Robertson . .	,,	Robert Hunter	,,
Robert Tory	,,	James Dick	,,
Elizabeth Garden . . .	,,	Mary Brown	,,
Ann Ross	,,	Eliza Greig	,,
Margaret Hutcheon . .	,,		

X.

*Alexander Jolly to his Father and Mother.**

ABERDEEN, *March* 31*st*, 1773.

DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER,

I write you these few lines recalling my purpose of seeing you on Thursday, as it will be Saturday before I can see you. The reason for that is this: As we have been studying for some time the Elements of Practical Geometry, this day was appointed for giving us some experience in the land measuring way, but this being a coarse day we were obliged to postpone it till Friday (to-morrow being graduation), and as I find that I have a particular turn for that sort of learning I am not to slip so useful an opportunity. We are both very well (thanks to God), and join in our loves to you, and I constantly remain, dear parents, your dutiful and loving son,

ALEXANDER JOLLY.

XI. AND XII.

Rev. J. Skinner to Bishop Jolly.

INCHGARTH, *March* 4*th*, 1824.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I am well aware that the ardour of my mind has long been made a serious charge against me—so serious indeed, as to render me unfit for suggesting any plan worthy of the consideration, to say

* For Bishop Jolly's Letters of Orders see Author's book on *Church at Keith*, pp. 134-138.

nought of the condescension of those who bear such in the Episcopal Church of this country. But after our late happy meeting in the society of a prelate of whom you justly observed that "his visit seems to have been sent to us as an excitement from heaven," and after applying so many other eulogising epithets to Bishop Hobart—whose ardour of mind is his highest praise—I could not have believed that my ardour, unworthy as it is of comparison with his, would any longer have been ascribed to me as a *besetting sin*; or that you, my dear bishop, would have been the man to tell me that "*the excitement from heaven*" which we mutually enjoyed "has transported *me* in this out of measure," "so that my zeal, though highly laudable," by "issuing so suddenly in the attempt to do all things at once," must terminate in doing nothing.

XIII.

Minute of Episcopal Synod of 1837.

The Synod, summoned as recommended by that held in Aberdeen on the 21st of May last, having assembled in Edinburgh, in the house of the Right Reverend the Primus, on Wednesday the 9th day of August, 1837, took into consideration the recommendations of the foregoing Synod; and in the first place they concur in the holding of a General Synod, without fixing the time, but with the full intimation that it shall be held in the course of next year. In the meantime they recommend to each of the bishops to consult his clergy upon the subject of our present "Code"; and to transmit his and their opinion in regard to any additions or alterations that may be deemed necessary, with as little delay as possible, to the Primus, who on his part is required to communicate with his colleagues the subject of such opinions. In the second place, forasmuch as the Bishops of Moray and Brechin refuse to resign, but have each consented to allow a full election of an assistant-bishop and successor, the Synod have maturely considered and discussed the peculiarly difficult position in which the College of Bishops is thus placed; they feel that they have only a choice of difficulties, and in humble dependence on Almighty God, they feel it to be their duty to allow a mandate to be issued to the clergy of Brechin; it being perfectly understood that this proceeding is on the ground of absolute necessity, and shall form no precedent in future one way

or the other. The Synod does not propose to issue a mandate to the clergy of Moray, because they are of opinion that the few congregations in that diocese shall on the death of the present bishop be reunited to Ross as formerly.

XIV.

Copy of Letter from Primus James Walker, Edinburgh, to Very Rev. James Walker, Huntly.

22 Stafford Street,
Edinburgh, 23*rd July*, 1828.

Very Rev. Dear Sir,

Though there is no post-office delivery here on Sunday, I received your letter of the 20th with its enclosure yesterday afternoon. I have forwarded the same to Bishop Russell, and will communicate the contents to Bishop Moir without delay, and to the three other bishops as soon as I know where to address them, for they are each from home. In the meantime I think it my duty to acknowledge your communication without delay. I express my regret that your address has been prepared under some misapprehension of the circumstances of the case, for which neither am I nor the College of Bishops answerable.

XV.

Very Rev. James Walker, Huntly, to Rev. John Murdoch, Keith.

My Dear Sir,

If you can read this scrawl, which I have this instant copied to get an opportunity of sending to you, I shall be glad. But excuse great haste. It is easy to see where all our opposition has taken its rise. I hope we shall take it meekly.

XVI.

"The Hawk."

In 1844, Mr. Eden, the rector of Leigh, presented to the diocese of Newfoundland a brig of eighty tons, called the "Emma Eden," as

the church-ship by which the bishop could visit his scattered flock, The rig and size of this vessel being unfit for the work, the generous donor allowed her to be sold, and a smaller but more handy vessel, "The Hawk," was purchased with the proceeds. Before she set sail, Bishop Blomfield held a solemn service of dedication on board the vessel. Often in his heart did the Bishop of Newfoundland bless him who had given him such accommodation in the good ship "Hawk." Bishop Feild visited England in 1846 in this trusty vessel, which was graciously preserved in a hurricane at a time when the Atlantic was strewed with wreck. Four months were frequently spent by the bishop in "The Hawk," as she wended her way along the stormy coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, carrying through fog and foam, and storm and calm, her messengers of peace and love. In 1851, "The Hawk" had to be repaired, the ship having been twelve years old when purchased for missionary work. One night in a stormy sea, Bishop Feild could not sleep for the rolling of the vessel and the dashing of the water against her sides. At two o'clock in the morning, hearing the rudder making a great noise, the bishop rushed on deck without shoes or slippers, and for a time supplied the place of the man at the wheel, whose services were required for tacking. By the year 1864, as the veteran prelate himself said, "The Hawk," like her skipper, began to feel the effects of tear and wear, and of frequent encounters with rocks and shoals and ice. Bishop Feild, in 1869, had to part with his beloved church-ship, rendered at last unseaworthy by her frequent voyages on the wild waters and amid the floating icebergs of Newfoundland and Labrador. Many a summer evening in the twilight had Bishop Feild paced her deck, singing aloud the 15th and 34th psalms.* Every year it cost more than £500 to keep "The Hawk" at sea.

XVII.

"The Hawk" Church-Ship and the Coast of Labrador.

"Much time was spent; and sailing was now dangerous."—Acts xxvii. 9.

I.

The few fair rays of summer eve, Bell Isle's dark straits illume,
"The Hawk's" full sails, in reddening glow, far o'er the waters loom;

* *Life of Bishop Feild*, by Rev. H. W. Tucker, pp. 35, 49, 84, 104, 155, 197, 204.

The northern headlands in her wake reveal where Newfoundland
Is passed, in buoyant faith to seek the Labrador's lone strand.
A noble bird of prey is she; the mission that Christ gave,
The capture of His wand'ring souls, now speeds her on the wave;
And, hark! her saintly course to tell, through dark'ning sea and air,
In low and solemn sound you hear the Church's Vesper Prayer!

II.

Hear it, ye mariners for gold, ye traders o'er the earth,
Ye gatherers of wealth and store through moral drought and dearth;
Hear it, ye children of the world, ye sons of peaceful home,
Or ye whose lot may lead afar for hard-earned life to roam;—
Though late in time, yet first in love, a Christian bishop now,
For nought but Christian pastor's work, hath mann'd his daring prow;
That where men's outward dwellings be, in cold and cloud and storm,
"The work of an Evangelist" some hand may yet perform.

III.

The land is made; in Fortcau's Bay the sacred vessel rides;—
What race is here? whose roofs and quays along those rocky sides?
Quick earnest questions asked and told the exciting moments fill,
For England's exiled children speak the well-known accents still;
And Gallia's sons of Canada another sound set forth;
A third, some mountain hunter's or wild Indian's of the north.
"Children, all hail! with Peace alike we greet you in God's name,
Once more His Church, with blessings dear, your banished homes may claim."

IV.

Oh! judge the joy and thankfulness, when moor'd and canvas furl'd,
That lonely ship, the Church's type, as bearing to the world
The love of God, appears; then yields those offices of love,
In which the fainting spirit craves communion from above!
The long-remember'd sights and sounds—perhaps in childhood known,
The Prayer, the Word, the Sacraments, in which the Eternal Throne
By sinful men is sought, and then the promised blessing given
Some lowly roof, like infant Church, first consecrate to Heaven.

V.

Alas! that, like the Sycharites, their earnest voice should ask,
"Abide with us, and tarry yet."—"Too mighty is our task:—
Have ye not brethren onward still, alone like you, and drear,
The same sad Christian orphanhood enduring year by year?
We bear you in our hearts, be sure if God in mercy will,
Ye shall not want some pastor true, this mission to fulfil;
His are the means as His the work, but now, far forward bent,
Our path through other scenes must lead; for therefore are we sent."

VI.

Then northward yet the good ship speeds; island and bay and sound,
Each peopled spot, "through fog and foam," her sacred quest hath found.
Far as her venturous voyage may reach, to where the last cold shore
Some good Moravians' zeal hath reached on mercy's work before,
She bears the message of the Church—the same high answer finds—
On every coast a welcome glad, fond hearts and ready minds.
So plain amidst the children of those distant, cheerless lands,
The seed of Christ's fair promise lives, the whitening harvest stands—
The prayer that some true labourers to store it may be found,
In last and deepest yearning fills the Church-ship homeward bound.*

XVIII.

EXETER, 16*th July*, 1850.

REV. SIR,—

Absence on a tour of confirmations must be my apology for not having sooner thanked you for your interesting and valuable communication of the 1st inst. It is most satisfying to see such a unanimous acceptance by the Diocesan Synod of the diocese of Moray and Ross of the Declaration of the Synod, holden at Aberdeen on the 19th of April last.—I am, Rev. Sir, your faithful servant,

H. EXETER.

REV. H. W. JERMYN.

* *Verses for 1851 in commemoration of the Third Jubilee of the S. P. G.*, edited by Rev. Ernest Hawkins, and published by George Bell, London, in 1851. Pp. 97-102.

XIX.

Canon Liddon to Primus Eden, replying to an invitation to preach at the consecration of Inverness Cathedral.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, 14*th June*, 1874.

MY DEAR LORD,—

Your lordship does me very great honour, and gives me very great pleasure, by asking me to participate in the approaching occasion at Inverness. But I regret to think that it will not be in my power to do so. The early half of September is one of the few parts of the year during which I have now any choice as to my movements; and I have already engaged myself to others in a manner, and to an extent, which will not admit of retreat or modification. Much therefore as I could wish for an opportunity for showing my respect for the Church of Jesus Christ in Scotland—witnessing as she does in honourable poverty to revealed truths which are denied by the National Establishment of that country—it is, I fear, impossible for me to do more than thank your lordship for thinking of me so kindly, and on such an occasion.—I am, my dear lord, your very faithful servant,

H. P. LIDDON.

Extracts from letters from Primus Eden to his son, the Rev. R. A. Eden.

August 1876

"As Friday is our second anniversary I took advantage of the opportunity for stating the nature of the cathedral system, which we had adopted as a centre for missionary work, traced our work from its small and earliest rising to the cathedral as we see it, and then stated the impossibility of completing our work as designed, so long as the debt absorbed what would suffice for two canons. It was not a begging, but an explanatory, sermon, while I expressed my undoubting confidence that ere long our debt would be liquidated. We had a good offertory, about £35, including an offering of £5 towards the debt. Late in the evening I received a most kind letter from a person signing himself M. B., expressing the regret with which he had heard of the debt which prevented our enlisting more clergy, and enclosing £5. This morning I received another letter from a Mr. Wood, from the Caledonian Hotel, saying that he was in the cathedral on Sunday, and was deeply grieved at hearing of the

heavy debt upon "our beautiful cathedral." He trusted soon to hear that the whole debt was liquidated, and enclosed a cheque for £500 towards that object! Is it not noble? Ought we not to be grateful? I called at the Caledonian to thank him, but he was out, and was to leave this evening."

"The American chaplain at Rome has written to ask me, as representing two of the bishops (Moray and Ross) who consecrated Bishop Seabury, to be present and assist at the consecration of the new American church there on Lady Day. I almost feel that I ought not to refuse to listen to such an invitation, and I shall therefore write to accept the invitation, and, God willing, to take part in it. I must take a chaplain with me, and if Webb would spare you at that time, it would be a great comfort to me. You could also act as my cicerone, as I have never seen Rome."

"I yesterday received a letter from Dr. Littledale, kindly informing me of what he had heard with reference to the probable movement on the part of the leading Presbyterians, lay and clerical, of the Establishment in Scotland, in the event of the disestablishment of their Church. I have written to him at some length, thanking him for his timely warning, but expressing to him in almost identical terms with those of your letter just received, my anxieties and fears in the event of such a crisis occurring. Dr. Littledale, however, intimated that the statement which had been made to him was to the effect that the seceding body would apply to be admitted into the Church of England, which is quite consistent with their desire to accept Episcopacy. But any such application would test the disciplinary orthodoxy of the English bishops. Would they recognise as members of the Church of England Episcopalians residing in Scotland, but who would refuse submission to the Scottish bishops as their spiritual rulers when in Scotland? A few years ago they might have done so, but I do not think they would do so now, after the Lambeth Conference."

"But that which gives me the greatest anxiety in the prospect of any such movement is, as I have told Dr. Littledale, the danger of the accession of such large numbers of influential men uninstructed in Church principles into a body numerically so small, and who might attempt to tamper with that Apostolical Discipline and Evangelical Truth, the guardianship of which has been committed to us, and which we have been enabled hitherto to preserve in purity."

INDEX.

THE END.

PRINTED BY ST. GILES' PRINTING CO., 32 YORK PLACE, EDINBURGH.