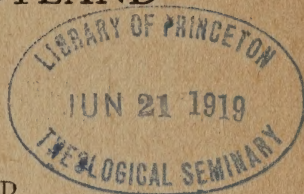


REUNION

A VOICE FROM SCOTLAND



BY THE VERY REVEREND

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PREFACE

THE following pages contain the text of two Addresses on the question of Church Reunion which the Author had the honour of being invited to deliver in London in the spring of the present year.

The former of the two was the first of a course of "Four Addresses on Religion" arranged by the Theological Department, King's College, London, and was delivered at King's College before a large and influential audience on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1918. It was well received; the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Southwark, who occupied the chair, seemed to voice the general desire of the meeting when he asked that it should appear in print; and the request was repeated to the Author by others who had listened to it. There was the more reason for acceding to this proposal because while the "Precedent from Scotland" has derived a present and practical importance from the mention made of it in the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, it is not easy for the general reader to find either a plain and handy account of what that Precedent actually was,

a fair statement of the steps which led to it, or a just exhibition of the benefits it brought to Scotland, till it was first discredited by the arbitrary measures of King James I, and finally wrecked by those of King Charles I: the two persons in our history who felt the deepest (and by no means an altogether selfish) interest in its success. But our Scottish Bishops of the time were to blame also for not standing up as they should have done for the Church's rights; while it is much easier to explain than to justify the violent methods by which in 1638 the system it established was overthrown. It seems hardly necessary to add that in the present Address this "Precedent from Scotland" is viewed altogether apart from the politics and passions, on either side, of the seventeenth century, and simply as affording an illustration of how it may be possible in the present day, with mutual goodwill, to find a way whereby the differences between Anglican Episcopacy and Scottish Presbytery may be bridged and reconciled through the free and voluntary action of the Churches themselves; so that we may be able to offer to our Blessed Lord a United Church for His service throughout our united and ever-growing Empire, and a step be taken towards the fulfilment of His revealed desire that all who believe in Him should be manifestly one.

The second Address, written in pursuance of the same end, approaches the subject from the point of view suggested by the circumstances

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of the present day: it was delivered on the evening of Friday, the 19th of April, 1918, in St. Faith's Chapel, the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, under the presidency of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London; and it now comes forth in print at the request of his Lordship, to whom for this great honour, and for many a kindness besides, the Author expresses his most grateful thanks.

JAMES COOPER.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY,
August, 1918.

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¹
First Address

REUNION—A PRECEDENT FROM SCOTLAND¹

MY LORD BISHOP, MY LORDS, LADIES AND
GENTLEMEN,—

Let me express in a single word my sense of the honour done to me, and done also to the National Church which this year I represent, by the invitation to deliver one of these significant Addresses. The mere institution of them is a sign to all of us that the great Church of England, to which all the British Churches look up with gratitude and reverence, is not only alive to the problems that confront us, but ready to take the lead among us in an earnest attempt to solve them.

Among these problems a foremost place must be assigned to that of the REUNION in visible form of the Church Catholic; and this, fortunately, is a subject which at this moment commands in an eminent degree the attention of the public. The whole of Christendom seems waiting

¹ Delivered at King's College, London, on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1918, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Southwark (Dr. Burge) occupying the Chair.

for it. More especially is this the case throughout the English-speaking world. America is in the field with her scheme for a World Conference on Faith and Order. Australia and Canada have been considering the question. It is coming to the front in England and in Ireland. We in Scotland are already in conference with the United Free Church of Scotland for an incorporating union, and if there are questions between us still to be settled, and thereafter certain rather lengthy legal processes to be gone through ere it can be consummated, we are already on such happy terms and in the enjoyment of so much practical co-operation, that the ultimate result is, I venture to think, a foregone conclusion.

Now I know, of course, that the Church of Scotland, even when this union shall have taken place, is but a small part of the vast Presbyterian communion. But it is the Mother Church of Presbyterianism, and its daughter Churches are not unlikely to follow its example. Moreover it is of all the Reformed Churches the nearest alike in place and principles and feeling to the Church of England. It is, and will remain, a National Church. It holds in its fullness and purity the Catholic Faith. Its sacramental doctrine is at least as high as that of the Church of England.

On the subject of the Holy Ministry it accepts alike in theory and practice what Canon Liddon called "the great antecedent position" that the ministry is not created by the people, but is the gift of Jesus Christ to His Church, and is continued by ordination ministered by associated presbyters. Of course every bishop is a presbyter.

Now it so happens that in the history of Scotland there is a memorable *Precedent for a combination of the main features alike of the Presbyterian and Episcopal systems*: a combination which was effected, if without popular enthusiasm yet without disaster or disruption, without the secession of so much as a single member from either the Church of England or the Church of Scotland; which lasted eight-and-twenty years, producing in the course of them conspicuous and admirable fruits of peace and godliness, of sacred learning, of intellectual and social progress, of church extension; and which would have produced much more but for certain intrusions of the Civil Power, which in Scotland have wholly ceased—ceased, it is but right to say, largely through the valiant efforts of those who in 1638 combined to overthrow it, and of their successors and imitators in 1843.

I refer to those "Precedents of 1610," which

were brought before you in England in 1908, in that Resolution of the Lambeth Conference, declaring that "in the welcome event of any project of Reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-Episcopal Church which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the Episcopate on lines suggested by the precedents of 1610."

If it be urged that these Precedents concerned mainly the question of Church government, I answer that Church government is by no means the unessential matter that it is sometimes called. The Church of Christ is more, I know, than a mere organization. It is an organism: the Body of Christ of which He is the living Head. But it is an organization, too: a Kingdom, He calls it, in which He has appointed key-bearers,¹ "a government and governors ecclesiastical, distinct from the civil magistrate."² Our Lord Himself has taught us that no kingdom (of earth, or hell, or heaven) can do its work with two or more

¹ St. Matt. xvi. 19.

² Westminster Confession of Faith.

Scottish Church reformed by Presbyters 7

opposing governments in the same place ; while a strong united government acting in obedience to Christ, so far from being oppressive, should be, and is, the very shield of reasonable liberty.

I

In order to explain these Precedents of 1610, let me in the first place pass in brief review the relevant events which led to them.

In that same year (1610) the Scottish Reformation saw its first jubilee. We date our Reformation as an accomplished fact from the year 1560, when the first Confession of Faith and Doctrine professed by the Reformed Church of the Kingdom of Scotland was "exhibited" by our Reformers to "the Estates of the Realm in Parliament, and by their public votes authorized as a doctrine grounded upon the infallible Word of God."¹ We were "reformed from Popery by presbyters." Not one of the Scottish bishops of the day possessed the courage or the character either to lead the new movement or to defend the existing state of things. Neither did they make any effort for the continuance of the priesthood among the remnant who remained in communion with Rome. The Reformers, on the other hand, though in 1560

¹ Act of Scots Parliament settling Presbyterian Government, 1690.

they had got their doctrine acknowledged, were not able to get their projected Church polity accepted, or to unseat the existing prelates. These were still, in law and by the aid of their powerful connexions, the bishops of their respective sees and Lords of Parliament : the Reformed Church might assign to others their spiritual functions, but she could do it, as yet, only by a sort of make-shift and in a temporary fashion. She contented herself accordingly with carrying on the Presbyterate and, as best she might, two of the old Church Courts—the *Generalis Conventio* or Church Assembly for the whole of Scotland,¹ and the old diocesan Synod ; and with instituting for the spiritual rule of each parish the Genevan expedient of the Kirk Session. Presbyteries as yet our Church had none, save in an inchoate form, as a sort of survival of the rural deanery—a stated meeting of neighbouring ministers to exercise themselves in devotion and sacred study. The Church of Scotland, even before the Reformation, seems never to have held the necessity of bishops. The Reformers recognized, however, the need there was for the oversight of the clergy ; nor did they see any objection to

¹ Dating from 1225, when it was authorized by a bull of Pope Honorius III.

1562 several Bishops join the Reformers 9

placing the power of such oversight in the hands of a single minister. So early as 1560 they appointed certain presbyters to be superintendents of the others. John Knox declared that such officers were necessary.¹

By and by a few of the existing bishops embraced the Reformation: the first to appear is the Bishop of Galloway, a Gordon of the House of Huntly, on whom the Pope had conferred the titular dignity of Archbishop of Athens. He petitioned the Assembly of 1562 "anent the superintendentship of Galloway"²: the Assembly acted with caution, but by June 1563 he "has gotten commission to plant" (i.e. institute) "ministers, exhorters, readers, and other officers requisite for a reformed kirk within the bounds of Galloway." Next, Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, consecrated according to the old ordinal, sits and acts as a member of Assembly in 1563, and is Superintendent of the island diocese.

Queen Mary returned from France in 1561: she never acknowledged the Parliament of 1560;

¹ *Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent*, 1560. *Book of Common Order* (Knox's Liturgy), Sprott's edition, p. 20.

² *Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*.

10 *An English Rector Moderator of Assembly*

she had, of course, to tolerate the Reformation where it had succeeded in establishing itself; but in 1565 she gave great offence to the Reformed by appointing a Roman Catholic to the bishopric of Ross. Next year she took a different line and gave the see of the Isles to its Protestant Superintendent, John Carswell, Rector of Kilmartin, the translator of John Knox's Liturgy into Gaelic.

Two facts may show the relation of the Church of Scotland to the Church of England at this period: the Assembly's Letter of 1566 "to their brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England," and the election, five times over (in 1563, 1564, 1565, and twice in 1568), to the Moderator's chair of John Willock, who was at once Superintendent of the West (of Scotland) and Rector of Loughborough in England. He had been a friar at Ayr, and was second only to John Knox as a preacher of the Reformation in Scotland.

In 1567 Queen Mary was compelled to abdicate in favour of her infant son, and in December of that year (while she lay a captive at Lochleven) the Regent Moray held a legal Parliament, which "ratified" the Confession of 1560, and declared the Reformed to be "the only true and holy kirk of Jesus Christ within this Realm."

The Reformers had now a free hand, under "the good Regent." They used it, not to set up Presbyteries or establish "parity," but to assign to the Superintendent a function which made him liker than ever to a bishop; for to him "the just and ancient [laic] patron of a vacant benefice" was to "present a qualified person" with a view to his orderly settlement in the charge.

Five years later, in 1572, an important Convention, "with the force and power of a [General] Assembly," was held at Leith, which pressed for, and obtained, at the instance of the ministers, an Agreement between the Church and the Regent Mar. Embodying with slight changes a recent English Act (Elizabeth xiii.), it provided for Scotland (1) "that the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops be not altered or innovat, nor yet the bounds of their Dioceses confounded, but to stand and continue as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King's majority . . . (2) That persons promoted to the sees be, so far as may be, endued with the qualities specified in the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and Titus. (3) That there be a certain . . . chapter of learned ministers annexed to every Metropolitan or Cathedral seat . . .

12 *Relations between Church and State*

(4) . . . (5) . . . (6) That all Archbishops and Bishops be subject to the Kirk and General Assembly thereof *in spiritualibus* and to the King *in temporalibus*; and have the advice of the best learned of their Chapter, to the number of six at least, in the admission of such as shall have spiritual function in the Kirk." Further, the bishop was to be elected by the Cathedral Chapter on receipt of a Letter from the Regent, nominating and recommending for the vacant see, as a man "virtuous, learned, and of godly conversation," our trusty and well-beloved B. C. preacher of the Word of God." The Chapter, however, while bound to examine the Regent's nominee, was not bound to elect him if after trials it should "find him not qualified in the whole or part of the qualities required in a Bishop"; in which case it might "crave" a new nomination. On the election taking place and the Chapter certifying the same, "our Sovereign Lord" is to issue a Letter under the Great Seal to the Most Reverend Father in God, Archbishop of S., or to whatsoever further bishops to whom in this part it appertains, to consecrate the bishop-elect to be Bishop and Pastor of the Church aforesaid. If he is a bishop already he is to be translated, not consecrated.

John Knox accepts Leith Agreement 13

He is then to take oath to the King that his Majesty is "the only lawful and supreme governor of this Realm, as well in things temporal as in the conservation and defence of religion," and is thereupon to have the temporalities restored to him." All which may be read in the Church's own official records.¹

The terms of this Agreement had been shown to John Knox, who was too infirm to be present at the Assembly. He not only accepted them, but when the "Agreement" was carried out, and when in accordance with it his old friend and fellow-labourer, John Douglas—the first of "the six Johns," our Reforming Presbyters—was consecrated to the vacant Primacy, he went over to St. Andrews, and preached the inauguration sermon. No other part in the service was open to him: he had never been a superintendent, and to the superintendents, as virtual bishops, along with the pre-Reformation Bishop of Caithness (whose consecration, however, is uncertain), the Agreement assigned the Act of Consecration. This was on the 16th of March, 1572: in the same year an undoubted bishop, Adam Bothwell of Orkney, took part in the consecration of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, minister

¹ *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, I, p. 209.

14 *Reformers intended a moderate Episcopacy*

of Glasgow, to the Western Archbishopric.¹

The Act continued in operation, and in 1577 the see of Aberdeen—then vacant by the demise of William Gordon, its last Roman Catholic occupant, who however had “collated” a Protestant “reader”—was filled by the “consecration” of David Cunningham, a priest in Roman orders who had been minister of Lanark since 1562, at the hands of Archbishop Adamson in the presence among others of Mr. John Craig, then minister of St. Nicholas’, the great Reformer whom Wodrow describes as at this very moment “active and useful” to “rid the Church of this heavy burden of Tulchan bishops”!²

It might be possible, I think, to defend the canonical validity of these consecrations; but the question is of less practical importance, inasmuch as the bishops of this time took no part in handing on the episcopal succession. What is germane, however, to our present purpose, is the proof the incident supplies that our earlier Reformers, so far from objecting to a moderate and constitutional Episcopacy, deliberately intended—such is the impartial judgment of Mosheim—“to protestantize the ancient

¹ Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*.

² Cullen, *Chronicle of Aberdeen*, quoted in Wodrow’s *Biographical Collections*, p. lvii.

hierarchy, and adapt it judiciously to the circumstances of the country ; but by no means to sweep it away as a Popish encumbrance which must impede and discredit a scriptural faith." ¹

The system was discredited, however, by the promotion in some cases of mere court favourites, by suspicion in the case of others of corrupt practices, and by the morbid fear of Popery. It suffered ere long through the growing unpopularity of the Regent Morton, who was accused of gross avarice, and was believed to advance men to the sees merely to be his " tulchans," through whom he could milk the revenues of the Church into his own pail. The Regent Morton fell in 1580 ; and already the Leith Agreement had been undermined by the powerful influence of Andrew Melville, who, returning from Geneva to Scotland in 1574 with a strong determination to establish in the Church of Scotland the full Genevan discipline, rapidly rose to be the leader of the Assembly, which in 1580 passed an Act declaring that " Forasmuch as the office of a Bishop as it is now used . . . within this Realm hath no sure warrant . . . out of the Scriptures of God, but was brought in by the folly and corruption of

¹ Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, Stubbs' edition, Vol. III, p. 68.

man's invention . . . ordained all such persons as enjoy . . . the said office to quit and leave off the same." But Melville's victory was secured only by a majority. Henceforth, however, there was a "Moderate" as well as a "High-flying" party in the Church; and he would be a bold man who would assert that all the piety or all the reasonableness was ranged either on the one side or on the other.

For a time the tide flowed in Melville's favour, not without the help of such events as "the Raid of Ruthven" (1582), which kept King James a prisoner in the hands of his party for several months, the strong anti-Popish feeling naturally created by the launching of the Spanish Armada (1588), and the insurrection of "the Popish Lords" (1589). Presbyteries were now erected. Archbishop Adamson, at the advice of the King, made a modified submission to the General Assembly; an Act of Parliament was passed annexing the temporalities of the bishoprics to the Crown, and in 1592 (when the murder of the "bonnie" Earl of Moray had compromised the reputation of the King) the Presbyterian polity received what is once more since 1690, its Parliamentary "Charter." By it the liberties, privileges and immunities of the Church were

ratified. General Assemblies were allowed to meet once a year, or oftener if there be occasion, the time and place of their next meeting to be fixed at each Assembly by the King or his commissioner, whom failing, by the members themselves. The inferior courts—the Provincial Synods, Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions—were defined and confirmed; the commission given to bishops and other judges in ecclesiastical causes was repealed; and, most important of all, presentations to benefices were ordered to be directed to the particular presbyteries, to whom full powers were given to grant collation "providing the foresaid presbyteries be bound and restricted to receive and admit whatsumever qualified minister presented by his Majesty or laick patrons."

The Assembly of 1593 did not, however, understand the Act as forbidding them to appoint commissioners for the visitation of churches who were practically superintendents, and Dr. Cook seems to think that in this fashion Episcopacy might legally have come in.

But the triumph of the high Presbyterians was short-lived, and their fall was due in no small measure to their own arrogance. Their demands to say who were to be the King's ministers of State, and that their pulpit deliverances

on public questions were to be tried in the first place by the presbytery, were obviously incompatible with civil government. Melville took an unwarrantable liberty with his sovereign when in the royal closet he shook him by the sleeve and called him "God's silly vassal," and rebellion was not far off when a mob of his supporters drove the King into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and surrounded him with cries of "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" and "Bring forth that wicked Haman!" At once the burgesses and trades of Edinburgh rallied to their King, and all over the country there was a reaction in his favour; the moderate section of the clergy felt bound to support him; and in 1597 the General Assembly enacted that none but ministers should be promoted to the bishoprics, which meant, at least, that their office should be to some extent spiritual.

Accordingly, in 1600, three of the ministers were made bishops, though now without any election by chapter or place as bishops in the ecclesiastical polity. The Assembly of 1602 appointed one of these its commissioner to visit the diocese to which the King had named him. But none of these bishops received so much as a form of consecration.

So far all was constitutional. If there was still an opposition party in the Church the great majority alike of clergy and people were with the King.

II

Such was the situation when, in 1603, James VI of Scotland became King of England. Whatever was the cause, he now embarked on a course of arbitrary encroachments on the legal rights of the Scottish Church: proceedings which served in some measure to justify the opponents of his policy, and certainly did much to prejudice that policy both at this time and afterwards. The law provided that at least one General Assembly should be held annually. None was allowed to meet in 1603 or in 1604. And when in 1608—simply for the purpose of asserting the Church's rights, and with more than a colourable pretence of sanction from the Crown—an Assembly was held at Aberdeen, the brave ministers who constituted it were harassed, imprisoned, and banished in defiance both of law and justice. Equally illegal and oppressive was the King's treatment of Andrew Melville and some other prominent ministers, whom he called up to London, imprisoned in the Tower, and drove into exile. This

20 *Parliamentary Restoration of Bishops*

was a crime and a blunder, too. It created prejudice, and it provided the censurers of the steps that followed with the plausible complaint, "He got unanimity by removing the opposition leaders." The Royal action is the more to be regretted because without it James would have carried by a large majority all that he desired. In the Scottish Parliament of 1606 an Act was passed for the Ratification of the Estate of Bishops, which restored them to "their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, lands, teinds, and . . . estate, as the same was in the reformed Church at any time before the Act of Annexation": the reference was plainly to the Leith Agreement. It remained for the Church, through her General Assembly, to say what, if any, were to be their spiritual functions. The first step was taken ere the year was out by a Church Convention at Linlithgow, which resolved that the bishops should be constant moderators, alike of their respective synods and of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Two years later another Assembly was held in Linlithgow [objected to afterwards, but owned at the time by the leaders of both parties] at which there was a touching scene. I quote from the Assembly Records: "The haill brethren present declare

that they laid down all grudge and rancour, and in token of the aefauld (single-minded) union of hearts and affections they all held up their hands to God, testifying to His Divine Majesty the truth of their hearts in the said matter." There was still among them, they admitted, "difference of judgments concerning the external government and discipline of the Kirk,"¹ but they appointed a committee (mostly of the new bishops, but with Patrick Simson and others of the Presbyterian party) to investigate the subject, and report to the next General Assembly.

This striking episode is not mentioned by Dr. Grub; and I venture to submit that he and others, by not noticing what a later historian, Mr. Mathieson,² calls "the general desire for peace," have failed to bring out sufficiently a *main cause*—and the most creditable cause—which led the General Assembly of 1610 to vote with hardly a murmur of dissent for the re-establishment of Episcopacy on the lines laid down by the Agreement of Leith in 1572, and approved by Parliament in 1606. It was not solely "the ambition of vain men," or "the power and working of civil authority," or "corrupt Assemblies of

¹ *Booke of The Universal Kirk*, iii, pp. 1060-3.

² *Politics and Religion in Scotland*.

ministers " that gave the Episcopacy of 1610-38 its footing in Scotland. Such things, so far as they existed, we all reprobate ; and no one on either side of the Border would wish to see a repetition of them. There had been a genuine movement towards it within the Church herself. And though the King was unquestionably the moving spirit in the change, the fact must not be overlooked that, when the change came, it was brought about through formal Acts, both of the Scottish Parliament and of the General Assembly, without any striking expression either of popular dislike or of clerical protest. Nor would it be fair to the King to say that his object was merely the increase of his own arbitrary power. James VI and I was certainly not indifferent to the interests of the Reformed religion ; and one of the chief of these interests, in the face of the powerful Romanist apologetic then being set forth, was the closing up of the ranks of the Reformed Churches. The King was also really anxious to promote learning ; and it was an essential principle of his whole policy to further unity, as between the Three Kingdoms whose crowns were now united in his person (he laboured, though in vain, to unite the English and Scottish Parliaments), so also between the

three National Churches. In regard to Scotland, moreover, it was a leading object with him, as well as with his ecclesiastical advisers (Spottiswood in particular), "to rescue the Church property from lay spoliation, and to restore it to its proper uses."¹ We must give him credit for these things. We must give credit also to the Scottish supporters of his policy for a genuine desire for ecclesiastical peace, and for the removing of the occasions for strife and debate; and to the clergy of Scotland in particular for much of that "hearty affection in Christ which," to use their own words, "becometh those who are ministers of the Word of God, and preachers of love and charity to His people."²

The Bishops of the period were not so servile as they are sometimes represented to have been. James would have liked them to be as arbitrary as himself, and "daily urged them," Spottiswood says, "to take upon them the administration of all Church affairs; but they were unwilling," he continues, "to make any change without the approbation of the ministers." They wanted full ecclesiastical sanction for their position, and they entreated his Majesty for licence to hold

¹ Grub. III, 294.

² *Booke of the Universal Kirk*, iii, 1060. The words are those of the Linlithgow Assembly.

24 *General Assembly at Glasgow, 1610*

“some general meeting of the Church” with such effect that he “was pleased to yield to their requests, and in 1610 he granted liberty for a General Assembly to be holden at Glasgow on the 8th day of June next.”¹

III

The more famous Assembly held in the same city under Charles I in 1638, “annulled the pretended Assembly at Glasgow, 1610,” for the reasons (1) that the election of its members was not free, (2) that besides “the pretended bishops there were thirty voters, noblemen, who had no commission from any presbytery; (3) that voting was not free; (4) that the principal Acts, drawn up in privy conference, were only read and ratified in the Assembly, and (5) that sundry ministers then present do now declare” (in 1638, after twenty-eight years!) “that they knew the ministers to have been bribed.”² The evidence as to bribery is itself inadequate, but money was certainly disbursed under the name of arrears of salary, which Dr. Grub admits may have been distributed with a view to influence the votes

¹ Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, sub anno 1610.

² Peterkin, *Records of the Church of Scotland*.

or silence the protests of the recipients. But the charge of lack of freedom comes with an ill grace from an Assembly all of whose members had been elected under the most violent compulsion, which Mr. Mathieson does not scruple to call a "packed Assembly," and to say of it that but for such measures the co-operation of the clergy could not have been secured.

The Glasgow Assembly of 1610, whatever may be said as to its constituents, observed the forms which then were usual. "After sermon, made by Mr. James Law, Bishop of Orkney, Moderator of the last Assembly," it proceeded to elect a "Moderator of this present Assembly." A leet of four were nominated, of whom only one was a prelate, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of Glasgow: he "by plurality of votes was chosen *pro hac vice*." Next there were selected, somewhat after the fashion observed in the Scottish Parliament, assessors to "convene with the Moderator in the privy conference for treating of such things as are to be concluded in the Assembly"—our modern "Committee on Bills and Overtures." Then his Majesty's commissioner, the Earl of Dunbar, read, as is still done, the King's Letter, which certainly spoke in a tone that we do not hear, and should not like, at the

present day. "As it hath pleased God in His mercy to appoint Us to be the Nursing Father of His Church here on earth in Our Dominions, so do we intend ever to be most careful for setting forward all such things which may advance His glory and breed quietness and peace in the Church: unto which nothing hath been so great an enemy as the want of order and government without which no body or estate, whether ecclesiastical or civil can subsist. And howsoever the singularity of some did for a certain space maintain, either by wilfulness or ignorance, a sort of headless government, yet ere long it did kyth" (become clear) "what inconvenience and harm might ensue to the Church and advancement of the Gospel by any longer continuance therein: which moved Us during our stay there in our proper person to take so great pains for finding remedy for this. We called several Assemblies, and have at our great cost and charges procured also maintenance sufficient in some reasonable sort for the Fathers of the Church . . . and fully hoped . . . that the Church would have become suitors unto Us for establishing that government and rule which is most fit, and allowed" (approved) "of in former times in the Primitive Church, so that things should not be

left still in uncertainty by reason of the division and distraction of minds among yourselves. . . . But whether the default be in the Fathers of the Church . . . or in factious singularity of others of meaner rank . . . We . . . holding Ourselves justly bound not to suffer this sort of lingering, thought it expedient to call this Assembly . . . hoping that your forwardness will remove all opinion that may be conceived either of unwillingness or of opposition to our godly intentions." This was urgent enough, though hardly more so than William III's counsel of "moderation" to the General Assembly of 1690.

The Assembly, however, did not need to be threatened. It was ready of its own part, and when "the brethren appointed for the privy conference produced their Report after long deliberation" it was approved by them all with two exceptions, said to be Mr. John Hall and Mr. William Cowper. Its ten "heads and articles" were "divers times read publicly in the face of the whole Assembly convened for the purpose, and after voting the same were ratified, approven and concluded by the whole Assembly, and ordered to be observed in all time coming." ¹

Whatever may have been said in committee,

¹ *Booke of the Universal Kirk*. Pp. 1086-1098.

opposition in the Assembly was of the slightest. "Mr. Peter Primrose from Ayr with some other ministers from the West," says Calderwood, "were minded to protest, but did not," so the report was passed unanimously.

These ten "Heads and Articles" are of considerable importance. They were evidently drawn up with great care and skill, in such terms as to avoid, on the one hand, giving offence to the King on points where he was known to be sensitive, and on the other hand *to secure to the Church of Scotland every one of her valued Courts—Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies—along with the due rights of Presbyters, and the dignity, but also the discipline, of the Bishops.* They are as follows:

I. "It is declared that the alleged Assembly at Aberdeen is null in itself, especially in respect it had not his Majesty's allowance, and was discharged by his Commissioner.

"And because the necessity of the Kirk craves, that for order taken against the common enemy" (Popery), "and other affairs of the Kirk there shall be yearly Assemblies, the indiction whereof the Assembly acknowledges to appertain to his Majesty by the prerogative of his royal crown; and therefore the General Assembly most humbly

requests his Majesty that *General Assemblies* be holden *once a year*; or at least, in respect of the necessities aforesaid, that his Majesty would appoint a certain time at which the same shall be held in all time coming."

II. "It is thought expedient that the *Bishops* shall be *Moderators in every Diocesan Synod*, and the *Synods* shall be holden twice in the year of the kirks in every diocese, viz. in April and October. And where the dioceses are large, that there be two or three Synods in convenient places for the ease of the Ministry."

III. "That no sentence of Excommunication or Absolution therefrom be pronounced without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the diocese, who must be answerable to his Majesty for all formal and impartial proceedings therein; and the process being found formal" (i.e. regular) "the sentence to be pronounced at the discretion of the Bishops by the minister of the *parish where the offender dwelt and the process began*. And in case the Bishop be found to have stayed the pronouncing of the sentence against any person that has merited the same, and against whom the process has been lawfully deduced, the same being tried, and he convicted by the General Assembly therefor, that advertise-

30 *Bishops to Preside at Ordinations*

ment shall be made to his Majesty, to the effect that another may be placed in his room."

IV. "That all presentations be directed hereafter to the Bishop; and upon any presentation given, or otherwise suit made to any to be admitted to the Ministry, the Bishop is to require *the Ministers of these bounds where he is to serve*, to certify by their testificate unto him of the party suitor his past conversation and ability and qualification for that function, and upon return of their certificate, the Bishop is to take further trial; and finding him qualified, and being assisted by *such of the Ministry of the bounds* where he is to serve, as he will assume unto himself, he is then to perfect the whole Act of Ordination."

V. "In Deposition of Ministers, the Bishop associating to himself that *the whole* of the *Ministers of these bounds* where the delinquent served, he is then to make trial of his fault, and upon just cause found, to deprive him."

VI. "That every Minister on his admission shall swear obedience to his Majesty and his Ordinary, according to the form set down in the Conference [at Leith] in the year of God 1571 [157½] whereof the tenor follows: 'I, A. B., now nominated and admitted to the Church of D.,

utterly testify . . . that James VI, by the grace of God King of Scots, is the only supreme governor of this Realm, as well in things temporal as *in the conservation and defence of Religion*, and that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate has or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority within this Realm. And therefore I renounce all foreign jurisdiction . . . and shall bear faithful and true allegiance to his Highness, his heirs and lawful successors . . . and further I acknowledge . . . to hold the said possessions of the same under God only of his Majesty and Crown royal of this Realm. . . .”

VII. “The visitation of each Diocese is to be done by the Bishop himself; and if the bounds shall be greater than he can overtake, he is then to make special choice and to appoint some worthy man to be visitor in his place. And whatsoever Minister, without just cause and lawful excuse made, shall absent himself from the visitation of the Diocesan Assembly, he shall be suspended from his office and benefice, and if he amend not, he shall be deprived.”

VIII. “*Exercise of doctrine* is to be continued weekly among the Ministers at the times of their accustomed meetings, and to be moderated by

32 *Bishops subject to General Assembly*

the Bishop if he be present, or else by any other whom he shall appoint at the time of the Synod."

IX. "The *Bishops* shall be *subject* in all things concerning their life, conversation, office and benefice, to the censures of the *General Assembly*, and being found culpable shall, with his Majesty's advice and consent, be deprived."

X. "That no Bishop be *elected* but who has passed the age of forty years complete, and who has been an actual teaching Minister for at least ten years."

Having passed these Ten Articles the Assembly recorded its desire that "none of the Ministers, either in the pulpit or in preaching, should speak and reason against the Acts of this present Assembly, or disobey the same, under pain of deprivation." The King followed this up by issuing a proclamation to the same effect.

It is impossible to excuse the pusillanimous abandonment in the first of these Articles of the noble confessors of the Aberdeen Assembly of 1605, but the sternest reprobation of this initial baseness should not hinder us from doing justice to the merits—the combined firmness and moderation—of the others.

It is plain, to begin with, that the Assembly was quite sure that the Church of Scotland (as

she *then* was, without canonical bishops, and under the government of presbyters orderly associated in a gradation of Courts) was "Christ's holy Kirk in Scotland," ¹ professing the Catholic faith, and possessing presbyters in valid orders, at whose hands the Word and Sacraments were duly ministered. With England as yet she had not much intercourse, but what existed was friendly. Archbishop Grindall had given licence to John Morrison, a presbyter "ordained," said his Grace, "according to the laudable rite of the Church of Scotland" ("juxta laudabilem ritum Ecclesiae Scoticae") to minister within his diocese of Canterbury: the Canons of 1604 (which are still in force) had ordered "... Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, that is for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout all the world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland" (Canon 55). There was no other "face of a Church" in Scotland at the time: the only Christians not in union with the National Church by law established were the Roman Catholics, who were served only by wandering and persecuted priests. And in 1604 it was hardly to be hoped, save by the optimism of the King, that

¹ Scots Acts, 1567.

34 *Episcopacy for bene esse of the Church*

any real Episcopacy would be accepted by what James was accustomed to call "that stubborn Kirk." Moreover, Episcopacy was accepted *now* not as something necessary to the Church, or of its *esse*, but only of its *bene esse*, for the promotion of unity at home and abroad, and for the more orderly administration of rites already validly administered. Not one of the Scottish bishops questioned either his own orders, as a presbyter ordained by associated presbyters, or those of his brethren. The noblest of the new bishops, Dr. Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, was to declare that it was "impudent" for the Papists to deny that the ministers of the Church of Scotland had "a lawful ordinarie calling." And, as we shall see, not one of the clergy then in Scotland was re-ordained.

But the bishops were henceforth to have the usual powers of their degree—the oversight of pastors, the presidency at ordinations, the charge of grave questions, the conduct of matters to which the State must be a consenting party—with this difference, that whereas in other countries (in France, for instance) bishops could be deprived only by Councils of Bishops, the bishops of Scotland were to be subject to a National Church Council in which presbyters,

and even prelates still unordained, had sat and exercised an equal vote with the consecrated bishops. The Assembly agreed, however, that bishops should not be deprived without the King's consent.

Observe on the other hand the scrupulous care of this Assembly for the maintenance and activity of all the four Church judicatories secured by the Act of 1592. A *General Assembly* is to be summoned yearly, by the King (Article I): it was not till some time after the Revolution that our present admirable practice arose of the Moderator also calling it. The *Synod* of every province (again as from 1560-72 called the diocese) shall meet twice a year, as previously (Articles II, VI, and VII). King James disliked the term *Presbytery*, and he loved neither Kirk sessions nor lay elders; wherefore the Assembly avoids the obnoxious words but implies the things. For "the Ministers of the bounds" (Articles III and IV), "the Ministry of the bounds" (Articles III and IV), and "the exercise of doctrine" (Article VIII) are just the Presbytery engaged, on the one hand, in its judicial function of examining candidates for the Holy Ministry and laying on hands in the ordination of presbyters along with the bishop; and, on

the other, in the no less necessary, if now neglected, duty of furthering sacred study and personal religion among its own members. For which latter cause it was to meet much more frequently than is our modern custom. Finally, the *Kirk Session* (consisting of the minister of the parish and the lay elders), if not expressly mentioned, is implied in the rule (Article III) that a process towards excommunication shall take its beginning there.

If, again, the Assembly of 1610 was fain to allow the King cognizance in all cases of the greater excommunication (which was by no means obsolete and involved practical ostracism), yet this is no more than William the Conqueror obtained from Hildebrand; nay, the Scottish Assembly allows of the Royal interposition only in so far as to ensure that the proceedings have been taken in due form and without partiality, which may be justified on the ground that the Sovereign is the protector of the rights of all his subjects. The Assembly had vindicated, therefore, to Christ's Church in Scotland that power of discipline the abeyance of which the Church of England yearly laments upon Ash Wednesday, and had been in the eyes of John Knox a notable flaw upon her beauty. Nor by "absolution"

Church Censures ; Patronage ; the Call 37

did the Church of Scotland mean merely the loosing from ecclesiastical censure. "The Minister who preacheth" [on the occasion of the public absolution of one excommunicate] "pronounceth him on his repentance to be absolved in the Name of Christ from all his sin, and free of the censures of the Church, and to have right through faith to Christ and all His benefits, praising God for His grace, and praying that he may be fully accepted to His favour and hear the voice of joy and gladness." ¹

I see further, in Article IV, a sign of that jealousy in regard to Lay Patronage which was to play so large a part in the subsequent history of our Northern Church. The Assembly of 1610 could no more get rid of Lay Patronage than that of 1843 ; but it takes care to suggest an alternative method whereby a man may enter on a cure : he may come in either by "presentation given" or by "suit made for him"—a call from the parishioners (Article IV).

Such are the Presbyterian features. The Episcopalian features, if I may use the term, are no less interesting. The bishops, though

¹ Alexander Henderson, (the great leader of the Covenanters, *temp.* Car. I), *Constitution of the Church of Scotland*.

presented by the Crown, are to be elected (Article IX), evidently as were those under the Leith Agreement by the Dean and Chapter; and it was doubtless understood by the Assembly that the further provision contained in that Agreement would stand, viz. that in case of the Chapter finding the Crown's presentee "not qualified" it might "crave" a new nomination.

To the same cause may probably be ascribed another omission, on which the keen eyes of later critics were to fasten: the fact, namely, that no mention is made of the bishops being consecrated: it is probably due to the Assembly considering itself as reviving the Church's assent to the Leith Agreement under which the King, on receiving the Chapter's certificate of election made, was to issue under the Great Seal a letter to "the Archbishop of S., or to whatsoever other Bishops to whom in this part it appertains, to consecrate the said A.B., elected to be Bishop and pastor of the Kirk aforesaid."

There were here provisions with which in the circumstances of the Church of Scotland in 1610 it was not possible, or at least not easy, to comply. There would have been some awkwardness in asking the Chapters to "elect" men who had already for several years been recognized by

General Assemblies as bishops of the several sees; but this inconvenience should have been accepted, such was the judgment of the late Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, "were it only as a witness that the law had been observed."¹ Then also the Convention of Leith, being held before the Union of the Crowns, had not contemplated the employment of other than Scottish consecrators. Moreover, there was the double difficulty, (1) that if the new Scottish bishops were to be consecrated by men who at most were presbyters, they would not according to English law be recognized as bishops south of the Border, and (2) that the only Scottish bishop alive in 1610 who had received any sort of consecration was old Neil Campbell, the retired Bishop of Argyll, the last survivor of the Agreement of Leith Episcopate. His acting alone would have violated the rule of the Council of Arles, requiring three consecrators.

How, then, were the bishops whom Church and State in Scotland had thus called for to be consecrated? King James had a plan of his own, skilful enough if neither quite legal in itself (in England) nor carried out with perfect candour. He summoned to London three of the Scottish

¹ Bishop John Wordsworth, *Unity and Fellowship*.

40 *King James's Plan for their Consecration*

prelates, and he "requested and required" certain English bishops to perform for him the consecration which he so much desired (he had no authority to allege except his own desire) of John Spottiswood as Archbishop of Glasgow, of Gavin Hamilton as Bishop of Galloway, and of Andrew Lamb as Bishop of Brechin, asserting in the patent (what was hardly true) that these sees had long been vacant (if the sees were vacant, why did the presenters to them not go through the process of election?), and that they appertained to his nomination, presentation and dispensation solely by his right to the Crown of Scotland. He did indeed in this instruction alike to the English and the Scottish prelates take every precaution that "no prejudice should be engendered" from these consecrations, "to the detriment of the Church of our Realm of Scotland, and to its privileges and immunities"; and accordingly the English bishops did their best as regards the oaths which they required the three Scotsmen to take, straining the law to do so.

What happened when our men went up to London is best described in Spottiswood's own words:

"At their first audience the King declared the business for which he had called them, speaking to this purpose. That he had to his great charge

recovered the bishoprics forth of the hands of those [laymen] that possessed them, and bestowed them upon such as he deemed worthy of their places ; but since he could not make them bishops and they could not assume that honour to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter charges by consecration, he had called them to England that being consecrated themselves they might at their return give ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries' mouths be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create Bishops and bestow spiritual offices, which he never did nor would presume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Christ alone, and those He had authorized with His power."

"The Archbishop of Glasgow answering in the name of the rest, ' That they were willing to obey his Majesty's desire, and only feared that the Church of Scotland, because of old usurpations ' (as far back as 1218) ' might take this for a sort of subjection to the Church of England ' ; the King said that he had provided against this : for neither should the Archbishop of Canterbury or York, who were the only pretenders, have hand in the business, but consecration should be used by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath.

42 *Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bancroft*

The Scots Bishops thanking his Majesty for the care he had of their Church, and professing their willingness to obey what he would command, the 21st October was appointed for the time, and the Chapel of London House the place of the consecration."

"A question in the meantime was moved by the learned and pious Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop [then] of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no ordination from a bishop.' The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained that thereof there is no necessity, because where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise it might be doubted if there was any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. This [was] applauded by the other Bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at the day and place appointed the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated."¹

Soon after their return to the North they consecrated the other holders of the Scottish sees—Archbishop Gladstones to St. Andrews, by Spottiswood, Hamilton, and Lamb, in December,

¹ Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland* (1676), p. 514.

No Re-ordination of Scottish Ministers 43

and the others early in 1611 : " all " in a manner " as near as they were done at Lambeth as they could possibly imitate."

Throughout the twenty-eight years that followed, ordinations of ministers in Scotland (with the exception of a very few clandestinely performed by presbyters alone) were by the laying on of the hands of the bishops thus consecrated, with the simultaneous " laying on of the hands of the presbytery."

Of the clergy whom these bishops found in possession of the Scottish cures, none were re-ordained ; and this, not because of any indifference on the subject of orders but for the precisely opposite reason : because the whole Scottish Church, her bishops no less than her ministers and people, were quite sure that they were lawfully ordained already. And they continued to hold, even after this, that Presbyterian ordination was valid. For instance, the gravest and most sagacious of their number, Bishop Patrick Forbes, of Aberdeen (himself ordained in middle life by the Bishop of Moray), allowed his illustrious son, Dr. John Forbes, to be ordained by a presbytery in Holland, and then brought him to Scotland to be Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen ; while that son (the ablest defender of Episcopacy

that ever appeared in Scotland) asserted that even where there was a bishop, presbyters might ordain.¹

How, it may be asked, did the Church of Scotland take this action of the Assembly and these proceedings of the bishops? There was certainly an influential party that disliked the alteration. Thus, the Presbytery of Haddington wrote to Archbishop Gladstones recording its desire that "the old discipline, prescribed, confirmed and practised with good reason out of God's Word, may be retained, and requesting that in the meantime they be not pressed . . . to the accepting and the practising of any other discipline and government of the Kirk," but when the matter came up at the Synod of Lothian, the only effect was that one or two withdrew from the meeting. At the Synod of Fife "whatsoever thing the Bishop put to voting was concluded as it pleased him." In the North the minister of Forres, who had disobeyed the Assembly by "teaching against the estate of Bishops," and refusing to acknowledge the Bishop of Moray to be his judge, was "warded in the Castle of Inverness."

¹ *Irenicum* xi. Cf. his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ* xv. I.

But elsewhere there was no trouble, as Scot of Cupar indignantly complains: "This is the ruin of the Kirk that ministers resort to their Assemblies, and do not protest for the right constitution and freedom of the Assembly, but join them where they can be overthrown by a plurality of votes."

Doubtless there were a few who changed their opinions from interest or fear rather than conviction. Several erstwhile keen supporters of Andrew Melville were now on the other side. But there were many even of those who were most loyal to the Presbyterian ideals, and longed to see these again in the ascendant, who were not merely thankful to have peace, but made it a matter of conscience to submit. Such was Patrick Simson, "the most prominent in the party, and by far the finest spirit in it." He wrote letters advising men to tolerate the change, and attend the synods; he pursued this course himself, and went so far as to blame the extremists for rather "rankling than healing the Church's sore."

The bulk of the clergy genuinely approved the course they themselves had taken. Archbishop Gladstones had truth on his side when, on the eve of the Assembly (April 18, 1610), he wrote

to King James: "The great multitude of the Ministry are desirous that Presbyteries shall stand, but directed and governed by the Bishops."

The people made no stir. From the records of Glasgow, one would hardly know that an Assembly had met in what was then but a little city. And neither then nor in the eight-and-twenty years that followed was any attempt made to form a Nonconformist Church in Scotland. Ministers and people might prefer some other system, but they did not deem what had been done a sufficient ground for schism.

The next Scots Parliament (October, 1612) voiced the opinion of the country when it declared that the Assembly had determined all the doubtful points concerning jurisdiction, policy, and discipline "with full and uniform consent of a very frequent number of godly Ministers assisted by "the counsel and concurrence of a great many of the best affected Nobility, Barons, and Commissioners of the Burghs of the Kingdom."

It was, in fact, a national settlement, accepted without any of the persecutions or divisions which followed at once on three later historic changes: (1) the Re-establishment in the Church of Presbytery in 1638, when the Episcopalian leaders were driven from the country; (2) the

Restoration of Episcopacy in 1661, when the extremer Presbyterians separated; and (3) the second Re-establishment of Presbytery in 1690, which was followed by the deprivation of the Scots nonjurors. By the Church of England, too, the settlement was cordially welcomed; and the intercourse between the two National Churches (never quite suspended) was from henceforth, till the outbreak of "the Troubles" in 1638, full, frank, and frequent. Bishop Andrewes, who visited Scotland in 1617, was particularly gracious, for example, towards Dr. William Guild of Aberdeen, whose orders had been conferred by the Presbytery of Turriff in 1608, at a time when there had been no canonical bishop to take part in the rite. Archbishop Laud when he came north saw much that he wished to see mended, but neither had he any difficulty in recognizing the Church of Scotland as a true province of the Church Catholic, and her clergy as validly ordained; nor did any Anglican then dream that the Church of England had unchurched herself by giving us bishops in this fashion. Yet neither of the two Churches had lost its national characteristics or its national independence. The Church of England had neither "swallowed up" her Northern sister nor subdued her to obedience or subservience,

Each had retained its distinctive ways and "ethos": its own standards of doctrine, its own law and practice, its own ecclesiastical courts, its own order of divine service, its own rites and ceremonies, down even to the dress of its ministers. The Church of England had, as before, her Convocations, her Prayer Book, her Canons, her altars, her vestments, rochets and surplices and even copes and mitres; the Church of Scotland kept her First Confession, her Knox's Liturgy with considerable use of extempore prayer, her black gown. She kept all those things, and could so jealously assert her love for them that Archbishop Spottiswood refused to wear "his whites" (rochet) at the funeral of King James VI!

Kirk sessions went on as before: hardly ever does one find an entry in their records indicating that the change had taken place. Presbyteries met, and did their work more efficiently than ever, being monitioned by the bishops to that end. The synods gained in dignity from the presence of the bishop, and began to be both more powerful and more orderly. And if King James VI, in violation of the law, sanctioned the calling of but few General Assemblies, and Charles I of not one till it was too late, Scotland still owes a deep debt of gratitude to such Assem-

blies of this period as were permitted. That of Aberdeen in 1616 showed its spirit by making the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbott) apologize for an act "that might seem" to imply "that the Church of Scotland was in any sort inferior to that of England": he had absolved in England the Marquess of Huntly from an excommunication inflicted by the Church of Scotland. The Assembly insisted that the Marquess "supplicate for a new absolution according to the form used in Scotland, and this was very solemnly performed the first day of the Assembly, the Earl of Montrose being Commissioner."¹ The same Assembly likewise enacted (1) "that a Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer should be formed for the use of the Church" (of Scotland), Knox's Book proving less and less suitable to the altered times; ordained (2) "that no man should be appointed to practise or profess Physic unless he had first satisfied the Bishop of the diocese as to his religion," the Church fearing he might be a Jesuit in disguise; (3) "that Grammar Schools should be established where the same might be conveniently done"—two Acts which helped much to give us the admirably qualified physicians and schoolmasters to whom Scotland and the world owe so much; (4) further, that

¹ Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*.

50 *Royal Arbitrariness—Perth Articles*

a Register should be kept of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, by the Minister of every parish ; and (5) that children should be carefully catechized and confirmed by the Bishops, or in their absence by such [presbyters] as were employed in the visitation of churches." Not even under this Episcopacy would the Church tie Confirmation to the Episcopate, and for this too some ancient authority may be pleaded.¹

King James was now set upon having the Holy Communion received kneeling, according to the English practice ; and when the Scottish bishops refused to issue orders giving effect to this without the sanction of a General Assembly, he summoned one to meet at Perth, in 1617, which, after debate, accepted Five Articles, known as the Articles of Perth : (1) Kneeling at Holy Communion ; (2) Communion of the Sick at their homes ; (3) Baptism in private houses in case of necessity ; (4) Confirmation ; and (5) the observance of " the Five Festivals of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord and of the sending down of the Holy Ghost." Only those who do not know by experience the spiritual value of these

¹ See Article " Confirmation," Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, I, p. 425.

things could call them, as some writers have done, a set of "wretched trifles." Three of them have in recent years found much favour amongst us: Confirmation has many advocates, and has been introduced in places; while a public admission of young communicants is common and authorized. Only the first has not in some form been adopted. But all the five would probably have come into use *on their merits* but for the folly of the King in trying to force them all at once on a Church and nation which had been taught to regard every one of them as dregs of Popery. And of course the *freedom of the Church* in matters of the kind is of immense importance. This was unfortunately the first of a series of Royal interferences (arbitrary always even when they were themselves excellent) which ultimately discredited and destroyed the whole fabric that with so much care had been built up, and deprived Scotland altogether for sixty long years of the peace which 1610 had for a time inaugurated.

IV

But I anticipate. The settlement of 1610 had brought other benefits besides the peace which, but for the Royal impatience, need never have been

disturbed. It made possible, for one thing, a notable movement in the direction of a more generous and loveable theology, which bade fair to discredit the harsh Calvinism hitherto in the ascendant. It encouraged learning and the arts. Under it flourished some of the best of our Scottish Latin poets, and the first of our native painters, George Jameson, "the Scottish Van-dyke." In the Church it brought to the front a large number of able and moderate men. Archbishop Spottiswood, who soon succeeded Gladstones in the Scottish Primacy, had a longer period of ecclesiastical leadership than either Principal Robertson or Principal Rainy was to enjoy: he was worthy to rank with either of these great Churchmen in point of capacity, of weight, of breadth of view, and of administrative skill. To him, and to the pious care of King Charles I for the Church of his baptism, the Church of Scotland owes the great Act which secures to her ministers, out of the ancient patrimony of the Kirk, alike their stipends, their manses, and their immunity from those grievous burdens and exactions which press so heavily on their clerical brethren in the parishes (and bishoprics) of England. Spottiswood, like Charles I, and indeed like all the Stuarts, had a horror of

sacrilege. He published a Scotch edition of Spelman's tract against it. Like Charles I, also, he was interested in the providing of nobler and more beautiful places of divine worship. Charles I, who founded the Bishopric of Edinburgh (1633) to ease the unwieldy diocese of St. Andrews, made St. Giles' a cathedral, and cleared out the ugly partitions which divided its interior; to meet the needs of the displaced congregation he founded in the Scottish capital the Tron Church, a much larger edifice than the truncated fragment of it now remaining, and much more ornate than was then usual in Scotland. He gave orders too for repairs at Iona; while the Primate erected on his estate at Dairsie what he meant as a model of a parish church: it has been barbarously altered, but it has considerable beauty still. At Glasgow, Archbishop Law saved the cathedral from ruin by renewing its leaden roof, and he decorated the vaulting of the crypt with painted scrolls and texts of Scripture. To the same period belongs much of the fine woodwork now in St. Mary's Chapel (the Lower church of St. Nicholas), Aberdeen, and a large proportion of the very beautiful Communion plate still in use in parish churches all over Scotland.

There were, moreover, some admirable men

among the bishops:—Cowper of Galloway, the finest, it is said, of our preachers of that age, whose sweet and pathetic oratory would move his hearers to tears even on State occasions; and Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyll, who is praised by Burnet for having caused churches and schools to be everywhere founded in a district hitherto overrun with barbarity and ignorance, so that fifty years after his death he was still held in particular veneration, some of the strictest Presbyterians declaring that, under him, they would all have been Episcopal: while in Bishop Campbell of the Isles was revived the primitive simplicity of St. Columba and St. Aidan.

At a later period came two in whom (with some of the Laudian faults) shine many of the finer graces of that illustrious school. Such was Maxwell of Ross, whom Dr. Grub calls “the greatest Scottish prelate of the reign of Charles,” and speaks of “his eminent ability, his devotion to Church and King, the rectitude of his conduct, and the dignity and consistency of his character.” He and the scholarly Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane, who had been tutor in the house of Isaac Casaubon, were the real authors of all that is peculiar to itself in the beautiful Scottish Liturgy of 1637: a book which, owing to the utterly illegal and indeed

outrageous manner of its introduction, by the mere fiat of the King, without its having been so much as seen either by the Church or Parliament of Scotland, has never had the justice done to it which it deserves. It is not chargeable with Romanism: it is to my mind one of the finest, if not the finest, of all the variants of the English Book of Common Prayer. It is wrongly called Laud's Prayer Book. Laud's wish was that Scotland would adopt the English Prayer Book as it stood.¹ The Scots bishops insisted on a variant, prepared by Scotsmen for Scotland. They would have been wise, however, had they followed Laud's advice to do nothing but what was in accordance with the law of Scotland, and obtained the consent of the General Assembly and the Scots Parliament, instead of allowing, as they foolishly and wrongly did, the King to introduce it by Royal proclamation. Both he and they suffered for their sins.²

All the bishops of this period were Scotsmen by birth; Wedderburn alone was English by ordination and by training. No Englishman in

¹ There are two editions of the English *P.B.* printed in Edinburgh in 1634 or 6 (?)—I forget exact dates—which *may* be really due to Laud. See Glasgow Exhibition Catalogue, 1911.

² See the Author's edition of this book. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

those days need apply for a Scottish bishopric, hardly even for a Scottish parish. But already there had been opened to Scotsmen doors to rich preferment in another British Kingdom; two Scots bishops were promoted to sees in Ireland.

It was, however, at Aberdeen that the system took firmest root and produced its full results. This was largely due to the appointment to the bishopric, by King James VI, of one to whom I have already referred, Patrick Forbes, the learned Laird of Corse, who took holy orders at the request of a dying minister of Keith. Ordained to that parish by the Bishop of Moray in 1611, his conspicuous ability and the wishes of the clergy recommended him to the King for the see of Aberdeen, to which he was consecrated in 1618. His tenure of the see till his death in 1635 is one of the most honourable and illustrious in our annals. An earnest and indefatigable preacher, he submitted himself twice in the year to the judgment of his synod; every summer, accompanied only by a single servant, he made a thorough visitation of his diocese; he disjoined parishes that had been united in the interest of the tithe-owners, and he divided others that were too large. Under his superintendence King's and Marischal Colleges, the two universities now

united in the University of Aberdeen, were raised from the most wretched condition to the highest efficiency and vigour, so that he is esteemed their second founder. He surrounded himself with a galaxy of scholars and divines unrivalled in the whole course of Scottish history. While consistently upholding Episcopacy, he steadily resisted Charles I's plans for conforming the Church of Scotland to that of England. His death was worthy of his life. His son spoke to him of his journey drawing to a close. "Best of journeys," he replied, "the blessedness of which so far beyond comparison excels all others."

Greater than even this father was the son, John Forbes, first Professor of Divinity at King's College. "In learning," says Dr. Grub, "he probably surpassed all other Scottish divines: his humility, his piety, his meekness, his charity appear in the record of his spiritual life which he left behind him, and in every authentic memorial of his actions." It is no great credit to us that this record still remains unprinted, and that his *Irenicum*—most wise and moderate (amazingly so, to have been written in that age), and eminently fitted to be useful now when Reconstruction and Reunion are

becoming the practical questions of the day—has never been given to the public in an English dress. Is there no one in Aberdeen who will at last repair an omission so unfortunate? ¹

John Forbes was but one of the famous group, “the Aberdeen Doctors”—all of them men of mark and character.

But there was a third of this “noble house,” though only distantly related to Patrick and to John, who can by no means be omitted. William Forbes, a native of Aberdeen, who on the Continent had won in early life the friendship of Scaliger and Grotius, who had been invited to accept the Hebrew chair at Oxford, but returned to Scotland to become minister successively at Alford, Monymusk, and St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, to be Principal of Marischal College, and eventually, in 1633, the first Bishop of Edinburgh. While Dr. John Forbes pleaded for peace at home between Puritan and Prelatist, Dr. William Forbes essayed in his deeply serious work, *Considerationes Modestae*, the harder task of bringing Romanist and Reformed to understand and appreciate their respective positions, and his book, which has gone through several editions both in Latin and

¹ See for extracts from it *Christian Unity Association Papers*, Edinburgh, 1917.

in English, has powerfully affected many who have had, like its author, a firm faith that the prayer and promise of our Saviour, that *they all may be one*, will yet receive its complete fulfilment. He, too, was a peace-maker; and he, too, was a man of God. "My father, that knew him well," says Bishop Burnet, "has often told me that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on those words of the disciples, 'Did not our hearts burn within us, while He yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures?'"¹

Sad it is to think how the lives and labours of these godly peace-makers were frustrated at the time, on the one hand through the meddling folly, however well-meant, of two arbitrary monarchs, and through the political and religious bitterness thereby engendered, however naturally, on the other!

But their record and their works are with us: preserved to our happier days (when Stuart absolutism has long been dead, and sectarianism itself seems dying) to animate us to the same great and holy task, to suggest a way for its achievement so far at least as our British

¹*Life of Bishop Bedell*, Preface.

Churches are concerned, and to remind us how, in any attempt to apply it, there will be great need all round for the exercise of Christian patience, forbearance, and the frank toleration for a time of a good many differences. We must force no conscience; we must be content to let good things come in because at last they are seen to be good.

Our Lord when He foretells in the 10th chapter of St. John that unity for which so many of us long, has foretold to us also, it seems to me, this very method as that by which, under His guiding, the end shall be attained. "*Them also I must lead*"—not "drive," not even, as in our Authorized Version, "I must bring," but *lead*; so that they who hear will *follow* of their own will; *and they shall become*, as by an inward change, *one flock*, visible to all men, *one Shepherd*.

The Lord hasten it in His time, through our obedience to His revealed desire and purpose. Amen.

Second Address

POSSIBILITIES OF CLOSER RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ENG-
LAND AND THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND

MY LORD BISHOP,—

I am deeply conscious of the honour done me by the invitation to speak in this place, under your Lordship's presidency, and on this subject. It is much more than an honour ; it is an opportunity and a responsibility which I pray God I may be enabled adequately to realize, and usefully to employ. I thank you most sincerely.

The subject is one which, I rejoice to know, is much in your thoughts. It has always been very much in mine. It has coloured and directed, let me say, the entire current of a ministry that has

Delivered in St. Faith's Chapel, Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, on Friday, April 19, 1918, the Lord Bishop of London presiding.

now extended over five-and-forty years. And I am happy to be able to state that in Scotland it is no longer the vision of a few, but is receiving more and more attention every day; and, especially within the last few months, has swum into the wider current of discussion, of expectancy, of hope, and of movement.

So much by way of preface.

I

Now for the subject itself. "Closer relations." Is it, then, only so much, and only certain "possibilities" of establishing these, and between some three or four orthodox communions in two parts of the same island, the same happily United Kingdom, that we are able to-day so much as to talk about?

It is rather humiliating that it should be so. But humiliation is no bad ground on which to rear a vast and lofty structure. It was in regard to the building of that Temple to which Messiah was to come that the workers were bidden not to *despise the day of small things*; they were rather to take courage from the foundations laid, to go forward till *the headstone was brought forth with rejoicing*.¹ So should it be with us. The closer

¹ Zech. iii. 6-10.

relations we have in view must be simply a stage towards the one right relation of a sound and acceptable reunion. The reunion of the two national Churches of England and of Scotland should be accompanied by, or be a preparation for, Home Reunion in each of these lands respectively, so that we may present to our Blessed Lord, in the first place, a United Church for the British Empire, perhaps I should say rather for the English-speaking peoples. We cannot forget America. It should at the same time contribute, in the second place, an important impetus to the furtherance of the one end which He has told us, He contemplates—such a visible union of all His people that there shall be throughout the world *one flock, one Shepherd*. To that end He must lead. “*Them also I must lead*,” He says; but He adds, concerning us, “*and they shall hear My voice*.”¹ We must follow His lead.

Our Lord wants this unity, He has told us, to the end that the world may believe on Him.² It must therefore first of all be a unity in the One Faith, *once for all delivered*,³ directed to Him as its Object and confessed with one mouth. It

¹ St. John x. 16. R.V. margin. ² *Ib.* xvii. 21.

³ St. Jude, v. 3. R.V.

must be a visible unity, clear and impressive to the world ; inward, of course, and vital, as of many members in one body ;¹ but also governmental, as that of fellow-citizens in the one City of God, as fellow-subjects in the one *Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ*.²

It cannot be right, or safe, that there should be two or more separate or rival governments in the same Kingdom, or in any of its provinces, at the same time. Profound as are the differences between Christ's Kingdom, which is *not of this world*,³ and the kingdoms of earth, our Lord has Himself reminded us that all kingdoms (His included) are in this respect alike : *Every kingdom, He warns us, divided against itself is brought to desolation*.⁴ And let me say here in a preliminary fashion, that for my part I do not believe that either Catholic Reunion, or a Reunion of English-speaking Churches, can be accomplished without the general adoption, on one ground or another, with this adaptation of it or with that, of " the Historical Episcopate as an institution to be kept up."

I say this, my Lord Bishop, not as at all

¹ I Cor. xii. 20.

² Rev. xi. 15, R.V.

³ St. John xviii. 36.

⁴ St. Matt. xii. 25.

admitting that without a diocesan or monarchical episcopate there can be no true Church ¹ and no valid ministry. The Church of England would never ask us so to speak ; two learned bishops of her own have admitted, nay have demonstrated, that, for a considerable time after the death of the Apostles, there were still several renowned and important Churches in which monarchical episcopacy had not been developed, and whose administration was in the hands of a college of presbyters.² I believe for my part that it is quite possible for Presbyterians to accept the Historic Episcopate without surrendering thereby any essential feature of their own system, not as either " prejudicing " or " subverting " that system, but rather as supplementing, completing and enriching it, giving to its courts, what they sorely need, an executive to see that their behests are carried out, to her ministers a father to encourage and advise them, and to her congre-

¹ The author is, of course, aware of the famous words of St. Ignatius of Antioch ; (*Trall.* III) but (1) the great martyr's word is *Χριστός*, not *ἄνευ* ; and (2) he owns the Churches of Rome and Philippi, then without monarchical episcopacy, as true Churches.

² So Bishop Lightfoot and Bishop John Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, p. 142.

gations a living link connecting them with one another, and making them realize their unity more clearly. For the rest, the whole theory of the Ministry is common to us and you. Scottish Presbyterians believe and assert as firmly as you do that the Ministry is not of man's making, but is the gift to the Church of her ascended Lord ; and that it is to be perpetuated by the Apostolic rite of Ordination ministered by laying on of the hands of such as have public authority in the Church to do so.

We think, too, that there are elements in our system whose adoption might render the Episcopacy of the future liker what it was in St. Ignatius' time ; while we have other elements favourable to the Church's rightful liberties, and likely to prove helpful to you in your efforts after Home Reunion in England, without at all impairing your hope of discharging, some day, the honourable function, assigned to you by the celebrated Frenchman, of being a main agent in bringing about the Reunion of *all* Christendom.

How that great end may be reached it is difficult for us at present even to conceive. What about Rome, without whom the Church cannot be complete, but with whom, as she is, neither the Eastern Churches nor we of the Western Reformations

can deem healthful reunion possible? But our faith that it will come is assured, and our hope for it, since these rest on the word of Him Who is both Faithful and Almighty: *Them also I must lead.*

Such a faith and such a hope cannot be inoperative: they must at once inspire exertion and direct it, enabling us for every step that may conduce to the full realization of the Saviour's will, forbidding us to sacrifice for any lesser end aught that may be needful to the achievement of His greater purpose.

As to this, I take it, we are quite agreed. Nor are we, I venture to hope, a whit less clear as to our nearer and immediate duty: the obligation lying upon us as British Christians and British Churches so to agree that we may yield to our Divine Lord and Master a United Church for the British Empire. You, my Lord Bishop, have sounded forth a trumpet call to this arduous but inspiring task. May I mention that, so far back as 1902, I blew in Scotland my feeble whistle to precisely the same note in a sermon which I preached at Forres and which was published by request? I blew it again from the chair of last General Assembly. Let it be taken up, and sounded from other quarters; let it peal forth

loud enough and clear enough, and it will awake a general response.

II

Why should not this, our first aim, be speedily attained? The time is favourable. Never was the Empire so united in things temporal, for ends that are much more than temporal. It is no mere worldly motive that has brought about our splendid solidarity. It is in a sacred cause, it is for spiritual ideals, that our sons and brothers from every one of the King's dominions, and our kinsmen from the United States as well, are fighting side by side to-day in the greatest War that was ever waged, for freedom. Freedom, itself, as our old Scottish poet sings "is a noble thing"; but freedom—the freedom of the world—is but part of what we aim at. We fight also for Truth and Meekness and Righteousness, the very ends for which in the 45th Psalm Messiah is described as riding forth. Why should we be separate then; and then only, when we approach the footstool and the table of Him from Whom we learned to pursue these ends, to Whom we look for grace and power to achieve these ends, Whom we all adore as the Divine Captain of our salvation?

Why should our fellowship be broken at the very point where it should be sweetest and most powerful? Do we not all feel the shame and the scandal of it? Is not the War itself a preacher of the obligation on us to agree? Has it not brought to us all a revelation of our oneness in the one Lord, the one Faith, and the one Baptism? Moreover, the Union and Peace of the British Churches would do far more than seal and consecrate the union of the British Empire. It would not only strengthen the British Churches to solve the immense problems which the wide extension of our national responsibilities will in the immediate future lay upon us. It would give us some right, and power, to go forward to the greater work of holding out the olive-branch to all the rest of Christendom.

III

In England a step has just been taken in this direction of immense significance. What lover of the Church's peace can have read without adoring thankfulness that paper "*Towards Christian Unity*,"¹ the "Second Interim Report of the Joint Sub-Committee of the Archbishops' Committee and Representatives of the English Free

¹ See Appendix I.

Churches in connexion with the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order” ? What can we say of it, except take up the exclamation of the Psalmist : “ *This is the Lord’s doing : it is marvellous in our eyes* ” ? ¹

That paper is primarily for England, but you may depend upon it that it will produce a great effect in Scotland when it is once known and understood there. It may be difficult, with the present pressure on our newspapers, to have it properly set forth and expounded in their columns. I ventured, therefore, to suggest to the honoured chairman of the Committee, the beloved Bishop of Bath and Wells, that a copy of the document should be sent to every Manse and Rectory in Scotland. I am particularly anxious that it should be brought effectively before the General Assemblies of our two great Presbyterian Churches.² Both Assemblies have committees in connexion with the World Conference on Faith and Order, and I am sure that their conveners would only be too happy to bring this momentous Report before the two Assemblies, and bespeak for it the sympathetic attention it so well deserves.

¹ Psalm cxviii. 23.

² Copies were sent, but reached me too late for the Assemblies.—J.C.

Why should not the Committee send a deputation to explain it?

One of the things we need most is intercourse ; we cannot unite till we know each other better. And if our Scottish methods, our ways, and the peculiar problems that confront us in regard to reunion, are very different either from yours, or from those of the English Free Churches, we are by no means indifferent to you and to your relations with them. How could we be?

IV

But my immediate business is with the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, and such hopes and prospects as there may be among them with regard to the possibilities of closer relations between them and the Church of England, and, of course, with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, which is in communion with you.

There is, as I said at the outset, a considerable and noteworthy increase of interest in the subject, of talk about it, and even of movement towards it. And this is being helped, with us as with you, by the War, and also by the one public and official effort that is now on foot in Scotland towards any reunion. You are all aware, of course, that we of the National (Established) Church

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of Scotland are already, and have been for nine years past, in conference for an incorporating union with by far the largest, and in many respects the nearest to us, of the non-Established Scottish Churches of the United Free Church of Scotland.

Prior to the initiation of this effort, the latter body (the United Free Church) had been constituted in the year 1900 by a union between two large non-Established Churches, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterian Church. Of these the Free Church of Scotland (or the Church of Scotland Free, as her leaders preferred to call it) had left us in 1843, at "the Disruption," by which term those who first employed it meant, not the breaking up of the Church, but the casting away of the fetters of the State. But they retained "the Establishment principle." "We leave," said Dr. Chalmers, "a vitiated Establishment; we are ready to return to a pure one." The ministers of the Free Church retained, of course, their social status; and the Free Church always kept up amongst her clergy an educational standard at least as high as that of the Church whose fellowship they left. They carried with them unimpaired, the Presbyterian system of government, their Presbyterian Orders, their doctrinal orthodoxy. The Christian liberality

of the Free Church for the maintenance of the ministry, for the support of their three eminent Theological Colleges, and for their extensive Foreign Missions was from the first astonishing: it was quite a new thing in Scotland when it began, and it has nobly been maintained. The other partner to the Union of 1900, the United Presbyterian Church, had been formed in 1847 by the amalgamation of various communities which had broken off from the Church of Scotland in the course of the eighteenth century. This Church also had retained her Presbyterian Orders, and the old standards of doctrine; for indeed, as was observed by Carlyle, who sprang from one of those small bodies, "All Dissent in Scotland is merely a stricter adherence to the National Kirk at all points": each successive company of seceders blaming the Established Church for unfaithfulness to her own principles, nay to our Blessed Lord Himself. She for her part repudiated the charge and went on her quiet way. Recriminations became less vehement as passions cooled; and long before their union both the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church had learned to respect "their Auld Mother," and had themselves moved into a larger atmosphere, a gentler theology, and a worship less austere, allowing

freely, for example, the use of hymns and instrumental music ; although, to be sure, some of the United Presbyterians remain enamoured of a voluntaryism which denies the lawfulness of Church Establishment in any form, and even persists in describing the ancient parochial endowments, which all our Reformers claimed as " the patrimony of the Kirk," as an unjust impost created by the State !

The union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterians was carried by a large majority in both these bodies, though at the cost of the secession from the Free Church of two extreme but small sections in the Highlands.

This union of 1900 has profoundly affected the situation in Scotland. It has given a strong impulse to the desire, already existing in many members of the United Free Church, for union with us of the Church of Scotland, and an impulse, perhaps equally strong, to the desire of the many in the Established Church for a union also with you.

A Church does not adopt a name without meaning something by it ; and when the united body deliberately retained in her name, as the Free Church had done in 1843, the words " of Scotland," their intention was plain to affirm two things : (1) their maintaining of the claim to con-

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tinuity with the historic Church of Scotland from St. Ninian and St. Columba downward ; and (2) their acknowledging a responsibility to Christ for the supply of ordinances throughout the whole realm of Scotland.

Here were points of contact whereon we in the National Church might fix ; moreover, we could point on our side to two changes since 1843 which had removed what both the Free Church and the United Presbyterians had always regarded as insuperable obstacles. First there had come to us, in 1874, the Abolition of Lay Patronage, a measure by no means perfect, but still one which went far to remove one difficulty. Then also the Law Courts, whose decisions prior to 1843 had been sometimes couched in language sufficiently provocative, had, since that year, given a number of judgments making it perfectly clear that, within their own realm of things spiritual, the Courts of the Church of Scotland as by law established are free, and that their decisions cannot be reviewed or called in question by the secular judicatories.

Accordingly, in 1907, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, led by the late Dr. Archibald Scott, agreed to approach the United Free Church offering a free and unrestricted

conference with a view to reunion. I urged at the time what the late Dr. Milligan had urged in 1882, that our duty to Christ, and the needs of the country, required us to include in our invitation the smaller Presbyterian bodies, and the Scottish Episcopal Church. I was overruled. The smaller Presbyterian bodies were considered hopeless. Men who did not know the Scottish Episcopal Church as I do would not, at that time, believe that it would listen to us. Dr. Scott declared that one step was enough at a time ; but he, with some others, did look forward, and he conceded the clause "in the meantime," a concession which I gratefully accepted, and which was emphasized in the following year (1908) from the Moderator's chair by the late Dr. Theodore Marshall, who doubted, with me, whether the narrower effort would prove really "easier" than the larger one. Dr. Marshall declared that even while negotiations with the United Free Church were proceeding, "something may be done to prepare the way for a drawing near in future to other Churches"; and he added, "and the National Church of Scotland must consider whether events may not force it to a better understanding with, or a nearer approximation to the National Church of England."

These words were hardly uttered when Dr. Marshall had the opportunity, which he greatly valued, of expressing his mind on the subject here in London, at some meetings in connexion with the Lambeth Conference of that year; but he died almost immediately thereafter, before he had the chance, which (as his most intimate friend) I am confident he would have taken, of bringing before the General Assembly (of 1909) the encouraging Resolution of that Conference, "that in the welcome event of any project of reunion between any Church of the Anglican Communion and any Presbyterian or other non-Episcopal Church, which, while preserving the Faith in its integrity and purity, has also exhibited care as to the form and intention of ordination to the ministry" (two points on which our Scottish record is flawless), "reaching the stage of responsible official negotiation, it might be possible to make an approach to reunion on the basis of consecrations to the Episcopate on lines suggested by such precedents as those of 1610. Further, in the opinion of the Conference, it might be possible to authorize arrangements (for the period of transition towards full union on the basis of episcopal ordination) which would respect the convictions of those who had not received episcopal

80 *Its Resolution not sent to Scottish Churches*

orders, without involving any surrender on our part of the principle of Church order laid down in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer."

It was a pity that measures were not adopted at the time for making this important and generous Resolution more widely known in Scotland. It was, perhaps, a pity that the further step was not taken of formally transmitting it, in the name of the whole Anglican Episcopate, to the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland. This was the way to secure its adequate consideration. The omission is not yet irreparable, and I venture respectfully to suggest that this course should be adopted, when at the conclusion (we all hope the victorious conclusion) of the War, the happiest and heartiest of all Lambeth Conferences will assemble, and take up afresh the subject of Reunion.

Would it not be appropriate, beautiful, and helpful if, when the righteous Peace arrives which the valour and statesmanship of Englishmen and Scots have done so much to procure, the Churches of the two nations should send deputations to each other to congratulate and thank each other and go together in England to this Cathedral and at Edinburgh to St. Giles' to render united praise

to the Giver of all victory? Then would be the time for you to tell us of your advance towards Home Reunion, and for us to tell you of ours, and jointly to take steps to the same end throughout the King's Overseas Dominions and at our Mission stations everywhere. This *Second Interim Report* would be like the olive leaf in the mouth of Noah's returning dove: a sure token that the cold waters of alienation were abated. On our side of the Border you would find both our great Presbyterian Churches in a much better mood for hearing such proposals. I fear our two conferring Churches will not, even then, have become actually incorporated, for our Presbyterian machinery, if efficient, is somewhat cumbrous. Suppose progress to be made at this Assembly it will take four or five years to go through the stages prescribed by the constitution of both the Churches. But already, ever since the negotiations for union were commenced, the change that has come over both our Churches is noteworthy and delightful. There is no longer a Disestablishment campaign: jealousies—the jealousies of seventy-five years—are dying down. Recriminations have ceased. Co-operation is in full swing; the two Churches hardly do anything now except in courteous fellowship. The atmosphere is altogether differ-

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ent. And though I am bound to say I see some serious difficulties still to be surmounted,¹ yet every change of conditions seems to help the Reunion cause. If the outbreak of the War, and preoccupation in it, gave pause for some years to official action, it led at once in many a parish to mutual and willing help. Our Scottish Army chaplains are drawn, as a rule, alternately from the two communions : they get on well at the Front ; while at home, if it is the United Free Church minister that is with the troops, the parish minister undertakes a large portion of his work ; and if the parish minister is away the United Free Church minister does the like for him. Now, the Assemblies cannot wait for the termination of the War, and official action has been resumed. The Bishop of Stepney, who honoured both of our Assemblies last year with his presence and charmed both with his eloquent pleading for work among the Jews, can tell you how cordially he was received by both.

No less cordially, my Lord Bishop, will your Lordship be received should you come North on some such deputation as I have ventured to suggest. Your Lordship knows us far too well to

¹ In regard to the most serious of these, a step has been taken since these words were written of happy augury for a satisfactory settlement.

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forget for a moment that you would be addressing Churches of another nation, of a proud and ancient kingdom, happy in its indissoluble partnership with England, yet cherishing all the more its unbroken ecclesiastical independence. Our Scottish Presbyterian Churches are at one in regarding themselves as the two largest and stoutest stems (they would admit that the Scottish Episcopal Church is a third) of the old National Church of Scotland, always Catholic in doctrine ; in government not always episcopal, as yours has been, but in early times abbatial, then papal, afterwards sometimes presbyterian, sometimes episcopal, yet never in any part of its history, or in any of its stems, subject to the Church of England.

In the future, when we come into full communion with you, we shall retain this national independence. We shall borrow your aid, probably, as we borrowed it in 1610. We shall learn much from you. You perhaps will learn something from us. I take it for granted that we shall "accept the fact of Episcopacy," and "effectually preserve the continuity of the Historical Episcopate" ; but it will be in conjunction with our whole system of Church courts from the Kirk Session to the General Assembly. It will be a

constitutional and paternal Episcopacy, with which, as in St. Ignatius' time, presbyters shall be to their bishop "as the strings to its lyre."

We shall keep our Lay Eldership, which the Scots Episcopal Church retained till well on in the eighteenth century. We shall by no means give up wholly the use of free prayer in public worship. We shall hold fast to the rights, liberties, and privileges pertaining properly to a national part and province of the Holy Catholic Church. We shall own also, I devoutly hope, the limitations which so great a fellowship ought to impose. But these will not hinder our keeping many of our old Scottish usages and ways. Let me mention one rite which I should be particularly sorry to give up: the solemn Entrance of the Elements at the celebration of Holy Communion. You will not stumble at these things; indeed, my Lord, I think I have heard that the last mentioned was the ancient use in St. Paul's. There are Catholic precedents, as well as certain advantages in having two authorized "rites" in the same communion. No one nowadays makes a fetish of Uniformity; one begins to suspect that we do not realize sufficiently its unquestionable advantages.

But we shall be united in all the four strongholds of your famous Lambeth Quadrilateral: the

Holy Scriptures ; Apostles' and Nicene Creeds ; the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion with the unfailing use of prayer and of our Saviour's words ; and a genuine form of that government by bishops which we cannot but allow to have existed " in " some parts of " Christ's Church from the Apostles' time," and the advantages of which for executive purposes, for times of emergency, for the encouragement as well as for the admonition of the clergy, and as supplying a living and gracious link between one congregation and another, we begin in Scotland to realize and to admit. Three forts of this Quadrilateral we in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches hold that we accept, already. The fourth, and other things along with it, we shall adopt on their merits and for the sake of that unity and peace to which we are called alike by the needs of the work we have to do and the revealed will of our Divine Lord and Saviour.

The national independence which I have claimed the Church of England allows and honours at this moment in the case of a third Church in Scotland which cannot but have an influential part to play in bringing about the happy reunion I have attempted to forecast. I refer, of course, to the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Scottish Episcopal Church, it must always be remembered,

is by no means only the Church of England in Scotland (as our Scots congregations in London are the Church of Scotland in England). The Scottish Episcopal Church, relatively small as it is in numbers, and these augmented by immigrants from England and from Ireland, is nevertheless genuinely Scottish. It has a real root in the country : has been the peculiar shrine of some of the most chivalrous and pathetic of our national traditions. It drew to its communion so ardent a Scotsman as Sir Walter Scott. It has been adorned by not a few of our most characteristic saints. It has always numbered among its members a considerable proportion of our nobility and gentry (not of the greater nobles, not many of the dukes) ; but it boasts also of its peasant congregations, especially in Aberdeenshire, of its congregations of fisher folk, of devoted adherents among the Highland clans. It is a joint inheritor with the Presbyterian majority in the whole course of our national Church history from our earliest apostles down to the Reformation of 1560, and for a hundred and thirty years thereafter. It owns, as we do, the Scottish Reformation, liking certain of its features less than many among us, but admitting its necessity, and energetically rejecting the Papal claims. In the sixteenth century it was

represented by the men who secured in 1571 the concurrence of Church and State in a convention to continue the estate of archbishops and bishops,¹ and by those who in 1610 succeeded in persuading the General Assembly to vote without a dissentient voice for the supplementing of the existing Presbyterian system by the restoration of Episcopacy. As a result, a valid Episcopate was consecrated for Scotland by English bishops (one of whom was Lancelot Andrewes), with the approval of the archbishops, who, however, took no part in the rite lest they might seem to reassert an old twelfth century claim to supremacy over the Scottish Church. The three bishops, thus consecrated, consecrated others in Scotland; but the existing Scottish clergy were not re-ordained, and the bishops themselves had been consecrated without any other ordination to the presbyterate than what they had already received at the hands of the Scottish presbyteries. The Scottish Episcopal Church has always claimed the period thus inaugurated as part of her own history; has gloried in its doctors and confessors, as well she may, for the system, as I endeavoured to show in my King's College lecture, worked most admirably, and achieved enduring results in the way

¹ The Convention of Leith; see above, pp. 11-14

alike of Church extension and the securing for the parish clergy a fair provision out of their ancient patrimony, the teinds (or tithes) ; in the way, too, of refinement of manners, of sacred learning, and of personal godliness. The peace it brought was disturbed by no secession, although the Church was irritated ere long by the arbitrary meddlesomeness and petty tyrannies of King James. The settlement would probably have endured to the present day had it not been for the incredible rashness of King Charles I, and the timid subservience to him of the Scottish bishops. What would you think in England of a brand-new Book of Canons, and a brand-new Liturgy, however well-intended and however beautiful, being thrust upon you all of a sudden by Royal proclamation at each market-cross on the King's sole authority, without the consent either of Convocation or of Parliament ? That was done in Scotland in 1637 ; and it raised a storm before which the Episcopacy of 1610 went down " like a castle of cards." ¹ From 1638 to 1660 we had two-and-twenty years of unmixcd but not undivided Presbyterianism—the first schism in the Scottish Church since the Reformation ² took place in

¹ The words were those of Archbishop Spottiswood. For a sketch of the period 1560–1637, see the preceding Address, pp. 23–60.

² That of the Resolutioners and Protesters.

1651, not over Church government or worship either, but over who should be allowed to fight for Charles II, whom the Scots (always monarchical) had brought home and crowned at Scone ! This continued till the Restoration, an event which was hailed in Scotland as in England with an outburst of extravagant enthusiasm. What was to be done about the Scottish Church ? All the bishops deposed by the Assembly of 1638 were dead, save one, Sydserf of Galloway, who was rather discredited by some irregular ordinations of his in England. The great majority of the people were Presbyterians, of a moderate type : tired, for the most part, of the Covenants, and ready to abjure them ; yet looking to the King to fulfil a promise universally understood as expressing his determination to maintain Presbytery. An Episcopal party was indeed rising in its old Northern stronghold, and the Synod of Aberdeen petitioned for Episcopacy, which might, probably enough, have been accepted in a free General Assembly ; but no Assembly was allowed to meet, and Episcopacy was restored in Erastian fashion by an Act of Parliament, which had the effect of driving out many revered Presbyterian incumbents, was itself discredited as a breach of the Royal word, and moreover was administered

by men of the worst character. The older Scottish royalists, like Montrose and Huntly, were all dead. The King's present advisers had themselves been Presbyterians and Covenanters till the late King's life and their own order were seen to be in danger. Then, to be sure, they had rallied to the monarchy, had fought for Charles II at Preston, Dunbar and Worcester, and shared his subsequent "travels." What a set these men were ! Scott describes them, " the fierce Middleton, the crafty Lauderdale, the dissolute Rothes."¹ Their antecedents were no better : Middleton had helped to defeat Montrose at Philiphaugh ; Lauderdale had gone up to London to extort from the English Parliament the execution of Archbishop Laud ; Rothes was the son of the man who had so dexterously drawn up the National Covenant of 1637. These were the men mainly responsible for the cruel persecutions of the Covenanting remnant.

Of the bishops deposed in 1638, only one, as I have said, survived. Again recourse was had to England for the consecration of new bishops for Scotland ; and this time two who had been ordained by presbyteries during the Great Rebellion were re-ordained privately in London prior

¹ *Redgauntlet*, Letter XI.

to consecration ; but this course was not followed in the case either of the men in Presbyterian orders, whom they consecrated on their return to the North,¹ or in that of those so situated, who were consecrated later ; while the clergy in possession of the parishes (the younger of whom were all in Presbyterian orders) were continued on simply accepting collation from the bishop. Moreover, of the three bishops deprived as Non-jurors at the Revolution who continued the Scottish Episcopal succession by the consecration of Bishop Fullarton in 1705, two (Paterson of Glasgow and Douglas of Dunblane) had been consecrated while in Presbyterian orders only. Yet neither the Church of England nor the Scottish Episcopal Church ever doubted that these men were bishops, or questioned the status of the clergy under them.

The period (1661-1690) during which this Episcopacy was established by law in the Church of Scotland has always been accepted by the Scottish Episcopal Church as part and parcel of her history (as indeed the Presbyterian Churches regard it as part of theirs). But unlike that of 1610-1638, it is not a period of which any of us

¹ It is not always remembered that every one of the Scottish bishops, both of the period 1610-38 and 1661-90, was a Scotsman born.

can be proud. The Episcopate, albeit adorned by the most eminent saint in our later annals, Archbishop Leighton, and by Patrick Scougal, the great Bishop of Aberdeen, were quite undistinguished. The Primate, James Sharp, was hated by all the Presbyterians as the betrayer of their cause: they had sent him up to London to support it; he returned Archbishop of St. Andrews, and remained henceforward the eager (and servile) abettor of the persecuting Government, and the resolute opponent of every effort within the Church either for freedom of action or improvement of worship. During the entire period Holy Communion was administered but seldom.¹ Confirmation appears to have been entirely neglected.² The fasts and festivals of the Church were scantily observed.³ The churches were bare, the services austere; there was no surplice, no altar, no authorized liturgy; though Archbishop Leighton repeated the collects, and Gilbert Burnet read the English service in the Parish Church at Salton, and a tentative "Form of Prayer" was in use under Bishop

¹ Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, iii, 277.

² *Ib.* p. 219.

³ Henry Scougal (a son of the Bishop and the author of a devotional classic, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*), has, however, a fine sermon for Christmas Day.

Scougal in the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen.¹ Elsewhere the only difference from the Presbyterian service as it had been reduced since 1638, was the saying by the minister of the Lord's Prayer, the use of the Doxology, and the Apostles' Creed at baptism. The inferior Church courts of the Presbyterian system—Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods—met, and worked as usual; the Bishop "moderating" when he was present; but the Crown would not hear of such a thing as a General Assembly, or of any sort of council whereby the national Church might express its mind. In 1669 a statute was carried through the Scottish Parliament by the influence of Lauderdale which, says Dr. Grub, "practically subjected the Church, in doctrine as well as in Government, to the absolute will of the Sovereign, and subverted all lawful ecclesiastical authority, as completely as the Covenanting Assemblies and Parliament had overthrown the prerogatives of the Crown."² Never was Erastianism more unblushing; never was it more insolent. The bishops were ordered about as if they were flunkies; were suspended or called on to resign whenever they showed (as a few of them did) any spark of independence.

¹ Reprinted in Peter Hall's *Reliquiæ of Liturgies*.

² *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 233.

94 *All the Scottish Bishops Non-jurors*

A climax was reached by the Test Act (1679), when many of the best of the clergy demitted their charges rather than accept, and which was hardly made tolerable by the " explanations " of it obtained by the threat of Bishop Scougal to follow their example. Along with this statute came another " declaring that no difference in religion and no Act of Parliament could alter the succession to the Crown as it existed in the next of kin, and that any attempt, were it only by writing or speaking, to alter, suspend, or divert that right should infer the pains of high treason." ¹ It was because they had taken this oath—and not for any reason they had to be grateful to King James VII (II), or any sympathy with his Popish projects—that all the Scottish bishops refused at the Revolution to acknowledge William and Mary ; they would have owned the Prince of Orange as Regent, but they could not, in face of this oath (which they had pressed upon their clergy), take him as King ; they would have been disgraced for ever had they done so. Honourable to them, however, as was the course they followed, and no inconsiderable section of the clergy with them, it was fatal to Episcopacy in the Church. The

¹ Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, II, p. 295.

Scots Parliament by a large majority had declared that James had forfeited the Crown, had offered it to the Prince of Orange and his wife, and now demanded in the name of the nation, not that a different Church should be established, but that "Presbyterian doctrine, government and worship" as more accordant with the wishes of the Scottish people, should be restored in—what was still in their eyes as of all its adherents then and since—the old national Church of Scotland. In face of the bishops' refusal, William was driven to accept of this solution; and in doing so, let it be remembered, he had the support of the main body of the Church of England. When, under Anne, the Scots insisted on security for Presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland as an indispensable condition of the Union of the Parliaments (1707), it was not alone the Queen and the Parliament of England that agreed to it; the Church of England agreed to it. Her bishops, led by Archbishop Tenison, threw the whole weight of their influence in favour of it; nor has the Church of Scotland ever had occasion since to complain of any change in the general attitude of their successors. The Act of Uniformity, now as then, has indeed prevented them from asking our ministers to officiate in their pulpits, or instituting us to

benefices ; but they have never challenged the legal position their predecessors helped to secure for us, and they have always been personally kind.

The Revolution Settlement, once established, brought to the Church of Scotland—now Presbyterian—one great deliverance. The Covenants were laid aside ; and, though this gave offence to a few extremists in the South-West, it reconciled the large majority of the Eastern and Northern counties. As learning increased among our clergy, fanaticism dwindled : a more tolerant, humane, and gentle spirit spread throughout the Church ; and if in some directions the new moderatism could be tyrannical, cold, or was even touched at times with the Pelagian or Socinian influences of the day, yet the substantial orthodoxy of our Church was never shaken. Principal Robertson resisted all attempts to touch the standards of the Church ; the sermons of Blair (admired of Dr. Johnson) (1781), and the theological lectures of Dr. Hill—" the Harold Browne of the Church of Scotland"—and, above all, the much-loved *Paraphrases* remain to bespeak not only the soundness, but the warmth and the high Catholic tone existing in unsuspected quarters. I may add that toward

the middle of the eighteenth century there appeared two earnest pleaders for a more frequent celebration of Holy Communion—Willison, the able parish minister of Dundee, whose *Sacramental Meditations* have been compared to those of Bortaloue, and Dr. Randall, from whom the Archbishop of Canterbury derives both his lineage and his Christian name. In the last century, after the bitter flood of the Disruption Controversy was subsiding, there were formed in the Church of Scotland two societies which have done something in the same direction—the Church Service Society,¹ for the improvement of our worship, and the Scottish Church Society for the assertion of the Faith and the maintenance of sound principles in all departments of Church work. The former now includes in its membership about a third of our ministers; if the numbers of the latter are smaller, a great many of its objects have been gained all over the Church; and its principles are no longer questioned.²

¹ It has published a Service Book (Euchologion), which is largely used by our clergy, and includes a Form for the Admission of Catechumens to the Confirmation of their Baptismal Vow and to Participation in the Lord's Supper; also a complete series of Church of Scotland Liturgies since the Reformation, beginning with the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.

² See Appendix II.

98 *The Scottish Episcopal Church, 1690-1792*

Nor did the Revolution Settlement really injure (except in temporal things, and for a season) the Scottish Episcopal Church. Bad as many of its features were in the period from 1661 to 1690, it should not be forgotten that one of its latest acts was to confer on the Highlanders of Scotland for the first time a translation of the whole Bible into Gaelic ; and the remark of Dr. Grub is true, that " while in outward appearance there was only little distinction between the established Episcopacy and non-conforming Presbyterianism, except in the single point of Episcopacy, yet episcopal ordination and government were preparing the way for very different opinions on various points, especially on those connected with Holy Orders and the Sacraments." Very soon, too, the use of liturgical forms came in among her congregations ; and when at last, in 1705, the surviving bishops took the step of continuing the Episcopal succession, the progress was rapid. The " Usages " of the Higher section of the English Non-jurors were, after some trouble, widely accepted in Scotland, and by 1743 " the Scottish Communion Office " had been established in most of their congregations beyond the Forth, i.e. in the vast majority of them.

But the adherents of the deprived bishops were,

in those early years, mostly adherents also of the exiled Stuarts, and though among those who joined in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 there were many Presbyterians, yet the established Church as a whole was Hanoverian, and the Episcopal Church as a whole was Jacobite. Far am I from thinking the worse of her on that account. Loyalty to a lost cause is not ignoble. But it brought down upon her in 1746 and in 1748 severe penal laws (not opposed by the English bishops) under which she was reduced by the time of the American War to "the shadow of a shade."¹ This bitter experience narrowed her sympathies, but intensified her faith. Nor was her fidelity unrewarded. Near the close of her day of trial she had the privilege of transmitting the episcopal succession to the United States (1784), and on the death of Prince Charles Edward (1788) she felt herself able to recognize and pray for George III as King. In 1792 the penal laws against her were repealed—an act of justice more cordially supported by the Presbyterian leader, Principal Robertson, than by the majority of the English bishops, though Archbishop Moore was kind, and Bishops Horne and Horsley cordial. At once she entered on a course of unbroken progress.

¹ *Guy Mannering*. Chapter 37.

She arose as it were from the dust, and shook herself. In particular she has of late begun to take once more her full share in the public life of Scotland, and is co-operating effectively in every movement for the social, moral, and spiritual improvement of the people. She has effectually purged herself of every relic of Erastianism. She has found a place in her system alike for Synods and for a due representation of the laity in her councils. Of her bishops two of eminent distinction, the late Bishop Charles Wordsworth, and the late Bishop George Wilkinson, were powerful pleaders for Reunion, and at this moment she feels (probably more keenly than any other communion in the North) the impulse in this direction of which the present gathering is so notable a sign. No official action has yet been taken ; it belongs, I think, to the greatest of all the Churches of the Empire, the Church of England, to initiate that.

But the Scottish Episcopal Church is thinking, as many others in Scotland are, of how the way may be prepared for a step of such importance ; and it was the pen of one of her dignitaries that drew up a Memorandum which on March 5 was unanimously accepted at Aberdeen—the natural place for it—by typical representatives of herself, of

the Church of Scotland, and of the United Free Church of Scotland.

May I close by reading it ?

MEMORANDUM

AGREED UPON AT AN INFORMAL CONFERENCE
HELD IN ABERDEEN, 18TH MARCH, 1918,
BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND, THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND, AND THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, AND SUGGESTED AS A BASIS FOR
SIMILAR CONFERENCES THROUGHOUT SCOT-
LAND.

In view of the great urgency of the question of reunion, and the widespread and growing desire for some large reconstruction on an inclusive plan, and the certainty that old antagonisms will be greatly diminished in perspective after the great War is over, it would seem that nothing but good could come from purely private and tentative conferences between friends of the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches in Scotland to see if a satisfactory basis of negotiations can be found.

There has been in the past a certain nervous shrinking on both sides lest anything should be

done which might seem to involve either breach of principle or loss of self-respect, or lest the prospects of a still wider union should be compromised.

Again, there has unquestionably been a real fear, amounting in many to a conviction, that mutual approach would only bring us to the opposite sides of an impassable gulf.

All this would suggest that before formal negotiations are possible, private and informal conferences should take place.

Such conferences might consider how far it would be possible to agree on a common ideal of what a reunited Scottish Church of the future might be like.

Could both sides agree to envisage a Church which would possess and include all that both Churches at present most highly value? For example, might not the Scottish Episcopal Church, recognizing the strong hold which the complete system of Presbyterian Church Courts has on the Scottish people, as well as its many intrinsic advantages, agree to its inclusion in the future united Church? On the other hand, might not Presbyterians, knowing the importance the other side attach to the "historic Episcopate" and remembering that Andrew Melville's objection to Bishops was a later development in

their own communion, be willing to give to it its corresponding place?

In doctrine both sides would agree in holding the faith embodied in the ancient Catholic Creeds.

With regard to worship there would probably be general readiness to accept the position that so far as the essentials of the sacraments are concerned it should be according to authorized forms. Beyond this, Presbyteries and Dioceses might be free to make their own arrangements.

While both Churches attach the greatest importance to celebrations of Holy Communion at which whole congregations as such make their Communion, it might be possible to find in the phrase of a distinguished Presbyterian theologian, "The Revival of the Weekly Eucharist"—The Lord's Own Service for the Lord's Own Day—an ideal which they might, in view of apostolic practice, unite in accepting.

We might be confident that if the great Christian Service of the Breaking of the Bread were given its place at a suitable hour it would, by its own wonderful power, win its way to its rightful supremacy, while other customary services might, as far as principle is concerned, be left as they are at present.

If a Conference could get as far as to agree that

an ideal such as this is desirable, and might be accepted by both sides without sacrifice of principle, it would have accomplished much. It would convince many on both sides that the gulf between us, which we should be approaching, can be bridged, and this alone would help to make expedient many things which may seem inexpedient now.

But with goodwill on both sides it might be possible to go a good deal farther, and to contemplate the practical steps which would have to be taken for the realization of this common ideal. We should have to face frankly the difficulties which stand in the way. On neither side are we yet ready for union, and on both sides there are some who still cling to, and cherish, the resentments, prejudices, and long-standing divergencies which meant so much more before the great War than they are likely to do after it is over.

A period of preparation would be necessary before actual incorporating union could take place, and during this time of approximation the two Churches would have to be separate and self-contained though now regarding each other with ever-increasing friendliness and mutual recognition.

This Period might begin at a definite date on

which the Episcopal Church might adopt the system of Church Courts from Kirk Session to General Assembly, while permanent Moderators of Presbyterian Synods might receive consecration as Bishops.

Such a step towards a final incorporating union might surely be taken without sacrifice on either side of principle or self-respect. It seems to meet the main difficulty that on the one hand Presbyterians must not be asked or expected to take any action which would express or imply any doubt of the sufficiency of their own Orders. As their Moderator-Bishops would unquestionably treat as of exactly the same ecclesiastical status those ordained by the Presbytery alone and those on whom they themselves, with the Presbytery, had laid their hands, they would—so far from implying doubt in the validity of Presbyterian ordination—be vigorously, manifestly and constantly asserting its complete sufficiency.

On the other hand, such a solution would not demand of the Episcopal Church that it should make intolerable the position of those members of her Communion who have genuine doubts whether any except Bishops have ever the right to ordain.

It will be recognized that while the Anglican Communion has never condemned the validity of

Presbyterian ordination, and while many of her Bishops, Priests, and Laymen have regarded it as perfectly valid though irregular, yet on the other hand its sudden adoption after at least 1400 years of exclusively Episcopal Ordination could hardly fail to awaken in others a not unreasonable measure of questioning. It is perhaps equally impossible that a unanimous finding on the matter will ever be reached as that a doubt on the subject will ever wholly disappear.

If in future ordinations Moderator-Bishops and Presbyteries joined in the laying on of hands nothing, from the Presbyterian view, would be lost which is present now. The Moderator of Synod would simply be a Presbyterian solemnly consecrated to be the leader and spokesman of each Presbytery of the bounds. If in the intervening period before complete union the whole Presbyterian Church plainly and effectively asserted the precisely equal status of those who had been ordained before and those who had been ordained after the appointment of Moderator-Bishops, and if after the union the question will have ceased to exist, it would not seem worth while to raise it in an acute form at all.

Let us suppose then that the concordat sketched above has been concluded and the preliminary

steps taken on either side, what would be the relationship of the two Churches to each other during the Period of Preparation?

They would both hold the Nicene faith and in both the Sacraments would be liturgically celebrated, in both there would be full freedom to conduct other services on customary lines.

From the beginning of the Period there would, we should hope, be the fullest licence given by the authorities on either side for such exchange of preaching as might be desired, while each Church would freely admit to the participation of its Sacraments those who were in full membership of the sister Church.

Time, goodwill, and mutual understanding would create an atmosphere in which prejudices, resentments, and suspicions would quietly die out, and at the close of the Period the two Communion would bring their long separation to a close and be merged in one reunited Scottish Church.

Appendix I

TOWARDS CHRISTIAN UNITY

SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTER-
BURY AND YORK'S COMMITTEE AND BY
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ENGLISH FREE
CHURCHES' COMMISSIONS, IN CONNEXION
WITH THE PROPOSED WORLD CONFERENCE ON
FAITH AND ORDER.

A Movement has been initiated in America by the Protestant Episcopal Church, which has been widely taken up by the Christian Churches in the United States, to prepare for a world-wide Conference on Faith and Order with the view of promoting the visible unity of the Body of Christ on earth. In response to an appeal from those who are co-operating in America a committee was appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and commissions by the Free Churches to promote the same Movement in England.

This Joint Conference has already issued a First

Interim Report prepared by a Joint Sub-Committee, consisting of : (1) A Statement of agreement on matters of Faith ; (2) A Statement of agreement on matters relating to Order ; (3) A Statement of differences in relation to matters of Order which require further study and discussion.

In further pursuit of the main purpose the Sub-Committee was reappointed and enlarged. After mature and prolonged consideration it is hereby issuing its Second Interim Report under the direction of the Conference as a whole, but on the understanding that the members of the Sub-Committee alone are to be held responsible for the substance of the document.

* * * * *

In issuing our Second Interim Report we desire to prevent possible misconceptions regarding our intentions. We are engaged, not in formulating any basis of reunion for Christendom, but in preparing for the consideration of such a basis at the projected Conference on Faith and Order. We are exploring the ground in order to discover the ways of approach to the questions to be considered that seem most promising and hopeful. In our first Report we were not attempting to draw up a creed for subscription, but desired to affirm our agreement upon certain foundation truths as

the basis of a spiritual and rational creed and life for all mankind in Christ Jesus the Lord. It was a matter of profound gratitude to God that we found ourselves so far in agreement. No less grateful were we that even as regards matters relating to Order we were able to hold certain common convictions, though in regard to these we were forced to recognize differences of interpretation. We felt deeply, however, that we could not let the matter rest there ; but that we must in conference seek to understand one another better, in order to discover if even on the questions on which we seemed to differ most we might not come nearer to one another.

I. In all our discussions we were guided by two convictions from which we could not escape, and would not even if we could.

It is the purpose of our Lord that believers in Him should be one visible society, and this unity is essential to the purpose of Christ for His Church and for its effective witness and work in the world. The conflict among Christian nations has brought home to us with a greater poignancy the disastrous results of the divisions which prevail among Christians, inasmuch as they have hindered that growth of mutual understanding which it should be the function

of the Church to foster, and because a Church which is itself divided cannot speak effectively to a divided world.

The visible unity of believers which answers to our Lord's purpose must have its source and sanction, not in any human arrangements, but in the will of the One Father, manifested in the Son, and effected through the operation of the Spirit ; and it must express and maintain the fellowship of His people with one another in Him. Thus the visible unity of the Body of Christ is not adequately expressed in the co-operation of the Christian Churches for moral influence and social service, though such co-operation might with great advantage be carried much farther than it is at present ; it could only be fully realized through community of worship, faith and order, including common participation in the Lord's Supper. This would be quite compatible with a rich diversity in life and worship.

2. In suggesting the conditions under which this visible unity might be realized we desire to set aside for the present the abstract discussion of the origin of the Episcopate historically, or its authority doctrinally ; and to secure for that discussion when it comes, as it must come, at the

Conference, an atmosphere congenial not to controversy, but to agreement. This can be done only by facing the actual situation in order to discover if any practical proposals could be made that would bring the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Communion nearer to one another. Further, the proposals are offered not as a basis for immediate action, but for the sympathetic and generous consideration of all the Churches.

The first fact which we agree to acknowledge is that the position of Episcopacy in the greater part of Christendom as the recognized organ of the unity and continuity of the Church, is such that the members of the Episcopal Churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in assenting to any basis of reunion.

The second fact which we agree to acknowledge is that there are a number of Christian Churches not accepting the Episcopal order which have been used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners, and perfecting saints. They came into being through reaction from grave abuses in the Church at the time of their origin, and were led in response to fresh apprehensions of divine truth to give expression to certain types of Christian experience, aspiration and fellowship,

and to secure rights of the Christian people which had been neglected or denied.

In view of these two facts, if the visible unity so much desired within the Church, and so necessary for the testimony and influence of the Church in the world is ever to be realized, it is imperative that the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Communion shall approach one another not by the method of human compromise, but in correspondence with God's own way of reconciling differences in Christ Jesus. What we desire to see is not grudging concession, but a willing acceptance for the common enrichment of the united Church of the wealth distinctive of each.

Looking as frankly and as widely as possible at the whole situation, we desire with a due sense of responsibility to submit for the serious consideration of all the parts of a divided Christendom what seem to us the necessary conditions of any possibility of reunion :

1. That continuity with the historic Episcopate should be effectively preserved.
2. That in order that the rights and responsibilities of the whole Christian community in the government of the Church may be adequately recognized, the Episcopate should reassume a constitutional form, both as regards the method

of the election of the bishop as by clergy and people, and the method of government after election. It is perhaps necessary that we should call to mind that such was the primitive ideal and practice of Episcopacy and it so remains in many Episcopal communions to-day.

3. That acceptance of the fact of Episcopacy and not any theory as to its character should be all that is asked for. We think that this may be the more easily taken for granted as the acceptance of any such theory is not now required of ministers of the Church of England. It would no doubt be necessary before any arrangement for corporate reunion could be made to discuss the exact functions which it may be agreed to recognize as belonging to the Episcopate, but we think this can be left to the future.

The acceptance of Episcopacy on these terms should not involve any Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, but should enable all to maintain the continuity of their witness and influence as heirs and trustees of types of Christian thought, life and order, not only of value to themselves but of value to the Church as a whole. Accordingly we hope and desire that each of these Communions would bring its own

distinctive contribution, not only to the common life of the Church, but also to its methods of organization, and that all that is true in the experience and testimony of the uniting Communion would be conserved to the Church. Within such a recovered unity we should agree in claiming that the legitimate freedom of prophetic ministry should be carefully preserved ; and in anticipating that many customs and institutions which have been developed in separate communities may be preserved within the larger unity of which they have come to form a part.

We have carefully avoided any discussion of the merits of any polity, or any advocacy of one form in preference to another. All we have attempted is to show how reunion might be brought about, the conditions of the existing Churches and the convictions held regarding these questions by their members being what they are. As we are persuaded that it is on these lines and these alone that the subject can be approached with any prospect of any measure of agreement, we do earnestly ask the members of the Churches to which we belong to examine carefully our conclusions and the facts on which they are based, and to give them all the weight that they deserve.

In putting forward these proposals we do so

because it must be felt by all good-hearted Christians as an intolerable burden to find themselves permanently separated in respect of religious worship and communion from those in whose characters and lives they recognize the surest evidences of the indwelling Spirit ; and because, as becomes increasingly evident, it is only as a body, praying, taking counsel, and acting together, that the Church can hope to appeal to men as the Body of Christ, that is Christ's visible organ and instrument in the world, in which the spirit of brotherhood and of love as wide as humanity finds effective expression.

(Signed) G. W. BATH : and WELL : (*Chairman*).

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H. G. WOOD.

March, 1918.

Appendix II

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY

CONSTITUTED 1892

CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Society shall be "THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY."

II. The Motto of the Society shall be: "*Ask for the Old Paths, . . . and walk therein.*"

III. The general purpose of the Society shall be to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the Ancient Creeds, and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland; and generally to assert Scriptural principles in all matters relating to Church Order and Policy, Christian Work, and Spiritual Life, throughout Scotland.

IV. Among the special objects to be aimed at shall be the following:

1. The consistent affirmation of the Divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church.
2. The fostering of a due sense of the historic continuity of the Church from the first.

3. The maintaining of the necessity of a valid Ordination to the Holy Ministry, and the celebration in a befitting manner of the rite of Ordination.
4. The assertion of the efficacy of the Sacraments.
5. The promotion of the religious education and pastoral care of the young, on the basis of Holy Baptism.
6. The restoration of the Holy Communion to its right place in relation to the worship of the Church, and to the spiritual life of the baptized.
7. The revival of Daily Service wherever practicable.
8. The observance in its main features of the Christian year.
9. The encouragement, where practicable, of free and open churches.
10. The advancement of a higher spiritual life among the clergy.
11. The restoration of more careful pastoral discipline of clergy and laity.
12. The deepening in the laity of a due sense of their priesthood, and the encouraging them to fulfil their calling in the worship and work of the Church.

13. The promotion of right methods for the pastoral training of candidates for the Holy Ministry.
14. The promotion of Evangelistic work on Church lines.
15. The placing on a right basis of the financial support of the Church through systematic giving, and the restoration of the Weekly Offering to its proper place in thought and worship.
16. The better fulfilment by the Church of her duties in regard to Education ; and to the care of the poor.
17. The consideration of Social Problems with a view to their adjustment on a basis of Christian justice and brotherhood.
18. The maintenance of the law of the Church in regard to Marriage.
19. The maintenance of the Scriptural view (as held by the Reformers and early Assemblies) as to the heinousness of the sin of sacrilege.
20. The reverent care and seemly ordering of churches and churchyards ; and the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical monuments.

21. The deepening of a penitential sense of the sin and peril of schism.

22. The furtherance of Catholic unity in every way consistent with true loyalty to the Church of Scotland.

V. Among the methods to be adopted for the promotion of these objects shall be:

1. Private and united Prayer.

2. Meetings for Conference as circumstances require.

3. A public Church Society Conference or Congress. . . .

4. The preparation and publication from time to time of such Occasional Papers, Forms of Service, Sermons, Class-books, Parochial or other Leaflets, and Devotional Literature as shall be approved by the Society.

5. The delivery of special Sermons or Lectures in connexion with the Society.

6. The provision of aids to the spiritual life of the clergy.

7. The organization of Parochial Missions.

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