

NOTES

LECTURE I

1. *Rectorial Address* to the students of St. Andrews (1869), p. 9. Cf. Dr. James M'Gregor, in the *Scottish Church* (St. Giles's Lectures), p. 372.

2. "The Bombay merchants are all Scotch. In British settlements from Canada to Ceylon, from Dundee to Bombay, for every Englishman that you meet who has worked himself up to wealth from small beginnings without external aid, you find ten Scotsmen." Sir Charles Dilke's *Greater Britain*, p. 533.

3. *Confession of St. Patrick* (see below). The earlier reference by Tertullian (in his treatise against the Jews, *circa* 208 A.D.) to "British regions inaccessible to the Romans having been brought under the power of Christ" is significant but vague. It is not likely, however, that, amid the extensive introduction of Roman influences into North Britain after the conquest by Agricola in 80 A.D., the knowledge of Christianity should have been very long withheld.

4. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III. chap. iv.

5. See the *Confession of St. Patrick*, generally accepted as genuine on account of combined external and internal evidence. The copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, belongs to the eighth or ninth century, and professes to be transcribed from a document written

by St. Patrick himself. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 17 ; G. T. Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 26.

6. In the tenth or eleventh century. See Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Pref. lxxvii.

7. In Iona itself, according to an old Irish Life of Columba, the saint on his arrival found two bishops, whose work he superseded (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, pp. 34, 491) ; and it is only reasonable to suppose that a considerable portion of the Scoto-Irish colonists in North Britain after St. Patrick's time were Christians. To this pre-Columban period belongs the legendary history of the Irish St. Buitt, who died in 521, and whose name is preserved in Carbuddo (in Forfarshire). An ancient memoir of him describes his visit to that region and his receiving a grant of land from a King Nectan (Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 410). Among other Irish missionaries who, according to tradition, evangelised districts of North Britain during this period were St. Mochta, who is said to have laboured in the Lennox ; St. Colmoc, who occupied the island called after him, Inchmocholmoc in Lake of Menteith ; and St. Faelan or Fillan (not to be confounded with the later and more famous saint of the same name), who is said to have settled at Dundurn, near Comrie. See Forbes's *Kal. Scot. Sts.* and Stephen's *Scottish Church*, i. p. 35.

8. Cumin, the author of the earlier memoir, became Abbot of Iona in 657, sixty years after Columba died. Adamnan, who incorporated Cumin's biography with his own, was born in 624, twenty-seven years after Columba's death.

9. Adamnan suggests this motive (afterwards distinctly asserted) by associating Columba's departure with the bloody fight of Culdreivny in 561 (see *Memoir*

i. 7 and second preface); but he repudiates by anticipation the later allegation that Columba was forced into missionary exile as an ecclesiastical penance. He records, indeed, an "unjust" excommunication of the saint by a Synod in Meath "for venial reasons," but indicates that the same Synod immediately afterwards recalled the sentence (ii. 4).

10. In an Irish document of the twelfth century, (the *Prophecy* of St. Berchan) the mission of Columba is expressly connected with his concern for the Scots of North Britain, who had been defeated in battle by the Picts three years before, and had been deprived of part of their territory. "Nor was it happy with him (Columba) that an Erinach should be king in the east under the Cruithnigh (Picts)." See Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 82, and his *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84. "While his missionary zeal impelled him to attempt the conversion of the Picts, he must have felt that if he succeeded in winning a pagan people to the religion of Christ, he would at the same time rescue the Irish colony of Dalriada from a great danger by establishing peaceable relations between them and their greatly more numerous and powerful neighbours."

11. Adam., Second Preface, "Pro Christo peregrinari volens."

12. Bede, B. iii. 4; Adam. i. 8, 24, 25, 27, 39; ii. 20, 47; iii. 15, 20; *Book of Deer*.

13. Reeves's *Adamnan* (in *Historians of Scotland*), Preface, p. lx.

14. Bede, iii. 3.

15. *Ibid.* iii. 5, 26.

16. *Ibid.* iii. 27.

17. *Ibid.* iv. 23. The five bishops were Bosa and

Wilfrid II. of York; Hedda of Dorchester; Otffor of Worcester, and John of Hexham (John of Beverley).

18. *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius, chap. 2.

19. Bede, iii. 28.

20. *Ibid.* iii. 22.

21. *Monks of the West* (English translation), iv. p. 88.

22. *Ibid.* iv. pp. 125-127.

23. *Leaders of the Northern Church*, pp. 9, 11, 16.

24. Adam. iii. 24.

25. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 80, 81. The tradition is embodied in the work of Manus O'Donnell, compiled in 1532 professedly out of ancient records then extant.

26. Adam. i. 3, 35; ii. 6; Reeves's *Adam*. xlvi.

27. Adam. i. 35, and old Irish Life of Columba (eleventh century) contained in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 501, 502. "The kingdom of Dalriada in Scotland was to be freed from all tribute towards the supreme King of Ireland, but they were to join in expeditions and hostings when called upon, with the exception of the sea-gathering." (*Celt. Scot.* ii. 125).

28. Old Irish Life as above, p. 500.

29. Adam. i. 3.

30. *Ibid.* iii. 18.

31. Montalembert, iii. p. 286; Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*.

32. A list of these is given in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Vol. II. Part I. pp. 107, 137. The most notable migrations are those of (1) St. Donan, the evangelist of Eig, who, along with fifty companions, suffered martyrdom there in 617, (Forbes's *Kalendar of Scot. Saints*, p. 324); (2) St. Blane (a disciple of Columba's friends Comgall and Kenneth)

who laboured in Bute and is the reputed founder of Dunblane (Skene's *Celt. Scot.* ii. 138); (3) St. Maelrubha, a monk of Bangor, who came over from Ireland in 671, settled in Applecross, and evangelised Ross (Article by Dr. Reeves in *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 14th June 1859).

33. Neander's *Hist. of Church*, Period III. Sect. I.

34. Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, i. 331.

35. *Mont.* ii. 397; Stokes, pp. 131-148; Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*.

36. *Mont.* ii. 460. Gallus is a Latin form of Cellaoh.

37. Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints*, iii. 91.

38. Maclear's *Missions in the Middle Ages*, p. 153.

39. Neander's *History of the Church*, Period III. Sec. I.

40. *Mont.* iii. 296. Some of these, as that of Ratisbon, lingered on till modern times. See Lecture IV. p. 116.

41. *Mont.* iii. 256. Among these was the celebrated St. Cathaldus of Munster (Cathal), Bishop of Tarentum in the latter part of the seventh century. Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, i. 545.

42. *Mont.* iii. 250; A. W. Haddan's *Remains*, p. 218. Bangor and Clonard are said to have had at this period 3000 monks each under their jurisdiction.

43. Neander's, Period III. Sect. I.

44. *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius, chap. 26.

45. Bede, v. 19; Eddius, chap. 2.

46. Bede, iv. 9.

47. *Ibid.* iv. 10.

48. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, ii. 114.

49. Bede, i. 25; Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 39.

50. Adam. ii. 3, 46. Even the new church built by Aidan's successor Finan was entirely of wood, thatched with reeds (Bede, iii. 25).

51. Bede, iii. 14.

52. Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 34.

53. Bede, iii. 26.

54. *Ibid.* iii. 4, 17. Bede's prejudice appears even in his reference to Columba himself: "Whatever kind of man he was himself, he left successors, etc."

55. Bede, iii. 3, 5, 17.

56. *Ibid.* iii. 5, 26.

57. Neander, Period III. Sect. I.

58. Boniface is even described as "Scotus natione" (but apparently without authority) by Trithemius in his *De Scriptoribus Eccles.* ccxlv.

59. Embodied in Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. i. p. 494. See also O'Hanton's *Lives of Irish Saints*, vol. iii. 183; and Skene's *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. xli. 106-116. Colgan endeavours to claim Cadroe for Ireland; but the saint's Scottish birth and parentage are generally admitted, and appear to be fully certified by the references in the ancient biography to his connection with the contemporary Constantine, King of the Scots, and with Donald, King of Strathclyde, as well as by the express statement that Cadroe returned home from Armagh "over the sea."

LECTURE II

1. In 1556 a company of Huguenots and fourteen evangelists from Geneva began missionary work in Brazil; but the enterprise failed through its leader, Villegagnon, becoming a renegade. In 1559, Gustavus

Vasa of Sweden organised a mission to the heathen Lapps under his rule. The colony of Virginia in N.A., founded soon after 1580, had missionary as well as colonising aims, and in 1587 recorded its first Indian baptism. Sir Walter Raleigh gave £100 to the Virginian Company, as a contribution towards the propagation of the Gospel among the pagan natives. See Dr. William Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, chap. i.; Archdeacon Hardwick's *History of the Reformation*, p. 446.

2. Protestant Holland shared in the commercial enterprise of this period; but its people were engaged in a critical struggle with Spain for civil freedom and religious toleration. Early in the seventeenth century, however, after Dutch independence had been secured, we find a missionary college in Leyden, and organised propagation of the Reformed Faith in the colonies of Java, Formosa, and Ceylon. But the religious intolerance of the Dutch Colonial Government, while it resulted in numerous nominal conversions, was unfavourable to genuine evangelisation. See Brown, i. pp. 10, 22, 25; Dr. George Smith's *Conversion of India*, p. 77.

3. The General Assembly of 1596, in a representation to the King, declares "that in many pairts of the countrie, for lake of sufficient stipends for provisione of pastors, the people lyes altogether ignorant of their salvation and dewtie to God and the King, qwhair-through the land is overflowit with atheisme and all kynde of vyce, there being above four hundreth paroehe kirks destitute of the ministrie of the Word, by and attour the kirks of Argyle and tbe Isles" (*Book of the Universal Kirk*, p. 437).

4. See *Diary* of James Melville, pp. 433, 434; M'Orrie's

Life of Andrew Melville, chap. vii. ; Spottiswood's *History*, p. 468.

5. Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, vol. i. p. 478. The quotation is an extract from a letter of the General Assembly to the Scots abroad, and the main topic of the letter is the provision of ordinances for them ; but a wider missionary scope is here plainly indicated.

6. *Acts of the General Assembly, 1638-1842* ; letter of date February 1700.

7. See Howie's *Scots Worthies*, and Dr. Hew Scott's *Fasti*, Part IV. 396. Shields was also the author of *The Hind let Loose* and a *Vindication of our Solemn Covenants*. He was one of the three Cameronian ministers who entered the Church reconstituted in 1690, and he became minister of the second charge at St. Andrews. A brief notice of other ministers who joined the Darien expeditions is contained in the *Fasti*, Part I. p. 400. They belonged chiefly to the sterner section of the post-Revolution clergy (Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*, chap. lxxxv.) Howie suggests that the moderate majority of the Church wished "to get rid" of Shields by sending him out as a missionary to Darien ; but more probably he and others of the ten, finding themselves out of sympathy with the "moderation" of the Church, were the more ready to offer themselves for service abroad. Shields died in Jamaica of fever in 1700. A similar fate overtook three (at least) of the others. One (Francis Borland) returned to his parish, Glassford.

8. The Society owed its missionary stimulus mainly to a legacy of Dr. Williams of London, yielding £50 a year and payable "a twelvemonth after the Society have actually sent three missionaries to foreign parts." Communications were opened with the American Presby-

terian Church in 1729, and arrangements were made soon afterwards for the establishment of a mission to the North American Indians; but, owing to various causes of delay, it was not till 1741 that the first missionary, John Sargent, actually entered on his labours among the Indians on the Housatonic. The second, Azariah Horton, began work in the following year on Long Island. See Dr. C. A. Briggs's *American Presbyterianism*, p. 302.

9. Brown's *Propagation of Christianity*, i. pp. 32, 45; Briggs, pp. 97, 98.

10. Jonathan Edwards's *Life of Brainerd*, pp. 307, 308.

11. These were recorded, at the request of the Scottish Society, in his work *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*.

12. Brown, i. p. 119.

13. *Missionary Year-Book* of the Religious Tract Society, Section IV. chap. i.

14. Jonathan Edwards's *Life of Brainerd*; Pratt's *Life of Brainerd*, with Bickersteth's Preface; Brown's *Propagation of Christianity*, i. pp. 80-119. David Brainerd was succeeded by his brother John, who died about 1780. Missionary operations were interrupted by the American War of Independence, after which the connection of the Scottish Society with the work ceased.

15. Chap. xxxvii.

16. *Actings and Proceedings* of the General Assembly, 1796. Overtures had been sent from the Synods of Fife and of Moray in favour of a mission being organised by the Assembly.

17. The Moravian Church, or Church of the United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) inaugurated its earliest Foreign Mission in 1732 (to the slaves of St. Thomas Island) under the direction of its General Synod. The

Danish missions in the eighteenth century to the East Indies and to Greenland were organised, not by the Church, but by the Government of Denmark. The Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792, not by any representative Council, but by twelve ministers in a private parlour.

18. The "Scottish Missionary Society" was founded in February 1796. Its first missionaries were Henry Brunton and Peter Greig, who were sent to Sierra Leone. The mission came to an untimely end in 1800 in consequence of Mr. Brunton's loss of health and Mr. Greig's murder by a native. The former, along with other labourers, was afterwards sent to Tartary; but the work there, after a promising commencement, had to be abandoned, owing partly to the jealousy of the Greek Church. The Society's more prosperous missions to Bombay and Jamaica were founded in 1822 and 1824 respectively. See Brown's *Propagation of Christianity*, i. pp. 415-49; Dr. Geo. Smith's *Short Hist. of Missions*.

19. The "Glasgow Missionary Society" was also established in February 1796. Its first mission (to West Africa) proved unfortunate and was eventually abandoned; but the mission to the Kaffirs of South Africa, begun in 1821, was a conspicuous success. It included the work of the well-known Lovedale Institution. Brown, i. pp. 450-73.

20. Brown, i. pp. 436, 448, 465.

21. Dr. Love (a native of Paisley), while pastor of Spitalfield Presbyterian Congregation in London, wrote the "first small letter" which called together a few ministers to consult respecting the foundation of the London Society. He remained Secretary until 1800, when he became first minister of Anderston Church,

Glasgow. He was subsequently appointed Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society; and it was after him that Lovedale was so called. See *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. xxxiv.; *Scott's Fasti*, Part III.

22. Thomas was originally a surgeon. He was a man of earnest character and varied gifts, although lacking in judgment and stability. He came to England in 1792, and in the following year returned to Bengal as the colleague of Carey. See *Brown's Propagation*, vol. ii. p. 1.

23. "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain."

24. See Dr. George Smith's *Conversion of India*, p. 97; his article on Grant in *Good Words*, Sept. 1891, and his *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. i. 35, 97. As regards ecclesiastical connection, Dr. Smith describes Grant as "an evangelical Christian first, and a Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian afterwards, as his position led him."

25. Morrison was born in 1782, and died in 1834. He was a native of Morpeth, but was of Scottish parentage. See Townsend's *Robert Morrison*.

26. Moffat, b. 1795; d. 1883. See *Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, by J. S. Moffat.

27. Wilson, b. 1804; d. 1875. See Dr. Geo. Smith's *Life of John Wilson*.

28. Paton, b. 1824. See *Autobiography* edited by his brother.

29. Macfarlane, b. 1840; d. 1887. See Kilgour's *Darjeeling Mission* (in the press).

30. Mackay, b. 1849; d. 1890. See *Memoir* by his sister.

31. Morrison and Moffat were Congregationalists; Wilson belonged to the Church of Scotland, and afterwards to the Free Church; Paton was sent out by

the Reformed Presbyterian Church; Macfarlane was a missionary of the Church of Scotland; Mackay (son of a Free Church minister) was an Episcopal missionary under the C.M.S.

32. Inglis succeeded Principal Robertson as minister of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. He was a prominent leader of the "Moderates," but was highly esteemed by all parties. The writer remembers hearing a warm tribute paid to his memory and work by the late Dr. Guthrie from the Moderator's Chair of the Free Church General Assembly in 1862 or 1863. In his opening address as Moderator of that Assembly in 1896, Principal Miller of Madras spoke of the "sanctified statesmanship of Dr. Inglis" finding "its fitting instrument in the evangelical fervour of Dr. Duff." Unhappily for the Church of Scotland, Dr. Inglis died early in 1834, before the "Ten Years' Conflict" began. His son was Lord President of the Court of Session from 1867 to 1891.

33. Duff's *India and India Missions*, p. 481. "Of this rudimental scheme the sole, the undisputed author was Dr. Inglis. With him it originated as the product of his own solitary independent reflection on the known constitution of the human mind and the general history of man."

34. Duff's *India and India Missions*, p. 485. Dr. Inglis and other influential leaders of the Church were strongly supported in their advocacy of an India Mission by Dr. Bryce, the first Chaplain of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta. Dr. Bryce's proposals, however, differed notably from Dr. Inglis's scheme, and aimed at reaching the better-informed and influential natives by means of lectures and addresses on the doctrines and evidences of

Christianity, to be delivered by the missionaries in the vernacular tongues. See Dr. Niven's reference in *Story's Church of Scotland*, iii. p. 766; and *Special Report of Foreign Mission Committee to General Assembly of Church of Scotland*, pp. 295, 296.

35. Christian Friedrich Schwarz, a native of Brandenburg, laboured in India from 1750 until his death in 1798. William Carey's missionary career extended from 1793 till 1834.

36. Smith's *Life of Duff*, vol. i. pp. 103, 116, 144.

37. Letter of Dr. Duff in Smith's *Life*, vol. i. p. 172. In 1830 the total number of Indian native Christians baptized under Protestant auspices was only 27,000. See Smith's *Conversion of India*, p. 137. The number in 1890 was 648,800 (Smith, p. 204), and is estimated as now nearly a million.

38. Carey's establishment included not only a "Normal department to train native teachers" and a "Theological Institute to equip the Eurasian and native Christian students, by a quite unsectarian course of study, to be missionaries to the Brahminical classes," but a curriculum of study in "the English language and literature," to enable the senior students (without distinction) "to dive into the deepest recesses of European science." Unfortunately, however, the Serampore College lost all the funds it possessed in India owing to a financial collapse in Bengal during 1830-33; Carey's own personal income was simultaneously cut down; and the educational department of the Serampore Mission failed to secure adequate appreciation at home. See Smith's *Life of Carey*, pp. 381, 382.

39. "It was founded originally for a Principal and two Professors, and as many students as its funds

should enable the Society to maintain during the period of study, and to provide for afterwards in the situations of missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists at its various stations. These stations were to be under episcopal jurisdiction. As the object of the institution was expressly the propagation of the Gospel, no students were to be admitted who should not propose to devote themselves to that object." Le Bas's *Life of Bishop Middleton*, ii. p. 107. It is true that a secondary object of the institution was to teach "the elements of useful knowledge and the English language" to "native children without any immediate view to their becoming Christians" (Le Bas, ii. 18, 20), but this could not meet the need of the time. The building is now a Government Engineering College.

40. Duff's *India Missions*, pp. 520-22.

41. Smith's *Life of Duff*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106.

42. Duff's *India Missions*, pp. 507, 525-29.

43. *Ibid.* p. 519. The new movement was stigmatised by the Orientalists as "Anglomania." It is to be kept in mind that the Scottish Missionaries did not ultroneously substitute Western for Oriental culture; but, finding the former already in favour, they endeavoured to Christianise it.

44. Smith's *Life of Duff*, vol. i. p. 141.

45. *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 167, 207.

46. *Ibid.* vol. i. 159-63, 470-75; vol. ii. 53, 54, 78. "Dr. Duff's converts are the backbone of the native Church in Bengal" (Rev. A. Clifford, Secretary of Church Missionary Society, Calcutta, in *Special Report of Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee on Educational Missions*, 1890).

47. See *Special Report* above mentioned, and *Mission-*

ary Year-Book of Religious Tract Society. Principal Miller of Madras, in his Opening Address as Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly (1896) declares (p. 20) that "the scheme of Christian education in India is the most original and influential contribution we have made to the carrying of Gospel light to the lands that sit in darkness. For, be it remembered that every section of the Church at work in India, not those alone that are of our kin, but that part of England's Church to which Protestant is a distasteful word, and the organisations also that are in obedience to Rome, have followed the example which Scotland set." Dr. Pierson bears eloquent testimony to Dr. Duff's potent influence upon American Missions in his *New Acts of the Apostles*, p. 130.

48. Smith's *Life of Duff*, chap. vii.; Principal Morrison in *Special Report of Foreign Mission Committee*, p. 292.

49. Smith's *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 394.

50. Letter from Sir Charles Trevelyan to Dr. George Smith after Dr. Duff's death. See Smith's *Life of Duff*, vol. i. 195, 196.

51. The oldest organisation specifically for Medical Missions is the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, constituted in 1841. Besides maintaining agencies of its own, it supplies Medical Missionaries to most of the larger Missionary Societies.

52. Six years ago the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee received (in answer to request) opinions on this subject from eight-four representative Anglo-Indians of high position, belonging to various spheres of public service. Of these sixty-eight were distinctly, and in most cases warmly, favourable to

Mission Colleges. Sir Chas. Aitchison, lately Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, declares that "the importance of Mission Schools and Colleges is even greater now than when Dr. Duff initiated his education policy." "India," he adds, "is only waiting for some native St. Paul to turn by thousands to the Lord. But the more active you are in your schools, the better you will be prepared for that day." Principal Sir Wm. Muir, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, testifies that "it was the Scotch Schools and Colleges which first gave to the Hindoos a bent towards Christianity"; and that by these institutions our Indian Empire "has been inoculated with Christian sentiment." Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., similarly maintains that "if the Scottish Missions were to withdraw from educational work in India, the State system of public instruction would be deprived of one of the most important class of institutions which have tempered the exclusively secular teaching of the Government Schools, and the Indian races would be left to the influence of a constantly increasing propaganda of Hinduism and Islam." Sir Chas. E. Bernard, K.C.S.I., formerly Home Secretary to the Indian Government, declares that "if Christian Schools and Colleges were closed, atheism would be unchecked." Major-General Geo. Hutchinson, C.B., C.S.I., endorses the view of the Church Missionary Society that "abundant spiritual results have followed, and continue to follow from secondary and collegiate education in India." John Woodburn, Esq., Secretary of the Government, North-West Provinces, expresses his "conviction that the Educational Institution of the Scotch Church is pre-eminently its best service to the cause of Chris-

tianity among the people of India." "The time will come when there will be, quite suddenly, an adoption of the Christian faith so widespread as to be almost universal. The preparation for it demands the patient continuance of prolonged labour. . . . In this preparation the Missionary Colleges are playing the principal part." See *Special Report* of Foreign Mission Committee to General Assembly, in volume of Reports for 1890, pp. 231-416.

53. *Special Report* (as above), pp. 286, 401.

54. The Congregationalists.

55. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, Introductory Chapter; and Dr. Blaikie's *Personal Life of Livingstone*. His father left the Church of Scotland about 1835, and became a deacon of a Congregationalist church in Hamilton.

56. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, p. 7.

57. *Ibid.* where he speaks of the "memories of Wallaco and Bruce and a' the lave." Dr. Blaikie's *Life*, pp. 221, 222, 224, 293, 342.

58. *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216, 228.

59. *Ibid.* pp. 349-51.

60. *Ibid.* p. 226.

61. *Ibid.* chap. xxii. Pierson's *New Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 244-48.

62. Blaikie's *Life*, p. 471.

LECTURE III

1. Margaret, wife of James IV. of Scotland, and afterwards Regent, was sister of Henry VIII.; and her granddaughter, Mary Queen of Scots, was, after Edward,

Mary, and Elizabeth (whose legitimacy was disputed), heir to the English throne. An eventual marriage between Edward and Mary was, during their infancy, part of Henry VIII.'s policy, with a view to the union of the crowns, and was agreed to by the Scottish Estates in 1543. During the Reformation struggle in Scotland the Scottish Protestant party, or a section of it, was in more or less open alliance with Henry VIII., Protector Somerset, and Elizabeth successively.

2. Froude's *History of England*, vi. 511 (cabinet ed.); Burton's *History of Scotland*, iv. 64-66 (ed. 1876).

3. Froude, vii. 177; viii. 272; ix. 125-27.

4. *Ibid.* vi. 573; Paton's *British History and Papal Claims*, i. 100-102; Stephen's *Scottish Church*, ii. 117.

5. Froude, vi. 449; vii. 368; Burton, iv. 131-35; Paton, pp. 104, 107, 108; Letters of Mary Stewart in Labanoff's Collection, i. pp. 175-77, 179, 281, 355, 369; ii. 7; vii. 6-10; Bellesheim's *Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 93, 94; Moncrieff's *Influence of Knox and the Scottish Reformation on England* (Exeter Hall Lectures, 1859-60), p. 32.

The League included the Pope (Pius V.), the Emperor, the Kings of Spain and Portugal, the Dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, and the Republic of Venice. The English ambassador, Randolph, asserts that Mary Stewart signed the "band." This is a disputed point; but, as Burton remarks, "whether in the form of a band or not, beyond doubt Mary was the close ally of the King of Spain in all his formidable views and projects for crushing the new religion."

6. Moncrieff, pp. 33-36; Laing's *John Knox*, ii. 139, 146, 554; Hume Brown's *John Knox*, ii. 291; Froude, vii. 90, 91; ix. 243; in *Short Sketches*, i. 114, he ascribes to Knox the prevention of a Spanish invasion in 1571.

7. Seton was Confessor to James V. in that king's youth, and afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of Henry VIII. M'Alpine was Prior of the Dominican Convent at Perth from 1532 until his flight in 1534. He was presented by Shaxton, the first Protestant Bishop of Salisbury, to a canonry in 1538. Subsequently he rendered conspicuous service to the Reformation cause in Denmark (see Lecture IV. p. 115, and note 15). M'Dowel was sub-Prior of the Blackfriars' Monastery in Glasgow, became chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury, and was the first in that cathedral to assail publicly the doctrine of Papal Supremacy. See Lorimer's *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 181-87.

8. Hume Brown's *John Knox*, i. p. 104; Laing's *Works of Knox*, vi. 26, where an extract is given from the Record Office in London of eighty "persons that have had licence to preach under the ecclesiastical seal since July 1547."

Rough, originally a Dominican Prior at Stirling, was one of the Earl of Arran's Reforming Chaplains in 1543, and afterwards preacher to the garrison in the Castle of St. Andrews after the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. It was through Rough that John Knox was called by the congregation of the Castle to the ministry. He suffered martyrdom at Smithfield in 1557 under Mary Tudor (M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, Period ii.; Lorimer's *Precursors of Knox*, p. 188). Willock, originally a Dominican in Ayrshire, became, after his return from England, one of Knox's coadjutors in Scotland, and was "Superintendent of the West" in the Reformed Church. Even before he was appointed to that office, the Reformers of Ayrshire

called him the "Primate" (Laing's *Knox*, i. 245; M'Creie's *Knox*, Per. iv. and vi.; Lorimer's *Precursors*, 190, 191). John M'Brair was a gentleman of Galloway, who fled to England in 1538 to escape persecution at home. He afterwards preached to the English congregation at Frankfort, and eventually became a vicar in Newcastle (M'Creie's *Knox*, note 1).

In addition to the foregoing we find in the Record Office list the names of John Blythe, "Scottishman, Master of Arts," and Thomas Gilham, "Scottishman, Bachelor of Divinity." Among Scotsmen who were preachers in England during the same period, without the special licence of the Government, was William Harlaw, afterwards minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh (1560-78).

9. Laing's *Knox*, ii. 278.

10. M'Creie's *Knox*, Per. ii.; Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, chap. i.; Laing's *Knox*, ii. 280. Addressing Mary on one occasion, Knox declared that "God so blessed my weak labours that in Berwick, while commonly before there used to be slaughter by reason of quarrels that used to arise among soldiers, there was as great quietness all the time that I remained there as there is this day in Edinburgh."

11. The "Council of the North" consisted of the leading nobility and gentry of the North of England, and was nominated by the Government for the administration of public and ecclesiastical affairs. Knox's address on the occasion is given by Laing, vol. iii. 32.

12. Laing's *Knox*, iii. pp. 81, etc.; Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, ii. 142, 148; Hume Brown's *Knox*, i. 122. Northumberland wished to strengthen the cause of the Reformation in the South

of England; and the presence of Knox, who discerned his selfish character and reprov'd his vices, had become disagreeable.

13. The fact of Knox's chaplaincy has been called in question; but his autograph signature, among those of the other five chaplains, is extant, appended to the Forty-five Articles (afterwards Forty-two), and dated October 1552 (Laing's *Knox*, vi. 29, 30).

14. "Kneeling at the Lord's Supper I thought good amongst you to avoid, and to use sitting at the Lord's Table, which ye did not refuse" (Letter of Knox to the congregation of Berwick, a year or two after he had left them. Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, p. 261). In 1550 Bishop Hooper advocated the same posture; and in the reign of Mary, Thomas Becon, who had been Cranmer's chaplain, writes in his *Displaying of the Popish Mass*, "Oh, how oft have I seen here in England, at the ministration of Holy Communion, people sitting at the Lord's Table." A letter from John Utenhove to Bullinger (in 1552) indicates a sermon by a Scotsman (referring doubtless to Knox) as the chief occasion of the movement against kneeling (Drysdale's *History of the Presbyterians in England*, p. 66).

A memorial to the Privy Council, of date 1552 (discovered by Dr. Lorimer), in favour of sitting at Communion is proved by internal and external evidence to have been substantially the work of Knox. The objection to kneeling was not sustained by the Council, but the memorial led to the adoption, as a compromise, of the "Black Rubric," which was a virtual concession to the views of Knox and of those who sympathised with him (Lorimer's *Knox*, p. 275).

15. That contemporaries attributed the insertion of

the Rubric to Knox's influence and representations, appears from a reference in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (vi. 510) to a disputation between Latimer and Dean Weston (1554), in which the latter says, "A runagate Scot did take away the adoration of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion Book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time." The "runagate Scot" is generally admitted to be Knox. See Laing's *Knox*, iii. 80; Hume Brown's *Knox*, i. 132; Drysdale's *Presbyterians in England*, p. 68.

16. See Lorimer's *Knox*, p. 125; Hume Brown, i. 130. The alteration due directly to Knox's intervention was the significant omission of a clause endorsing the ceremonies of the Prayer-Book as "in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel."

17. Laing's *Knox*, iii. 360, 365, 374; Hume Brown, i. 143, 144.

18. Besides writings which are lost, there remain (1) "A Godly Letter of Warning or Admonition to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick" (1554); (2) two "Comfortable Epistles to his afflicted Brethren in England" (1554); (3) "A Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England" (1554); (4) "An Epistle to the Inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick" (1558). See Drysdale, p. 66.

19. Knox was summoned from Geneva in the autumn of 1554 to the pastorate of the Frankfort congregation; and Thomas Lever was afterwards appointed as his colleague. In March 1555 he withdrew for the sake of peace, mainly on account of difficulties which arose in the congregation over the question of the liturgy to be used. In the autumn of 1555, during his prolonged

visit to Scotland, he was appointed pastor of the newly formed English congregation at Geneva, with Christopher Goodman as colleague. His connection with that congregation was not finally severed until the spring of 1559, when he returned to Scotland to take part in the closing struggle which issued in the Scottish Reformation. See Lorimer, pp. 201-44; Hume Brown, i. pp. 162-214.

Whittingham was the chief author of the Geneva Translation of the Bible; Gilby and Sampson were his leading coadjutors. Whittingham afterwards became Dean of Durham. Foxe was the famous Martyrologist. Coverdale, the translator of the English Bible of 1535, had been Bishop of Exeter under Edward VI. John Cole became Archdeacon of Exeter under Elizabeth. Sampson refused the See of Norwich in the same reign because of his Puritan convictions, and was afterwards imprisoned for nonconformity.

20. The full title is "Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy entrance of Christ's Gospel, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished." See Laing's *Knox*, v. 495-522; Lorimer's *Knox*, p. 214. In this manifesto the Reformer proposes the subdivision of each diocese into ten districts, each district to be under a bishop or superintendent; and he sketches a programme of educational reform, the leading feature of which is the erection of higher schools in all divisions "for the preservation of religion as well as the diffusion of education."

21. Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*, p. 133.

22. Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ii. p. 332; Lorimer's *Knox*, p. 225. This letter is signed by

Craig, Pont, Wynrame, James Melville, Row, Spottiswood, and other Scottish Church leaders. Knox's name is not appended, probably because he was not a *persona grata* with some of the English bishops, on account of his pronounced Puritanism; but it is significant that at the Assembly which sent the letter he obtained six months' leave of absence, which he spent in England, and which he occupied partly, doubtless, as Dr. Lorimer suggests, in communication with English Puritans.

23. Drysdale, pp. 105, 124, 143, 161; Lorimer's *Knox*, p. 235. The leader of the English Puritans, Thomas Cartwright, printed in 1577 his work on Church Discipline in Scotland.

24. Row, in his *History of the Kirk* (p. 220), indicates the hopes then entertained in Scotland of England being "reduced to Presbyterian government." In 1592 the King had taken an active part in the establishment of Presbyterianism; and in 1590 he is said to have uttered the famous dictum about the Liturgy of the Church of England being "an evil said mass in English" (*Scot's Apol. Narr.* p. 57). The Millenary petition of 1603 was so called not because it was signed by 1000 persons, the actual number being 750, but because it refers to a thousand clergy of the Church groaning under grievances which the petitioners sought to have removed. The document is entitled "The humble petition of the ministers of the Church of England desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church." The grievances complained of related to matters of ritual, discipline, and doctrine, and did not touch the question of episcopal government. Other petitions, however, less numerous

signed, were presented to James about the same time, craving for "presbyterial consent and council in Church affairs." See Drysdale, p. 235. The Puritan crave received nominal consideration but real disregard at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604.

25. According to the sentence passed on Leighton by the Star Chamber, he was to be imprisoned for life and fined £10,000; to be publicly whipped and put in the pillory; to have his nose slit and one of his ears cut off; and to have his face branded with S.S. (Sower of Sedition). He himself, in his *Brief Discoverie*, published in 1646, testifies to the infliction of the foregoing physical mutilation and torture. He was liberated by the Long Parliament in 1641, after ten years' imprisonment; reparation was ordered to be made "for his great sufferings and damages." See Irving's *Scottish Writers*, ii. pp. 114-20; Drysdale, pp. 248-52; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. i. Part III. 228, 229.

26. The negotiations referred to were those which issued in the royal ratification of the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. The Scottish Commissioners included Henderson, Gillespie, and Baillie, who preached every Sunday in London to overflowing congregations on the points in controversy between Puritans and Prelatists. Among other controversial pamphlets issued at this period were Henderson's "Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacy or Perpetual Presidency," a treatise with a similar title by Baillie, and Gillespie's "Grounds of Presbyterial Government." See Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, chap. xvii.; Drysdale, p. 269; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, i. 151. "To hear those sermons there was so great conflux and resort by the citizens, that from the first appearance of day on

every Sunday to the shutting in of the light the Church was never empty" (Clar.)

27. Cunningham, ii. 44 (2nd ed.) ; Drysdale, pp. 283, 291 ; Dr. James Kerr's *The Covenants and the Covenanters*, pp. 141, 151, 173, 212, 237, 277, 307, 310, 311.

28. Drysdale, pp. 553, 572 ; Howie's *Scots Worthies*, William Veitch and Alexander Peden.

29. In 1717, two Presbyterian ministers of Exeter, Peirce and Hallet, were extruded for Arianism ; but in 1719, at the Salters' Hall Synod in London, a resolution against the imposition of any subscription was carried by a small majority, and the Arian leaven spread. In 1733, Strong of Ilminster issued an Arian version of the Shorter Catechism ; and, three years later, the revision was re-issued by Samuel Brown of Birmingham, with recommendations by six other leading Presbyterian ministers. About the same time, Pelagianism was advanced by Dr. John Taylor of Norwich. Somewhat later Dr. Joseph Priestley, who had previously surrendered the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, became the leader of an aggressive Socinian movement. His chief works in this connection were his *History of the Conceptions of Christianity* (1782), and his *History of Opinions concerning the Person of Jesus Christ* (1786). See Drysdale, pp. 499-532.

30. The most notable Scottish divine charged with Arian or semi-Arian views was Professor Simson of Glasgow, who, after long controversy, was in 1729 suspended (permanently) from teaching (see Lecture V. note 56).

31. Drysdale, pp. 551-60 ; John Black's *Presbyterianism in England*, pp. 10, 11. Among notable Scottish

ministers in London during this period were Dr. William Wishart, eventually Principal of Edinburgh University; and Dr. Henry Hunter, a popular evangelical preacher, translated from a Scottish parish in 1771, and for many years the leader of the "Scots Presbytery." In Stafford a minister of the Church of Scotland, Henry Proctor, who settled there in 1789, notably strengthened the cause of orthodox and evangelical Puritanism (Drysdale, p. 564).

32. An old MS., preserved by the Presbyterians of Harbottle in Northumberland, referring to the period between 1736 and 1760, records the frequent participation by ministers of the Church of Scotland in the Communion services held in that county; and also the observance of Scottish Sacramental usages, including the Monday Thanksgiving. See Black, p. 23.

33. Richmond's *Protestant Nonconformity in Stockton*, quoted by Drysdale, p. 551. The writer of the letter quoted in the text was the Rev. William Wood. To the same effect Dr. Priestley in his *Free Address to Protestant Dissenters* (1769), referring to "vacancies supplied from Scotland," adds significantly, "How they are supplied from this quarter let the state of the dissenting interest in the North of England testify" (Drysdale, p. 552). In the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, the zeal of the newly-founded Scottish Secession operated in the same direction of strengthening the anti-Arian and anti-Socinian party; for the Seceders sent, among other less noted divines, the celebrated John Brown of Haddington on preaching tours throughout the North of England. Not a few Presbyterian congregations were then planted, which afterwards grew into an important organisation.

34. See Drysdale, pp. 605-12; and Black, p. 20, where it is stated that seventy English congregations "formed themselves between 1836 and 1842 into an English Synod in ecclesiastical communion with the Church of Scotland." In 1843 they took the side of the Free Church. Another section of English Presbyterians had previously incorporated themselves with one or other of the Scottish Secession Churches which in 1847 became the U.P. Church. In 1876 this corporate union was dissolved, and the two English sections united under the name of the Presbyterian Church of England, which now numbers about 400 congregations.

35. See Bishop Warburton's Letter in Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood's *Life of Erskine*, p. 47. "Every branch of science flourishes in the north better than in the south." For the appreciation of Beattie's *Essay on Truth* in England see Forbes's *Life of Beattie*, i. 227, 264. "In England," wrote Bishop Porteous to Dr. Beattie in 1772, "your book has been received with unanimous applause." "The backbone of British theology and religion," wrote Dean Stanley (*Edin. Rev.* April 1881), "is, in a great degree, to be found in the rational and comprehensive faith, at once vigorous and Christian, which characterises the leading spirits of the Church of Scotland at this moment: Principal Caird, whose lectures (on the Philosophy of Religion) we reviewed in our last number; Norman Macleod, but lately removed, too early for his Church and country; Principal Tulloch, whose work on the *Rational Theology of England* is at once an example and a light to be followed." See also Stanley's *Church of Scotland*, pp. 173, 174. Dr. Milligan's *Resurrection of our Lord* is prescribed to candidates for ordination in several

English dioceses, and is also used (in a translation) by the Greek Church.

36. Routh dedicated his *Reliquiae Sacrae* in 1814, "Patribus in Christo admodum reverendis, virisque optimis ac venerabilibus, episcopis et presbyteris Ecclesiae Scoticae Episcopalis, doctis, piis, orthodoxis." Bishop Skinner's *Primitive Truth and Order*, published in 1803, was declared by clergymen of the Church of England to have rendered "very essential service" to that Church, and to have placed it "under infinite obligations." John Skinner's (jun.) *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 320, 322. Bishop Jolly (1756-1838) was accustomed to read the Greek and Latin Fathers, especially Chrysostom and Augustine, daily from 4 a.m. to breakfast time. In an earlier generation Bishop Sage of Edinburgh had set an example of patristic learning by his work on the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age"; Bishops Falconer and Gadderar had contended for the revival of primitive "usages"; and Rattray, Bishop of Dunkeld (d. 1743), had led the way in liturgical studies through his critical edition of the "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem." See Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Russel's Appendix; Stephen's *Scottish Church*, ii. 456, 491, 511, 556, 603. The late Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, in his *Annals of my Life* (ii. 62), referring to the Oxford Movement, writes: "The more the leaders were discountenanced by authorities in England, the more they looked to our Scotch Church as the soil in which they might still hope to see the growth of their opinions and the success of their cause." See also Stephen, ii. p. 600.

37. See Lecture V. p. 138, and note 7.

38. Stephen's *Scottish Church*, ii. pp. 582, 583.

39. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, to whose efforts and influence the re-establishment of Convocation in 1852, with Synodical powers, was mainly due, took a deep interest in Scottish ecclesiastical history and affairs; and it is significant that he visited Scotland in the autumn preceding the agitation for the revival of Convocation. See *Life of Wilberforce*, ii. 136-56; iii. 68, 69, 243, 302, 303, 336, 353, 381. In several English dioceses there is a Sustentation Fund for the support of clergy. Both the name and its application are borrowed from the financial system of the Scottish Episcopal Church and of the Free Church of Scotland, in which the term Sustentation Fund originated.

40. Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ii. 246.

41. Samuel Bradburn's *Are the Methodists Dissenters?* quoted by Drysdale, p. 552.

42. Samuel Wesley, the father of the Methodist leaders, eventually Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire, was educated at Dissenting Academies near London (George Smith's *Wesleyan Methodism*, i. 75). The maternal grandfather of the Wesleys was Dr. Samuel Annesley, their maternal great-grandfather John White of Dorchester (Smith, i. 82, 83).

43. See *Are the Methodists Dissenters?* quoted by Drysdale, p. 592.

44. Alexander Kilham (1762-98) became, after John Wesley's death in 1791, an influential leader of Methodism, and was Superintendent at Aberdeen from 1792-95. He wrote strongly-worded pamphlets against what he regarded as the "hierarchism" of the Methodist constitution, and was expelled from the connection in 1796. A resolution of the Conference at Leeds in 1797, definitely deciding against the admission of lay

representatives either to its own meetings or to a second house of legislation, led to the secession of several pastors, who along with Kilham founded the New Connexion. See George Smith's *Wesleyan Methodism*, vol. ii. pp. 35-144; and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxi. 103.

45. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 30; Forbes's *Kal. Scot. Saints*, pp. 450, 451; and his *Missale de Arbuthnott*, lxxxiv.; (in accordance with early Irish documents).

46. Skene, ii. p. 489; Forbes's *St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, xlii. xliii.

47. See Lecture I. note 7.

48. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. chap. vi.

49. Killen's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, ii. pp. 546-48; and Hamilton's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, pp. 31, 189, 190, in which some notable statistics are adduced. Ulster pays nearly one-half of the Income Tax collected in Ireland under Schedule D. Less than half the number of police in proportion to population are needed for Ulster than are required for Ireland as a whole. Only about one-tenth of the troops in Ireland are quartered in this province. In 1895 only one person in ninety-seven received parochial relief in Ulster, while in the other provinces, taken together, the proportion was one in thirty-nine.

50. Shortly before this greater plantation, through which the best portions of Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Fermanagh were allocated by the Crown to British colonists, a similar plantation on a smaller scale had been accomplished by private arrangement in Down and Antrim, Scots from Ayrshire taking the chief part in the enterprise. See Harrison's *Scot in Ulster*, pp. 10, 18, 25, 36, 39.

51. Heylin's *History of Presbyterians*, pp. 387, 388.

"The plantation was carried on more vigorously by adventurers of the Scottish nation, who procured themselves into this country as the richer soil." See also Harrison, pp. 40, 41, 104, 105; Reid's *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. pp. 80-90; Killen, pp. 482-85.

52. Du Pin (R.C.), in his *Eccles. History of the Seventeenth Century* (Book iv. chap. vii.), comparing Ulster with other parts of Ireland at this period, declares that the former was "the most constant in preserving the Catholic religion," whereas "in the other provinces heresy made great progress, and the Catholic religion was almost banished in some places." Reid states that "the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, which comprised the greater part of the province, were occupied so late as 1605 by Roman Catholic prelates."

53. In 1610 Derry and Clogher were occupied by George Montgomery, a Scot; Raphoe by Andrew Knox, a kinsman of the Reformer; Down and Connor by James Dundas, also a Scot, whose two successors, Echlin (1612) and Leslie (1636), were of the same nationality. See Killen, i. 489, 490.

54. Walter Travers, an English Presbyterian, who had been inhibited from preaching in England by Primate Whitgift, was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in the reign of Elizabeth; and two of the Fellows, Fullerton and Hamilton (under whom Archbishop Ussher received his early training), were Scottish Presbyterians. See Killen, i. p. 453. No regular Presbyterian congregations, however, appear to have been formed.

55. See Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 109, and Reid's *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. 96-98, in which contemporary testimony is quoted. The son of

one of the ministers who came over from Scotland (Stewart of Donegore) declares that "most of the people were void of godliness, who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy; yet God followed them." . . . "A hand of faithful ministers were now engaged to take their lot in Ulster, whose labours were remarkably blest to the converting of many out of so profane and godless a multitude." Robert Blair (*Life*, p. 51) testifies that "although amongst those whom divine Providence did send to Ireland there were several persons eminent for birth, education, and parts; yet the most were such as either poverty, scandalous lives, or, at the best, adventurous seeking of better accommodation, had forced thither." It is possible, however, that the desire to emphasise the improvement which took place in the lives of the colonists may have led to some exaggeration in the description of their original character. See Harrison, p. 56.

56. Edward Brice (in Scotland Bryce), a native of Airth in Stirlingshire, who had resisted Spottiswood's appointment as permanent Moderator of the Synod of Clydesdale, was deposed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1613 for alleged, but unproved, immorality. He came to Antrim in the same year. His younger contemporary Livingstone describes him as "insisting most on the life of Christ in the heart, and on the light of His Word and Spirit in the mind." He died in Ireland in 1636. See his *Life*, p. 78; Reid, i. 98; Hamilton, pp. 36, 37.

57. Robert Cunningham, who had been chaplain to the Earl of Buccleuch's Regiment in Holland, was admitted to the cure of Holywood in 1615. Ejected

for nonconformity in 1636, he came to Ayrshire, and died at Irvine in 1637. See Reid, i. 206, 207.

58. Robert Blair, a native of Irvine, was Regent in the University of Glasgow during the principalship of Cameron (see Lecture IV. note 20), whose ecclesiastical policy he opposed. He came to Ireland in 1623; was ejected for nonconformity in 1635; returned to Scotland in 1637, and in the following year was appointed to St. Andrews. He visited Ulster in 1642, during the Rebellion, but returned to his charge in Scotland. He was ejected after the Restoration, and died at Aberdeen in 1666. See Howie's *Scots Worthies*.

59. Welsh was Professor of Humanity in Glasgow, but resigned his Chair in 1626. "A great measure of that spirit," testifies Blair, "which wrought in and by the father, rested on the son." He died in 1634. See Reid, i. 112, 178, 179; Howie's *Scots Worthies*.

60. James Hamilton had been educated for the ministry in Scotland, but acted as steward to his uncle, Viscount Clanboye (who had received a large grant of land in 1605), until Blair and Cunningham "being satisfied with his gifts," procured his ordination and appointment to the cure of Ballywalter. He was deposed in 1636 for nonconformity to the new Episcopal Canons, and afterwards became minister of Dumfries. He was one of the Commissioners appointed in 1644 to administer the Solemn League and Covenant in Ulster. At the Restoration he was ejected from his charge in Edinburgh, to which he had been translated from Dumfries. He died in 1666. See Reid, i. 104, ii. 27-42; and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

61. George Dunbar came to Ireland about 1628, and ministered successively at Carrickfergus and Ballymena,

prior to his settlement at Larne. After his deposition for nonconformity, he returned to Scotland and became minister of Calder. He died in 1641. Reid, i. 113, 114, 221.

62. John Livingstone was the chief instrument of the famous Shotts revival (June 1630), at which the Thanksgiving Service on the Monday after the Communion is said to have originated. He came to Ulster in the autumn of 1630, and laboured there until his deprivation in 1636. He afterwards became minister successively of Stranraer and Ancrum, and took part in the Glasgow Assembly of 1639. He often revisited Ulster after his return to Scotland. During the Commonwealth he joined the "Protesters," and was their Moderator in 1651. After the Restoration he was banished, and settled in Rotterdam, where he died in 1672. His linguistic scholarship was conspicuous. See *Scots Worthies*, and Dr. Sprott's article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

63. Brice, Cunningham, Blair, Hamilton, Welsh, and Livingstone were all admitted to parishes in Ireland by bishops (Reid, i. 99, 101, 103, 104, 112, 116). When Blair was to be settled in Bangor, he intimated to Echlin, Bishop of Down, that he could not accept Episcopal ordination; whereupon Echlin considerably arranged that he should be ordained by Cunningham and other Presbyters in association with the Bishop, who declared that "he took part in the ordination in no other relation than as a Presbyter" (Killen, i. 426). The introduction, however, of the "Hundred Episcopal Canons" in 1634 led to the deprivation of the leading Presbyterian ministers (Reid, i. 188-200; Killen, ii. 24).

64. Ology, a contemporary Anglo-Irish writer,

declares that "the Irish hatred was greater against the English nation than against their religion." Referring to "the English and Scotch Papists that were fled into Ireland," he declares that "the wrath of God fell upon them also, as well as upon the Protestants," and that the "bloody two-handed sword made no difference" between a Catholic and a heretic (*Life of Bedell*, pp. 174, 175). The rebel leaders appear at first to have endeavoured to exempt the Scotch from the general massacre, and the English suffered most as the direct representatives of "foreign" conquest; but the distinction could not be maintained (Lecky, ii. 130).

65. Clarendon's estimate was 40,000 or 50,000 (*History of Rebellion*, i. 229). Carte, after mentioning exaggerated estimates, agrees with Sir William Petty (who was contemporary with the massacre) that the number killed in the first year of the "troubles" was about 37,000. But Warner (middle of the eighteenth century), basing his calculations on depositions in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, estimates the total as 4000 massacred, and 8000 killed through ill-usage (*History of Rebellion*, ii. 9). Lecky inclines to Warner's estimate (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 169); Reid (i. 336, 337) and Killen (ii. 38, 39) to that of Petty and Carte.

66. See Burton's *History of Scotland*, chap. lxxiii.; Reid, i. 304, 351; ii. 57; Killen, ii. 52.

67. Reid, i. 368-85; Killen, ii. 53. Among the deputies were the formerly ejected Robert Blair, James Hamilton, and John Livingstone.

68. Adair's *True Narrative*, pp. 103, 104, 214, 215; Reid, ii. 26-44; Killen, ii. 54, 55, 107. The leading Commissioner was James Hamilton, formerly of Ballywalter.

69. According to Sir W. Petty (*Political Survey of*

Ireland, published in 1719), a large fresh emigration from Scotland took place after Cromwell's settlement of Ireland in 1652. It was stated in Parliament, in 1656, (with some exaggeration perhaps), that the Scots in Ireland could "raise 40,000 fighting men." See Harrison, p. 84.

70. Reid, ii. 43, 44.

71. Reid, ii. 344-53, 382, 424; Killen, ii. 136-38; Hamilton, 74-77.

72. This took place in 1670. See the *True Narrative* (*sub fin.*) of Adair, who relates that during the performance the upper gallery fell down, and "divers were killed and many hurt." Reid, ii. 409.

73. Archb. Syngo. See Lecky's *England*, ii. 400, 401.

74. Killen, ii. 233, 435, 436.

75. Hamilton, pp. 124-28. "On a platform erected in the open air (at Ballyrashane, near Coleraine) the Rev. Robert Higinbotham, minister at Coleraine, and Mr. John Swanston, probationer of the Secession, hammered at each other during the length of the summer day, in the presence of a prodigious assembly of people." When the Scottish Secession was rent in 1747 into the Burgher and anti-Burgher Synods, the Irish Seceders took sides also; and thus "almost at the very inception of its history, Secederism began to present a divided front" in Ireland. The reunion of Irish Presbyterians took place in 1840, when 292 congregations belonging to the main body united with 141 belonging to the Secession.

76. Killen, ii. 435-42; Hamilton, pp. 146-57.

77. Hamilton, p. 169.

78. According to the census of 1891, out of a population in Ulster of 1,617,877, there were 744,353 Catholics, 427,810 Presbyterians, 361,917 Protestant

Episcopalians, 40,525 Methodists, and 41,885 of other denominations.

LECTURE IV

1. See Moncrieff's "Ancient Alliance between the French and Scots" in *Miscellanea Scotica*, iv. 17-19; Burton's *Scot Abroad*, chaps. i. iv. vi.; Michel's *Les Ecosais en France*, i. 6-8, 11, 12. Michel adduces evidence that in Paris alone, at the close of the thirteenth century, there were nearly sixty tax-paying persons who bore the name Escoz, l'Escot, or some other appellation similarly suggestive of Scottish origin, as their proper surname. A district of the town of Danzig is still called Schottland, in memory of a colony of Scottish weavers who settled there in the fifteenth century. See article on "Scots in France" in *Edinburgh Review*, July 1863.

2. Michel's *Ecos. en France*, i. 115, 116. This expedition was arranged about the year 1420, in response to an embassy sent by Charles VI. Shortly after, a fresh reinforcement of 5000 men arrived under the Earl of Douglas. See *Miscell. Scot.* iv. 13.

3. Michel, i. 119, 147-49; *Miscell. Scot.* iv. 14, 15, 20, 21; Burton's *Scot Abroad*, i. 37, 40, 41, 48-55. The Scots Guard was established by Charles VII. during his struggle with England, and consisted originally of 200 men who guarded the royal person. The number was afterwards increased to 300. The historical details in *Quentin Durward* are taken from the Memoirs of Philip de Comines. The Guard was nominally retained down to the Revolution of 1789, but Scots had gradually disappeared from it.

4. *Miscell. Scot.* iv. 19.

5. Michel, i. 56; Mackenzie's *Lives of Eminent*

Scottish Writers, ii. 6; article in *Edin. Rev.* Jan. 1864, cxix. 200-202; W. Stephen's *Scottish Church*, i. 413; ii. 558, 559, 610, 611. The Scots College was broken up at the Revolution of 1789. The French Government, about forty years ago, undertook, as compensation for the loss of the old College buildings, "the expense of educating eighteen Scottish students in French seminaries; an arrangement which holds good to the present time."

6. Major's *Hist. of Greater Britain*, B. iii. 11; Dempster, *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* pp. 567-71; Mackenzie's *Lives*, i. 147-55; Migne's *Patrologia*, cxvii. pp. ix.-xvi. Richard was a most voluminous writer on exegetical, doctrinal, and practical religious subjects. Among his more notable works are *De Verbo Incarnato*, *De Trinitate*, and *De Gratia Contemplationis*, the intuition or immediate vision of the divine, as distinguished from "cogitatio" or reasoning. Major describes him as "second to none of the theologians of his generation," and the high esteem in which his writings were held on the Continent in the Middle Ages may be judged from the fact that in 1518 thirty-seven were extant and were published at Paris. They were republished there in 1540, and afterwards in Venice, Cologne, and Rouen. Guilielmus of St. Victor, writing in 1348, when the relations between France and Scotland had become intimate, describes Richard as "Scotus" (Migne). The inscription (1531) on his tomb in the cloister of St. Victor contains the following testimonies to his nationality and to his fame:—

"Quom tellus genuit folioi Scotica partu. . . .
Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Quae tibi perpetuum sint paritura decus."

7. Major (1470-1550) speaks of Duns Scotus as a "Scottish Briton born at Duns, a village eight miles distant from England, and separated from my own home (North Berwick) by only seven or eight leagues." The editor, in the fourteenth century, of the Commentary (ascribed to Duns) on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, speaks of him as "Natione Scotus," and by that time the designation "Scot" meant a native of Scotland, unless there was express indication to the contrary. Rabelais (1483-1553) refers to Duns as "Maistre Jehan d'Ecosse." In 1513 a monument was erected to his memory in a church at Cologne bearing the inscription: "Scotia me genuit: Anglia me suscepit: Gallia me docuit: Colonia me tenet." Antony Possevin (1534-1611) describes Duns as "natus in ulteriore Britannia ad Calydoniam sylvam" (*App. Sac.* i. 868). These testimonies outweigh the following evidence adduced in favour of Down in Ireland and Dunstane in Northumberland. In 1487, O'Fihely, Archbishop of Tuam, in a preface to his edition of the Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, claims Duns as an Irishman, but gives no definite indication as to his birthplace; and the earliest mention of Down in this connection is by Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh, about the end of the sixteenth century, who writes of Duns as "probably" born there. For the English claim the chief testimony is that of John Leland (1506-52), who, in his *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, states that in a MS. of Merton College, Oxford, Duns is stated to have been born at Dunstane in Northumberland, but the MS. is not extant, and there is no means of judging whether the statement was more than a mere conjecture. Thomas of Eccleston, writing in the fourteenth century, while expressly distinguishing Hibernia from Scotia, indicates

(*Monumenta Franciscana*) that all Britain north of York was reckoned in the province of Scotia, but the statement is not corroborated. See Major's *Hist.* iv. 16; Dempster's *Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot.* i. 227-32; Burton's *Scot. Abroad*, ii. 13; article by J. M. Rigg in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

8. Burton aptly remarks (*Scot. Abroad*, ii. 16): "Could it be maintained that no one opinion promulgated by Duns Scotus is now believed, yet his thoughts are the stages by which we have reached our present position. He who ruled one-half of the intellectual world for centuries, necessarily gave their shape and consistency not only to the views of those who implicitly followed him, but to those of the later thinkers who superseded him; for there is nothing that more eminently moulds the character of opinions than the nature of those which they supersede."

9. The way had been prepared for belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary (1) by the over-exaltation of her personality, in particular the appellations of "Theotokos," Mother of God, authorised from the fifth century, and "Queen of Heaven" from the eleventh century; (2) by the simultaneous growth of Mariolatry and multiplication of festivals in the Virgin's honour, including that of her alleged Assumption (from the sixth century); (3) by the doctrine which St. Augustine accepted (although rejected by his leading contemporaries as well as by earlier theologians), and which was prevalent from the sixth century onwards, that Mary was by grace free from actual transgression "propter honorem Domini"; (4) by the doctrine to which Bernard, Buonaventura, Aquinas, and others adhered, that the Virgin was free from original sin, having been purified therefrom prior to birth. The

earliest distinct historical trace of belief in the Immaculate Conception is contained in a letter of St. Bernard (174 in the collection) of date 1140. In this letter he remonstrates with the Canons of Lyons for their unauthorised celebration of a festival in honour of the Virgin's Conception, and for their countenance of the erroneous belief that her conception was immaculate. (A later legend ascribes the origination of this festival to an English Abbot in the eleventh century.) During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the new doctrine was opposed both by Popes (Innocent II., III., and V.) and by leading Doctors (Peter Lombard, Hugo St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Buonaventura, Aquinas). The advocacy of Duns Scotus turned the tide of opinion. The story of his triumphant defence of the doctrine at Paris in 1307, against 200 objections of Dominican opponents, is not related till the fifteenth century, and may be a legend; but his support of the doctrine after its supposed decisive overthrow by Aquinas is undoubted (Lib. iii. dis. 3, qu. 1; dis. 18, qu. 1); and the weight of his authority, if not the cogency of his arguments, secured for the dogma the powerful adherence of the Franciscan Order to which he belonged, and the early, if not immediate, endorsement of the University of Paris in which he taught. In 1439 the Reforming Council of Basel, after it had become schismatical according to Romish authority, accepted the doctrine and reprobated the opposite. In 1470 Pope Sixtus IV. imposed mutual toleration on defenders and on opponents of the dogma; and this papal dictum remained in force until the decree of Pius IX. in 1854, although his predecessor Gregory XVI. sanctioned the introduction of the term Immaculate into the service of

the Church. See Schaff's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity*, pp. 409-28; Meyrick's articles on "Mary" in Smith's *Bib. Dict.* and *Dict. Christ. Antiquities*; Rigg's article on Duns Scotus in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Philip Smith's *Hist. of Church in Middle Ages*, pp. 300-305.

10. *Miscell. Scot.* iv. 16, 18, 19; *Edin. Rev.* for July 1863, vol. cxviii. 237, 249, 250; Michel's *Écossais en France*, i. 7, 71, 153. Among notable Scots who held important ecclesiastical benefices in France during this period were Robert Ellis, originally a vicar in Caithness, who became Archdeacon at Toulouse in the latter part of the twelfth century, and took a leading part in suppressing heresy there; John Carmichael, who was a military chaplain at the battle of Verneuil in 1425, and, under the name St. Michel, became Bishop of Orleans; Andrew Foreman, afterwards Primate of Scotland, who, early in the sixteenth century, was appointed to the Archbishopric of Bourges; and David (afterwards Cardinal) Beaton, who in 1557 became Bishop of Mirepoix.

11. See article on "Scottish Religious Houses Abroad" in *Edin. Rev.*, Jan. 1864; Wattenbach's *Schotten Klöster in Deutschland*, translated by Dr. Reeves in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii. pp. 227-47, and 295-313; MSS. of James Dennistoun of Dennistoun (including Notes made at Ratisbon in 1836), in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The Erfurt Monastery is believed to have been established in 1036 as an offshoot from the more ancient Scoto-Irish monastery at Cologne. That of Ratisbon was founded by Marianus Scotus about the time of the Norman Conquest; but the original buildings were superseded by others in the latter part of the following century, when the existing Romanesque

Church was erected. The Nuremberg Benedictine buildings dated from 1111, and were probably erected on the site of an older Irish foundation. This was certainly the case at Würzburg, where Kilian the Irish-Scot laboured in the seventh century, and where in 1136 the Bishop of that see founded a Scottish monastery in memory of his Celtic predecessor. The Scottish Religious House of Vienna was established by Henry the Lion in 1164, "pro Scotis monachis exulibus." It was first occupied by a colony of monks from Ratisbon. Other Scottish monasteries known to have come into existence at this period were those of Constance (1142) Memmingen, near Ulm (1180), Eichstadt in Bavaria (1194), Kellheim, near Ratisbon (1260), and Oels, near Breslau.

12. John Major, who was born near North Berwick in 1469-70, entered the College of St. Barbe at Paris in 1493, and graduated there as Master in 1496, under the rectorship of a countryman of his own, John Harvey. He then became a Regent, and Teacher of Philosophy in Montaigne College. In 1505 he graduated as Doctor of Divinity, and thereafter lectured on theology in the Sorbonne. His Commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (the favourite theological text-book of the age) were published in 1509-17, and parts of the work passed within a few years through five editions. The *History of Greater Britain* was issued in 1521. In the following year Major was induced to repair to Scotland, and became Professor of Theology in Glasgow, where he had John Knox as a pupil. In 1523 he was transferred to St. Andrews, where George Buchanan was among his students. He returned to Paris in 1525, and remained there till 1531. His chief work during this period was the composition of

his *Commentary* on and *Harmony of the Gospels*. The last nineteen years of his life (1531-50) were passed in the University of St. Andrews. In 1547 he was present when John Knox preached there his first sermon in public; and he made no open protest against the Reformer's doctrine.

In philosophy Major was a "Terminist," occupying an intermediate position between Nominalism and Realism, although in the main an adherent of the former system. His aim was to reconcile the prevalent nominalism of his time with the traditional theology. He defended Transubstantiation ("whosoever denies it is a foolish heretic"), as well as saint-worship, image-veneration, compulsory clerical celibacy, and other Romish tenets. In a Dedication of his *Commentary on Matthew* to James Beaton, he commends that prelate for having "manfully removed" (*viriliter sustulisti*) an unhappy follower of the "Lutheran heresy," referring to the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton. None the less, in the spirit of the Council of Constance, Major was a pronounced Church Reformer. He speaks of "papal excommunication" and "ecclesiastical censures" as penalties which one who is in the right "has no reason to fear." Referring to pluralities and other abuses of ecclesiastical patronage, "those deceive themselves," he writes, "who think that the approval even of the Supreme Pontiff can reconcile such things to the dictates of conscience" (*Com. on Matt. f. 80*). He is equally emphatic in his demand for drastic monastic reform, and in his denunciation of clerical corruption. In 1534 he took the part of a friar (William Airth) who had been condemned as a heretic by Bishop Hepburn of Brechin for preaching against the abuse

of so-called miracles and against the licentiousness of the clergy.

In a notable epigram, George Buchanan ridicules Major's works as "abounding in trifles"; and, after quoting his former teacher's own self-depreciatory description of himself as "solo cognomine Major," adds sarcastically, "Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet." But Buchanan received from Major more probably than he was conscious of acquiring; not only intellectual stimulus but, in particular, those constitutional views of government which were afterwards unfolded in the famous *De jure Regni* (see Lecture VI. note 27). Other notable pupils testified more gratefully to Major's worth and influence. Scnalis of Paris, in an Oration (1510) speaks of him as "that incomparable Master, whom I cannot praise as much as he deserves." Louis Coronel of Segovia, one of the editors of Ximenes's famous Bible, writes of him as "our Master" whose "learning will commend him not only to posterity but to eternity."

See *Life of Major* by Dr. Æneas J. G. Mackay, prefixed to A. Constable's Translation of Major's *Greater Britain*, especially pp. xxix. xxxviii. lii. lix.-lxii. lxxv. lxxxi.-lxxxiii. lxxx.-lxxxiii. xciv. cvi.-cviii. cxiv. cxxii.-cxxix. The reference to Major by Melanchthon (quoted in Mackay's Biography) is contained in his *Defence of Martin Luther against the furious Decree of the Parisian Theologasters*, op. i. p. 398).

13. George Buchanan (born at Killearn in 1506) was a student in Paris from 1520 to 1522. He returned to France in 1526, took his mastership two years later, at the Scots College in Paris, and in 1529 was appointed to a Chair in the College of St. Barbo.

He returned to Scotland about 1535, and was entrusted by James V. with the education of one of his natural sons; but his bold satires against the Franciscans led to his imprisonment at St. Andrews. In 1539 he escaped to France and held for three years a professorship of Latin at Bordeaux, where Montaigne was one of his pupils. Between 1544 and 1547 he was a Regent in the College of Cardinal le Moine at Paris; in the latter year he accepted the invitation to Coimbra. His three Scottish colleagues there were John Rutherford, William Ramsay, and his own brother, Patrick Buchanan. The charges brought against him at Coimbra were (1) writing a satirical poem on the Franciscans; (2) speaking against Transubstantiation; (3) eating flesh in Lent. After his liberation from prison and a short sojourn in England, he returned once more to France, and became a Regent in the College of Boncourt at Paris, where he remained until 1555. The five following years were spent by Buchanan, partly in France and partly in Italy, as domestic tutor in the family of the Comte de Brissac. In 1560 he finally returned to Scotland. His recognised influence in continental circles may be estimated from Cardinal Beaton's eager efforts, through the Archbishop of Bordeaux, to secure his apprehension there, and from the successful endeavours made to protect him from molestation. See Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, i. 67-78, and also his *Memoir of George Buchanan*; Burton's *Scot Abroad*, ii. 24-26.

14. Alesius (born at Edinburgh in 1500) wrote at least twenty-eight treatises on various exegetical, dogmatic, and controversial subjects, including *Commentaries on the Psalms*, the *Gospel of St. John*, and several *Epistles of St. Paul*, a pacificatory *Exhortation to Concord*, and con-

troversial works on *Justification* (against Osiander), the *Lord's Supper*, the *Trinity*, etc.

The controversy with Cochlaeus was occasioned by Alesius's *Epistola contra decretum quorundam Episcoporum in Scotia* (published in 1533 at Leipzig), which indicated the exile's continued interest in his native land. He is described by Beza in his *Icones* as a man "dear to all the learned, eagerly embraced by the evangelical Church of Saxony, and warmly cherished and esteemed by her to the day of his death" (1565). "He belonged," writes Professor Ward, "to that generous if sanguine band of divines, of whom Melanchthon was leader and type, to whom no gulf which conscientious effort was incapable of bridging seemed fixed between Lutheranism and Calvinism, or even between the new learning and the *vetus ecclesia*." See Professor A. Mitchell's *Pre-Reformation Scotland in the St. Giles's Lectures on the Scottish Church*, pp. 107-112; Lorimer's *Precursors of Knox*, pp. 167, 241, and *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 29-32, 112-119; M'Crrie's *Life of Knox*, note I; and Ward's article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

15. M'Alpine fled from Scotland in 1534 to England (Lecture III. note 7), and remained there till 1540, when he removed to Germany. He received his doctorate in theology at Wittenberg prior to his departure for Denmark. His eminent learning and service to the Protestant cause are acknowledged by Danish historians. On the occasion of his death in 1557, his remains were followed to the grave by the king. John Jonston of St. Andrews describes him as "Christianismi in Dania Instaurator" (M'Crrie's *Life of Knox*, Supplement). He was the author of various works in exegetical and dogmatical theology. A close friendship and moral

resemblance existed between Machabaeus and Alesius. Jonston represents the latter as uttering the lines—

Qui mea scripta legit, Machabaeum cernat in illis :
Alterutrum noscis, noscis utrumque simul.

The name M'Bee, sometimes applied to M'Alpine, is merely an error occasioned by re-translation from the Latin designation. See Lorimer's *Precursors of Knox*, pp. 185, 186, and *Scottish Reformation*, p. 120; M'Orie's *Life of Knox*, note I; Laing's *Works of Knox*, i. 529.

16. Bellesheim's *Catholic Church of Scotland*, iii. 35 (Trans.); Rankine in Story's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 410; W. Stephen's *Scottish Church*, ii. 32.

17. See article on "Scottish Religious Houses" in *Edin. Rev.*, Jan. 1864, and other authorities mentioned in note 11; also Bellesheim, iii. 247. After the Reformation Scottish Colleges, for the education of the Roman Catholic youth of Scotland and for the training of Scottish priests, were established at Douay (1578), at Rome (1600), and at Madrid (1617), in addition to the old Scots College at Paris (see p. 39). These later institutions, however, had a purely Scottish sphere and scope, and exercised no considerable influence in the countries where they were respectively located.

18. See M'Orie's *Life of Melville*, chap. x. Andrew Duncan, John Sharp, John Welsh, John Forbes, and Robert Durie were all imprisoned (1605), and afterwards banished (1606), for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen without the king's authority (*ibid.* chap. viii.). Duncan had been a Regent at St. Andrews, and subsequently minister of Crail. He was eventually allowed to return to Scotland; but suffered a second imprisonment for nonconformity to the Articles of

Perth (Wodrow's *Life of Duncan*, pp. 4-11). Sharp had been minister of Kilmany in Fife. Welsh had occupied the charge of Ayr. In 1622, after fourteen years of ministry in France, he lost his health and repaired to London, but was not allowed to return to Scotland. When the town of St. Jean d'Angély was besieged by Louis XIII., during his conflict with the Huguenots, and at length capitulated, Welsh continued to preach as usual. The Duc d'Espèron was sent to arrest him, but returned with the answer, "Never man spoke like this man." The preacher, however, when summoned, entered the royal presence, and so impressed the king at once with his spiritual earnestness and with his acceptable views regarding royal independence of ecclesiastical control in the secular sphere, that Louis said at length, "Eh bien, vous seriez mon ministre." On a later occasion when the town was again taken, special orders were given to protect Welsh and to transport him in safety, along with his family, to Rochelle (see Kirkton's *Life of Welsh*, pp. 5, 39-41). John Forbes had been minister of Alford in Aberdeenshire, and was Moderator of the "unauthorised" Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605. He was in 1611 the founder of the Scotch Church at Middelburg, from which he was transferred to Delft in 1621. He died in 1634 (Stephen's *Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, pp. 294, 316). Robert Durie had been minister of Anstruther, and held the Scotch charge at Leyden from 1609 until his death in 1616. He was a frequent correspondent of his nephew Andrew Melville, who addresses him as "Right Reverend and doarly beloved father in the Lord Jesus" (Stephen, p. 312, and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, Appendix x.).

19. The authorities of La Rochelle applied in 1608

for Melville's liberation, with a view to his appointment to the professorship of Biblical Theology there. The application was without effect; but in 1610 the influential appeal of the Duke of Bouillon, head of the French Protestant party, was successful, and led to Melville being allowed to go to Sedan. Principal Donaldson was a native of Aberdeen, and held the professorship of Natural and Moral Philosophy. Two other Scots were contemporary with Melville at Sedan—John Smith, who occupied a Chair of Philosophy, and John Colville, Professor (successively) of Hebrew and of Theology. Tilenus, originally Melville's colleague in divinity, while professing Calvinism really propagated Arminianism. Melville exposed his duplicity, and was the means of Tilenus leaving Sedan. See James Melville's *Diary*, p. 35; Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, i. 303-306, and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, chaps. i. ix. and x. Spottiswood's reference to Melville's life and work at Sedan (*Hist.* Book vii., under the year 1606), "He was sent to Sedan, where he lived in no great respect, and lay almost bedfast till his death," is due, doubtless, to prejudiced and unfounded reports which had reached him, and were too readily believed.

20. Cameron (born in 1579) came in 1600 to Bordeaux, where one of the Reformed pastors was a Scot, Gilbert Primrose. His conspicuous attainments in Greek and Latin led in the same year to his appointment as classical professor in the newly-founded College of Bergerac, whence he was transferred in 1601 to a Chair of Philosophy at Sedan. The four years from 1604 to 1608 he spent at Paris, Geneva, and Heidelberg, prosecuting theological study, at the expense of the French Protestant Church, which in this way

showed its high appreciation of his potential services. In 1608 he was appointed to the pastorate in Bordeaux, from which he was translated in 1618 to the Chair of Theology at Saumur. Political troubles in France led to his departure in 1620, and, after about two years' residence in England, he was appointed by James VI. (with whose political ideas and ecclesiastical policy he was in accord) to the Principalship of Glasgow University. Finding himself, however, out of harmony with his colleagues on Church questions, he soon resigned his office and returned to Saumur in 1623. It was found impracticable to reinstate him in his professorship there; but he received a thousand livres from the Huguenot Synod as compensation, and was ere long appointed to the Chair of Divinity at Montauban, where he died in 1625. His death was hastened by an outrage committed upon him by an impetuous Protestant whose indignation had been roused by Cameron's doctrine of passive obedience. See *Life of Cameron* by his pupil Cappel prefixed to the Geneva edition of his works; Irving's *Lives*, i. 333-446; Burton's *Scot Abroad*, ii. 104; Bayle's *Dictionary*; and T. F. Henderson's article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Milton, in his "Tetrachordon," refers to Cameron as "an ingenious writer in high esteem."

21. John Forbes of Corse was the son of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, and nephew of John Forbes of Alford (see note 18). He was admitted to the Chair of Theology in Aberdeen University in 1619, at the age of twenty-six. The leaders of the Covenant, who respected him highly, used every influence to win him to their side, but in vain. The *Instructiones* was much lauded by the Theological Faculties of Leyden,

Utrecht, and Francker, as well as by Vossius, Rivet, and other eminent continental scholars. Forbes returned to Scotland in 1646, and died in 1648. The use of his work (in the abridged form) as a theological text-book in Denmark, about the year 1829, has been certified to me from personal knowledge by his distinguished and venerable namesake, Dr. John Forbes, Professor Emeritus of Hebrew in the University of Aberdeen. Bishop Burnet describes the *Instructiones* as a work which "if he (Forbes) had finished it . . . had been the greatest treasure of theological learning that perhaps the world has yet received." See Garden's *Vita* in the 1702 edition of Forbes's works published at Amsterdam; Irving's *Lives*, ii. 43-54; Raits's *Universities of Aberdeen*, pp. 144-46.

22. Durie was born at Edinburgh in 1596, and was educated for the ministry chiefly at Leyden, where his father was Scottish pastor, and at Sedan under his cousin, Andrew Melville. His earliest attempt at ecclesiastical pacification was in 1628 at Elbing (east of Danzig), where he acted as minister to a congregation of British merchants. The town was at that time in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, who cordially supported Durie's project. In addition to the divines mentioned in the text, Durie had the sympathy of Bishops Hall of Exeter, Davenant of Salisbury, and Bedell of Kilmore, as well as of the notable Puritan divine John White of Dorchester. Even Laud, while Bishop of London, gave him some support. Among congresses and conferences at which his views were received with favour may be enumerated those held at Leipzig, Danzig, Hanau, Frankfort, Aargau, and Zurich. Durie's aims and methods are set forth in

forty-eight larger or smaller publications, including his *Summary Discourse on Peace Ecclesiastical* (1641), his *Summary Platform of Practical Divinity* (1654), and his *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus* (1662). In his latest book, *Manière d'expliquer l'Apocalypse* (1674), he unfolds his wider scheme of universal union. "What causes division and hatred among Christians is nothing else but men's resolution to maintain the principles and methods of their particular faction against what the common edification requires. My design, therefore, is to inquire after the truly evangelical and spiritual remedy which may be applied to the consciences of those who, for worldly views, keep up a spirit of faction among Christians. This is the foundation and purpose of my new scheme" (p. 17). See articles in Bayle's *Dictionary*, and in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (Gibson); Briggs's article in *Pres. Rev.* April 1887.

23. See Lecture III. note 51, and the reference there.

24. See *Memoirs of B. and J. A. Haldane*, by Alexander Haldane, pp. 415, 438, 447, 453-55, 461-66, 470-72.

"During the time of your uncle's sojourn," wrote Professor Gaussen to the biographer of Robert Haldane, "almost all the students in theology attended his expositions. Among them all only one did not appear to be touched; the majority have become eminent in the service of God. The evangelical work of Geneva was the child of Haldane; the work of grace in Vaud was the daughter of that in Geneva; the work in France was to a great extent the child of that of Geneva and Vaud."

At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London

(1851) Merle d'Aubigné declared that "if it had not been for the grace of God in ordering the mission of the venerable Robert Haldane from Scotland, I would not, so far as man can see, have been here to-day." In 1842, when Haldane was on his deathbed, one of the pastors (Marzials) at Montauban wrote to his nephew from personal remembrance, "When he (Haldane) first appeared in our town, the Gospel of salvation was in little honour, and its vital doctrines entirely unknown except by a very few. But, thanks be to God, now in this Church, as in a great many others in France, the truth of God is preached with power . . . the fruit of the good seed sown here and elsewhere by your venerable uncle." The Continental Society, founded in 1818, employed itinerating French and Swiss missionaries.

25. About sixteen years ago, through the efforts of the late Dr. William Robertson of New Greyfriars', Edinburgh, and others, £12,000 were raised for the endowment of the Waldensian ministry. In 1895 Scotland contributed, mainly in the form of annual subscriptions, about £3700 to the Waldensian Missions, and £337 to the Italian Evangelistic Society; over £2000 to the M'All Mission, and nearly £500 to the Evangelisation Society, in France; £1280 to the Evangelical Society of Geneva, and £880 to that of Belgium.

26. See *Report of First General Presbyterian Council*, pp. 25, 26, 242, 245-49, 278, 300. Among the speakers at the Council meetings was Dr. De Pressensé of Paris, who said, "It is a great encouragement to see here unfurled the flag of evangelical liberty, whilst we are obliged in France to carry it in an obscure way. We look to you, and to the great victory which was won at the Reformation in this country, and which

cheers us all. . . Religion on the Continent will be lost if we cannot show Churches where evangelical truth and unity are joined with liberty. I rejoice to see this great Presbyterian Church which unites in so beautiful and wonderful a way liberty and Gospel truth and a great Christian confederacy." The representative of the Free Evangelical Church of Germany testified that his Church "owed her origin to the Jewish Mission of the Free Church of Scotland." Among letters sent to the Council by distinguished continental Churchmen was one from Dr. Herzog, editor of the *Real Encyclopaedie*, in which he speaks of Scotland as "from the day of John Knox a metropolis of reformed faith and life,"—the country "to which in our century so many men belonging to different Churches have been accustomed to direct their gaze as to an inspiring example."

LECTURE V

1. Ogilvie's *Presbyterian Churches*, pp. 181-83.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 168-76; R. Hamilton's *Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria*; Campbell's *Fifty Years of Presbyterianism in Victoria*; *Report of Fifth Presbyterian General Council*. Mr. Lang brought five other ministers from Scotland in 1826, to form the original Presbytery. Eventually, in 1842, he seceded from the Church which he had founded, and for which he had been the means of securing State support. He organised a new denomination on voluntary principles. The dependence of the Australian Presbyterians for a ministry on the Churches at home led to further schism

after the Disruption of 1843; but the three sections of Presbyterianism in New South Wales were ultimately re-united in 1865. The Presbyterian Church of Victoria originated in a congregation formed at Melbourne in 1837 by the Rev. James Clow, a retired Indian chaplain of the Church of Scotland. The first Presbytery (of Melbourne) was erected in 1842. The three separate Presbyterian organisations which came into existence (connected with the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the U.P. Church respectively) were united in 1859, when the First General Assembly of the Victoria Church was held under the appropriate moderatorship of the venerable founder. The Presbyterian Churches of the other four Australian colonies (West Australia, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania) are much smaller, but are increasing in numbers and strength. The total Presbyterian population in Australia is estimated at 300,000.

3. Ogilvie, pp. 176-80; Stuart Ross's *Otago Church; Report of Fifth Presbyterian General Council*.

4. *Ibid.*

5. The total number of communicants in the Presbyterian Churches of North America, as reported to the General Presbyterian Council at Glasgow in 1896, was 2,170,000, of whom about 300,000 were of German or Dutch descent. In Canada the number of Presbyterian adherents (including children) is $4\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the communicants. Assuming that the same proportion subsists in the United States, the Presbyterians in North America may be estimated at $9\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In 1894 the Roman Catholic communicants in the United States and Canada together were nearly 10 millions; Methodist communicants about 8 millions;

Baptist, $4\frac{1}{4}$ th millions ; Presbyterian, nearly 2 millions ; Anglican Episcopalians, $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of a million ; Congregationalist, over $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a million. The proportion of communicants to adherents is very much larger in the Roman Catholic Church than in Protestant Churches. See Ogilvie, p. 196 ; Carroll's *Religious Forces in the United States*, pp. xxxv. 457.

6. Archbishop Laud contemplated the appointment of a Bishop of New England, but he was diverted from his purpose, probably by home distractions. After the Restoration, Clarendon proposed four colonial bishoprics ; but the scheme was frustrated by his political fall. Later still, Queen Anne, at the instigation of the English hierarchy, resolved to found an American episcopate ; but she died before her resolution could be carried into effect. See *Church Quarterly Review*, xix. 439.

7. Skinner's *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 58-64 ; Walker's *Life of Skinner*, pp. 38-46 ; Skinner Wilson's *Seabury Centenary* ; *Church Quarterly Review*, xix. 427-47. Three years after Seabury's consecration, two other bishops, Drs. White and Prevoost (the former elected by the episcopal clergy of Philadelphia, the latter by those of New York), were consecrated at Lambeth by the Primate and three other prelates. A regular succession was thus secured for the American episcopate without further British intervention. The character and tone of early American episcopacy was largely due to Scottish episcopal influences. Many of the Scottish episcopal clergy, ejected after 1690, had emigrated to America ; by the concordat between Seabury and the Scottish bishops, the former pledged himself to labour for a substantial agreement between the two Churches, especially regarding the celebration of the Eucharist ;

and to this day the American Episcopal Church uses a modification of the Scottish Communion office.

8. Briggs's *American Presbyterianism*, p. 90. Stirke was there from 1623 to 1636. Copland came in 1633.

9. Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson, from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire respectively. See Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, B. i. 4. 4.; Briggs, p. 93.

10. Hodge's *Presbyterian Church in the U.S.* i. 214. "From the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, Presbyterians were the most numerous class of emigrants, and probably more numerous than all other classes combined. The Congregationalists who associated with them entered the Church under the name of Presbyterians." Hodge estimates the Presbyterian emigrants before 1750 as between one and two hundred thousand (i. 60).

11. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, B. i. 5. 7.

12. See Lecture III. p. 73.

13. R. Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church in America*, p. 66. A list of the prisoners in one of the ships sent out at this time is preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

14. Burton's *History of Scotland*, vii. 176, 234, 277 (ed. 1876); Bancroft's *History of the Colonisation of the United States*, ii. 410, 411; Webster, pp. 66, 68; Shields's *Hind let loose*, p. 201. Many of those concerned, or accused of being concerned, in the Pentland Rising (1666) were condemned to transportation and servitude. The same sentence was pronounced upon 250 Covenanters in 1679, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and also upon 100 of the Dunnottar captives in 1685; but in the former case shipwreck substituted death for

bondage, while in the latter the majority died of fever on the voyage, and the remainder, on their arrival in New Jersey, were declared by the colonial magistrates to be free men (Cunningham's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 121, 139).

15. See the "Brief Advertisement concerning East New Jersey in America," appended to George Scot of Pitlochrie's *Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey, and encouragements for such as design to be concerned there* (Edin. 1685). The book contains a collection of letters from colonists to their friends at home.

16. See Hodge, i. 57; Webster, p. 68; Briggs, pp. 114, 119, 120, App. lii. Dr. Hodge, on the authority of an MS. by Dr. Baleh of Georgetown, endorses the tradition that the pastor, Nathaniel Taylor, came from Fife with the colonists; Briggs regards it as more probable that he was imported from New England. Taylor was one of the seven who constituted the first Presbytery in America (see note 30).

17. Hodge, i. 58; Bancroft, ii. 173. Lord Cardross himself returned to Scotland after the Revolution (Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland*, iv. p. 187). Ramsay (*History of South Carolina*, ii. 23, quoted by Hodge) states that "to the Scotch South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters were from North Britain."

18. Webster, pp. 69-71; Briggs, p. 122. The leader of the enterprise (1685) was George Scot of Pitlochrie (see note 15), who died on the voyage. Riddel had been minister of Kippen prior to his imprisonment from 1677 to 1685. He returned thither

after the Revolution. Frazer also returned and became minister of Aness.

19. George Scot of Pitlochrie's *Province of East New Jersey*, p. 268.

20. Bancroft, ii. 410. "This is the era at which East New Jersey, till now chiefly colonised from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians." In 1684, twenty-two emigrants sailed from Glasgow under William Dunlop (afterwards Principal of Glasgow University) as pastor, and settled at Port Royal on Broad River (Briggs, p. 127). In 1685 there is the record of a Presbyterian congregation at Brookhaven under the pastorate of Dugald Simpson, who had been a student at Glasgow (*ibid.* p. 106).

21. Smith's *History of New York*, p. 177 (quoted by Hodge, i. 56).

22. Bancroft, ii. 412. The words quoted were written in 1837.

23. See Briggs, p. 128. "The majority of the ministers and people sought refuge in New England." Stobo settled in South Carolina, became pastor of the Puritan congregation at Charlestown, and devoted his life to the establishment of Presbyterianism in that colony.

24. Holme's *American Annals*, ii. 131, 142, 145; Williamson's *History of North Carolina*, ii. 80; and Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, ii. 16, 25 (quoted by Hodge, i. 55-59, 72, 73); Bancroft, iii. 427. Holmes mentions the arrival of 400-500 emigrants from Scotland at New York in 1737; Williamson speaks of 500-600 Scotsmen settling in North Carolina in 1749, of a second immigration in 1754, and of an "annual importation of these hardy and industrious people" into the province. Ramsay testifies to Scotch settle-

ments in South Carolina during the same period. Similar testimony is given by Hodge to settlements in Pennsylvania and Virginia; and Bancroft refers to early immigration of Scotch Highlanders into Georgia before the middle of the eighteenth century.

25. Briggs, p. 184; Croskery's *Irish Presbyterianism*, p. 13; Hamilton's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, p. 110.

26. Hodge, i. 57, 74; Briggs, pp. 184-191. Hodge refers to a letter, of date 1730, which speaks of "such a multitude of people coming in from Ireland of late years" to Pennsylvania; and Briggs quotes a letter from an Ulster minister in 1718, who refers to the "great desolation" caused there by ministers "de-mitting their congregations," and by "great numbers of their people going with them."

27. R. Ellis Thompson's *Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, p. 23.

28. Proud's *History of Pennsylvania (1797-98)*, ii. 273. Holmes (*American Annals*, ii. 123) estimates the number in 1729 as 6000. The stream of emigration continued in the latter part of the century; for Holmes testifies (ii. 305) that during one fortnight in August 1773 the arrivals in Pennsylvania from Ireland amounted to 3500. See Hodge, i. 57.

29. Ellis Thompson, p. 22.

30. Francis Makemie, Geo. M'Nish, John Hampton, and John Boyd. Of the remaining four, one (Nathaniel Taylor) is regarded by Webster (p. 318) and Hodge (i. p. 57) as a Scot. See note 16.

31. Briggs, p. 280.

32. *Ibid.* p. 290.

33. Hodge, i. 18.

34. *Ibid.* ii. 243, 245. The deputies (Gilbert

Tennent and Samuel Davies) stated that in "the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, a great number of congregations have been formed on the Presbyterian plan," and have "put themselves under the synodical care of your petitioners, who conform to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and have adopted her standard of doctrine, worship, and discipline." "If I am prejudiced," wrote Davies, "in favour of any Church, my Lord, it is of that established in Scotland; of which I am a member in the same sense that the established Church in Virginia is the Church of England."

35. Hodge, ii. 308, 309; Webster, p. 623; Briggs, p. 321. The minister referred to was Samuel Harker, who held Arminian views of grace. He is believed to have been of Huguenot descent.

36. Briggs, p. 328.

37. *Ibid.* p. cxix. The writer quotes the letter (embodying the resolution) addressed to the General Assembly of 1770.

38. *Ibid.* pp. 175, 176. He quotes the minutes of the Synod of Glasgow on the subject.

39. *Ibid.* p. 182.

40. The collection in 1752 was for the supply of ordinances to Swiss and German emigrants in Pennsylvania; another in 1754 was for the New Jersey Presbyterian College; the third in 1760 was for the relief of poor Presbyterian ministers and of ministers' widows and children. See Briggs, pp. 322, civ. cxi. cxii. cxvii.; Webster, p. 260.

41. Briggs, pp. 300-302.

42. Webster, p. 604; Briggs, pp. 324, 325, who quotes from Sprague's *Annals*, iii. 191-94. Occom was

an Indian of the Mohegan tribe, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Suffolk in 1759. He was the "first Indian preacher who had appeared in Great Britain."

43. In 1713, the Presbytery of Glasgow sent out Robert Witherspoon to Pennsylvania, giving him £40 to "fit him out" (Briggs, p. 109). In 1732, the same Presbytery despatched Alexander Hutcheson to Maryland, and "paid his expenses to America" (Briggs, p. 193). In 1725, John Deane and William Maxwell were selected by the Synod of Glasgow for pastorates in South Carolina (Briggs, p. 223). In 1735, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, ordained John MacLeod of Skye for ministry to a Highland colony in Georgia (Briggs, p. 329). In 1751 the Reformed Presbyterian Church sent out John Cuthbertson to Pennsylvania (Ellis Thompson, p. 41). In 1753-54 the Anti-Burgher Synod commissioned Alexander Gellatly, Andred Arnot, and James Proudfoot to organise a Presbytery in the same colony. In 1768, the Burgher Synod sent out Messrs. Edmond and Mitchell (Briggs, p. 340).

44. Briggs, pp. 163, 171, 175, 181, 192, lxxiii. lxxxiii. lxxxvii.

45. Webster's Biographies, appended to his *History*, pp. 297-619; biographical notes in Hodge, i. 80-84, 188-90; Briggs, *passim*.

46. Webster, p. 318; Briggs, pp. 139, 156, etc. M'Nish came to Maryland from London in 1705 with Francis Makemie (see note 49); but he was a Glasgow student, and the entry in connection with his matriculation there indicates that he was a native of Scotland.

47. Webster, pp. 340, 341; Briggs, pp. 208, 246.

Gillespie came from Glasgow to New England in 1712. He published in 1735 a "Treatise against the Deists or Freethinkers, shewing the necessity of Revealed Religion." His contemporary, Francis Alison, describes him as "that pious saint of God."

48. Briggs, pp. 332, 351, and Ellis Thompson, pp. 46, 52, etc.; *Encyclopaedia Americana*, iv. 784; Ogilvie's *Presbyterian Churches*, p. 140. (See also Lecture VI. p. 190.) Witherspoon was minister at Beith and at Paisley, successively, before his removal from Scotland. He wrote *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* against the Moderates in 1753, a treatise on *Justification* in 1756, and another on *Regeneration* in 1764. His collected works were published in Philadelphia and in Edinburgh after his death. He had invitations to occupy important spheres in Dublin and in Rotterdam prior to his appointment in 1706 to the Presidency of Princeton College. The study of Hebrew and of French was introduced by him into the curriculum of that College, and he was the first to deliver lectures to the students. Along with his principalship he held the pastorate of Princeton congregation, and he soon became the recognised leader of the Church, under whom, in 1789, the first General Assembly was held. He received the degree of D.D. from Aberdeen in 1764.

49. Webster, pp. 297-310; Briggs, pp. xliv. etc., 116-18, 139, 140, 152. Ogilvie's *Presbyterian Churches*, p. 135. Makemie (1658-1708) was a native of Ramelton in Ulster, a student of Glasgow University, and a licentiate of the Presbytery of Laggan in Ireland (1681). He emigrated to America in 1683, as pastor of a band of colonists, and for about ten years was an itinerant evangelist, supporting himself by mercantile pursuits.

Between 1693 and 1698 he was pastor of a church in the Barbadoes, after which he settled in Maryland. In 1704 he visited London and returned with two young colleagues, M'Nish and Hampton, alumni, like himself, of Glasgow. His arrest, in 1706, for illegal preaching was by the despotic order of Lord Cornbury, who claimed that the Toleration Act was not sufficient to warrant "dissenters" preaching without a special provincial licence. Makemie's acquittal and the irritation of the Puritans against the Governor led to the latter's recall.

50. Webster, pp. 364-67; Briggs, pp. 186, 242, 256, 304; Ellis Thompson, p. 30. William Tennent graduated at Edinburgh University in 1695, and was ordained by the Bishop of Down as deacon in 1704, and as priest in 1706; but after his arrival in Pennsylvania, in 1710, he became a Presbyterian. Webster declares that to "William Tennent above all others is owing the prosperity and enlargement of the Presbyterian Church" (in America). Whitefield in his Diary calls him "an old gray-headed disciple and soldier of Jesus Christ, blessed with four gracious sons."

51. Webster, pp. 440-43; Briggs, pp. 245, 261-63, 267, 304, 305, 326. Alison (1705-79) studied at Glasgow University, and came to America as a probationer in 1734. In 1741 he signed the "Protestation" against the admission into Church Courts of any who had not adopted and subscribed the Westminster standards; but he was not an extreme adherent of his party, and on the occasion of the re-union in 1758 he preached and published a notable sermon with the title *Peace and Union recommended*. He established at New London, where he was minister, and afterwards at

Philadelphia, an academy which the "Old Side" adopted as its training college.

52. In 1724, the Presbytery of Newcastle (Am.) began to exact subscription to the Westminster Confession, and in 1728 that Presbytery memorialised the Synod to make subscription universal. This memorial constrained the Church officially to face the question.

53. Subscription of the Westminster Confession by ministers had not been enjoined when that Confession was approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1647, but had been introduced after the Revolution, with the immediate object of protecting the Church from the continuance of heretical Episcopalians in her ministry. In the Presbyterian Church of Ireland subscription was introduced in 1698, but was at first required only from licentiates. The obligation was in 1705 extended to ministers at ordination, owing, partly, to the appearance of Arian or semi-Arian heresy. Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 174, 181; Hamilton's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, p. 110.

54. Briggs, pp. 216-21; Hodge, pp. 127-30; Webster, pp. 103, etc. Dr. Briggs brings out clearly the influence of the Irish Pacific Act of 1720 in the framing of the American enactment. The Pacific Act had decreed that, "if any person called on to subscribe shall scruple any phrase or phrases in the Confession, he shall have leave to use his own expressions, which the Presbytery shall accept of, providing they judge such a person sound in the faith, and that such expressions are consistent with the substance of the doctrine."

55. Briggs, pp. 250-72.

56. See Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 246, 247, 267-74, 302, 303, 322-25; Niven and Milroy in

Story's *Church of Scotland*, iii. 617, 632-38, 667, 679-81, iv. 249-51, 261-65, 279-81; Briggs, pp. 204-206, lxxxviii. In the first Simson case (1717) the General Assembly merely enjoined him not to use certain expressions capable of heterodox meaning; in the second (1726-29) he was held to have denied the necessary existence of the Son of God, and the numerical oneness in substance of the Trinity; but in consideration of alleged retractations, he was not deposed, but only suspended. Campbell was accused (1736) of denying that the Being and attributes of God were discoverable without supernatural instruction, and was admonished to be "cautious, and not to use doubtful expressions." Wishart was accused (1738) of "profanely diminishing the due influence of arguments taken from future rewards and punishments." He was not only acquitted but afterwards raised to the Moderator's Chair. Leechman was charged (1744) with ignoring, in a treatise on prayer, the necessity of Christ's mediation, but was absolved on the ground that he had elsewhere expressed his belief in that truth.

57. M'Kerrow's *History of the Secession*, i. 207, 214; Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, ii. 314-17.

58. Briggs, pp. 318-21.

59. Hodge's *Presbyterian Law*, pp. 312, 379, 382. "System of faith" is the expression used in the ordination of ministers; "system of doctrine" in that of elders.

60. Presbyterianism, under French auspices, was planted in North America before the close of the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth century there were numerous communities of Huguenot Presbyterians in Canada; but after the Revocation of the Edict of

Nantes, in 1685, this element of the French-Canadian population was virtually extinguished. See Ogilvie's *Presbyterian Churches*, pp. 153, 154.

61. See Gregg's *History of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada*; Ogilvie, pp. 154-58; Campbell's *History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal*, chaps. ii. and iii.

62. Notable among these was Bishop Strachan of Toronto, who emigrated from Scotland to Canada in the end of the eighteenth century, and took a leading part in the organisation of the Episcopal Church. See Campbell, chap. xii. Strachan had been a student in King's College, Aberdeen, and to the end, his preaching, as well as his character, was of the Scottish type.

63. Carroll's *Religious Forces of the United States*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

64. See statistics in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, v. 379.

65. See address by Dr. Cochrane of Brentford in *Report of Third General Presbyterian Council*, p. 255-59; and address by Dr. Robertson of Winnipeg in *Report of the Fifth General Council at Toronto*, p. 207.

66. Carroll, pp. xxxvi. 457. The Presbyterian Churches of the United States have about 16½ per cent of the total Protestant population.

67. Carroll, pp. 68, 69.

68. Ellis Thompson, pp. 74, 75. The licensing by the Cumberland Presbytery of some earnest young men who had not received full academic training and had not given an unqualified assent to the Confession of Faith, led in 1810 to a rupture, and to the eventual establishment of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church as a separate denomination.

69. Moberly's Bampton Lectures, p. 68 and App.; Paper by Dr. John Cairns in *Report of First General Presbyterian Council*, p. 56.

70. A President of the United States issued, some years ago, an order enforcing "observance of the Sabbath by officers and men in the military and naval service." The order condemns "profanation of the day," and declares that a due regard for the Divine will, "as well as other considerations, demand that Sunday labour be reduced to the measure of strict necessity." See *Report of First General Presbyterian Council*, p. 222.

71. *Ibid.* pp. 130-33, and 206, where the testimony of a prominent American organ of the R. C. Church is quoted to the services of the Presbyterian Churches: "Their intellectual and moral worth, their philanthropy and zeal for God, the value of many most excellent works which they have written in defence of the Divine Revelation, we fully appreciate. . . . We desire that . . . the Catholic Church in the United States may be strengthened by the accession of that intellectual and religious vigour which such a great mass of baptized Christians contains in itself." The first Temperance Society in America was established by a Presbyterian divine, Albert Barnes. His book, also, on American slavery, was "a thesaurus to the Abolitionists for twenty years." See Ellis Thompson, 130, 132. The names of Edward Robinson, W. M. Thomson, the Hodges, Albert Barnes, Philip Schaff, James M'Cosh, Theodore Cuyler, W. S. Plumer, W. H. Green, W. G. T. Shedd, F. L. Patton, A. T. Pierson, C. A. Briggs, G. M. Grant, are only a few out of many American Presbyterian divines who, in different departments of theological and religious literature, have

exerted a notable influence in America, and also in Great Britain.

72. *Report of First General Presbyterian Council*, pp. 326-28; Ellis Thompson, pp. 197, 198.

73. *Ibid.* pp. 198, 199.

LECTURE VI

1. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, Book iii. chap. vi.

2. See Lecture I. p. 13, and note 27.

3. The general claim of the English Church, as represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to jurisdiction over Scotland, rested partly on the shadowy basis of an assignation, by Pope Gregory the Great to St. Augustine, of authority over the bishops of Britain; and partly on the unstable foundation of the treaty of Falaise in 1174. By this treaty William the Lion, under constraint as a prisoner, signed away to Henry II. of England his country's independence, as the price of his own liberation, and the Scottish bishops, with "dexterous diplomacy," agreed to recognise such supremacy of the English over the Scottish Church "as by right it ought to have" (Hailes's *Annals of Scotland*, i. 130, ed. 1797). The treaty, however, was revoked in 1189 by Richard I. for a money consideration (Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 3). The special claim of the Archbishop of York rested mainly on the undoubted fact that the portion of Scotland between the Forth and the Solway, prior to its absorption by Scotland in the tenth century, had been under the jurisdiction of his predecessors. When the See of Glasgow was re-

vived in 1114, the Archbishop of York claimed the bishop as a suffragan; the reconstituted diocese including Teviotdale, which had formerly been part of the diocese of Durham (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 375). Similarly, the See of Whithorn had been temporarily reconstituted in 731, at a time when Galloway was a province of Northumbria. The Bishop of Whithorn, accordingly, had become a suffragan of York (Bede's *Eccles. History*, v. 23); and when the bishopric was permanently revived under David I., the English assertion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been renewed. In 1155, Pope Adrian IV. was induced to homologate the claim of York to authority over the entire Scottish Church, with the exception of the Sees of Orkney and the Isles, which, at that period, were still subject to the Norwegian Metropolitan of Dronthoim (Stephen's *Scottish Church*, i. 274, 275).

4. See Fordun's *Annals*, xv. (in *Historians of Scotland*, iv. 262); Burton's *Hist. of Scot.* ii. 3, 4; Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, i. 102, 103. The presiding legate was Cardinal Petroleonis; there were present King Henry II. of England, William the Lion of Scotland, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, six Scottish prelates, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Henry demanded, and the legate at first advised, the submission of the Scottish clergy; but the cause of Scotland was ably maintained on historical grounds by Gilbert, a canon of Moray, who showed that the Scottish Church had not only been from the first independent of the English, but had taken a leading part in founding the latter; and a dispute between the two archbishops, as to whether the submission claimed by the Church of England was due directly to York or Canterbury, issued in the

Council being closed without a judgment. The way was thus prepared for the Bull of Clement III. in 1188.

5. See Jos. Robertson's *Statuta Eccl. Scot.* Pref. xxxix.; Hailes, i. 144; Cunningham, i. 106. The diocese of Galloway was excepted, and continued to be under the jurisdiction of York until 1358.

6. *Sir William Wallace*, x. 1003-6.

The Roman bulkis that than war in Scotland

He gart be brocht to scham (shame), where they thom fand;
And, but radem (redeem), they brynt them thar, ilk ane—
Salisbury use our clerkis than have tane.

But, in the Moray Chartulary, is a statute of date 1242 appointing Sarum use in that diocese; and the same liturgy was established at Dunkeld before 1249, and in Glasgow by Bishop Herbert, who died in 1164. See Innes in *Spalding Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 364-66.

7. "The breaking of an oath . . . like all other offences, has to be measured by the special conditions and prevalent doctrines of the time" (Burton, ii. 258). An oath obtained by coercion is invalid. Under the feudal system, moreover, "every transaction between superior and vassal was made an occasion for oaths"; so that reverence for an oath was undermined; and the Church was believed to have the power of absolution. Burns, *Scot. War of Independence*, ii. 170, 171.

8. Robert Bruce, both the Comyns (Buchan and Badenoch), the Earls of Dunbar and Angus, with others, held English estates, which would be forfeited on their engaging in war with England (Burns, ii. 54-58). Bruce, who was of Norman descent on the paternal side, took an oath of allegiance to Edward during Baliol's reign, and up to the time of Wallace's execution lived much at

the English Court (Burton, ii. 235). After Wallace's victory at Stirling, missives were sent to numerous Scottish nobles, including Angus, Buchan, Badenoch, Dunbar, Lennox, Menteith, Strathearn, and Sutherland, praising them for their fidelity to Edward (Tytler's *History of Scotland*, i. 144, 145). Up till 1301, Simon Frazer, who eventually was executed by Edward I., served under and received favours from that King (Burns, ii. 96, 97). The unpatriotic jealousy entertained towards Wallace by Scottish nobles led to treacherous dealings prior to the battle of Falkirk (Burns, ii. 32). Fordun plainly ascribes the Falkirk defeat to treason among the nobles, especially the Comyns (*Annals*, cii.). After the capture of Stirling by the English in 1304, the leading nobles accepted life, liberty, and estates from Edward on the terms of allegiance to him, although the covenant significantly excluded Wallace, whom Sir John Menteith captured and surrendered. He received a large reward for the service (Fordun's *Annals*, cxvi.; Burton, ii. 224-26; Burns, ii. 130-34). Bruce also suffered from the vacillation and hostility of the nobles (Fordun's *Annals*, cxviii.; Hailes, ii. 1; Burns, ii. 196-205). Even after the death of Edward I., Scottish barons rendered homage to Edward II. (Burns, ii. 259).

9. *Book of Phiscarden*, viii. 11; Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Book viii. chap. v. 817-44; Hailes, i. 220.

10. Fordun's *Annals*, lxxxvi.; Bower's continuation of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, xi. 18; Hailes, i. 260. The Abbot barely escaped alive after delivering his message.

11. Grub's *Ecccl. Hist. of Scot.* i. 345. The battering-rams were used in the siege of Kirkintilloch, which was in the hands of the English. Wishart had received

the oaks from the English Government in 1291 out of Ettrick forest; but he probably reasoned that as the timber was not really Edward's to give, the gift entailed no obligation to refrain from using it against Edward's representatives. Fordun (*Annals*, xciii.) speaks of the indissoluble bond of love between the elder Robert Bruce (grandfather of the King) and this Bishop of Glasgow.

12. Burton, ii. 202, 237; Burns, ii. 180, 181. In June 1305, before Bruce had openly declared his policy, Lamberton met him at Cambuskenneth; and they signed together a solemn indenture, by which they "engaged that in all their affairs they would give mutual assistance to the utmost of their power."

13. Bellesheim's *Cath. Church of Scot.* (Eng. Trans.), ii. 9-11; Burton, ii. 208; Burns, ii. 88, 93, 94.

14. Burton, ii. 257, 258; Burns, ii. 276-78. The document was signed by the entire episcopate in the name of the "bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of clergy in the kingdom of Scotland." The translator of Bellesheim mentions (ii. 18, note) the opinion of some that this Council of Dundee was a General Council of the *Estates*; but the document (still preserved among the national MSS.) distinctly shows its clerical origin, and the labels for seals, still remaining, bear the names of bishops.

15. "Loricatos et armatos." See Hailes, ii. 15, 16.

16. Burns, ii. 189. He quotes from an English chronicle of the period.

17. Barbour's *Bruce*, Canto cxx.; Hailes, ii. 83. 'St. Clair received from Bruce the designation "my own bishop," in recognition of his prowess. He afterwards

sided with the younger Baliol in his usurpation against David II. Hailes, ii. 172.

18. Bower's continuation of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, xii. 21; *Book of Pluscarden*, ix. 12; Tytler's *History of Scotland*, i. 312 (ed. 1828).

19. Hailes, ii. 4, 15, 20, 103-107; Tytler, i. 229-32, 368-71; Burns, ii. 188-92. "Lamberton's friendship disarmed of its dreadful consequences that sentence of excommunication which was soon thundered against him (Bruce), and his powerful influence interested on his (Bruce's) behalf the whole body of the Scottish clergy" (Tytler, i. 229). Immediately after the slaughter of Comyn, Lamberton, Wishart, David of Moray, and the Abbot of Scone publicly joined Bruce. "Throughout the whole struggle that followed, in spite of repeated Bulls, the native clergy, generally speaking, continued to perform their functions, and thus rendered the papal thunder of comparatively little effect" (Burns, ii. 192).

20. Green's *Short Hist. of the English People*, i. 394-98; Lingard's *Hist. of England*, ii. 455-68 (ed. 1819); Pearson's *England during Early and Middle Ages*, ii. 395-401, 479-85; Burns's *War of Independence*, ii. 458-63; Burton, ii. 232; Russell's *Modern Europe*, i. 407. In 1299 and 1301, after Wallace's victories, Edward made promises not to "raise taxes save by general consent of the realm." To the ancient charters was appended a declaration (1) that "no tallage or aid should henceforth be laid or levied without the goodwill and common consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, *burgesses*, and *other freemen* of our realm"; (2) that "no officer should take goods of any person without the goodwill and assent of the owner"; (3) that both clergy

and laity of our realm should have their laws, liberties, and free customs as freely and wholly as at any time when they had them best" (Lingard, ii. 465). Edward procured from the Pope in 1305 absolution from these engagements; but "his hand was stayed" by the renewal of the struggle with Scotland under Bruce. In 1309 "it was only by conceding rights of imposing import duties upon the merchants that Edward (II.) procured a subsidy for the Scotch war" (Green).

21. Burton, in *Blackwood's Magazine* for Nov. 1862, p. 547, writes: "The stay and support of France, at that terrible juncture, was chiefly the Scots auxiliaries. With these in his own (the English) ranks, instead of fighting against them, it is easy to see how totally different would have been the strength of the invader." Cf. Burns's *War of Independence*, ii. 465.

22. Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, i. 15: "Had the Plantagenets succeeded in uniting all France under their Government, it is probable that England would never have had an independent existence"; Burns, ii. 466.

23. Stanley's *Life of Thomas Arnold*, ii. p. 406.

24. Major's *Greater Britain*, iv. 17; *In Lib. IV. Lomb. Sent. f. lxxvi.* (Constable's Trans. of *Greater Britain*, p. 158).

25. Laing's *Knox*, ii. 282 (Book iv. of *History*, under 1561).

26. *Defensio Secunda*, p. 137; M'Crie's *Knox*, note MM.

27. Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, pp. 269, 270. In 1664, also, the Privy Council of Scotland interdicted the translation and circulation of the treatise. In the *De Jure, etc.*, Buchanan lays down the principles (1)

that Acts, after discussion by the representatives of all orders, should be "ultimately referred to the people for sanction"; (2) that if a monarch "extort obedience by force, the people, on the first prospect of superiority in the contest, may shake off so grievous a yoke."

28. Irving's *Memoirs of Geo. Buchanan*, pp. 249-55; Hume Brown, pp. 270, 290, 291; articles in *N. B. Review*, xlviii., and in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Three editions of the treatise appeared in three successive years. A continental correspondent, to whom Buchanan had sent a copy, describes the eagerness of learned men to have a look of it, and relates how the importunity of friends prevented himself from reading it. The popularity of the work continued in the seventeenth century. During the Civil Wars its notoriety and influence in England are attested by the following epigram:

A Scot and Jesuit,¹ hand in hand,
First taught the world to say
That subjects ought to have command,
And monarchs to obey.

Even in the eighteenth century three fresh editions were published. Among the many assailants of the work were Ninian Wingate and Blackwood, in the sixteenth century, Sir. Thos. Craig, Sir G. Mackenzie, and (on the Continent) Arnisæus, in the seventeenth. Among those who endorsed Buchanan's views were Milton, Algernon Sidney, and Locke.

29. Burton, vi. 132; Clarendon, *Hist. of Reb.* i. 106, who testifies that "the Book of Canons was thought no other than a subjection to England."

30. Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, i. 366, 522,

¹ Mariana, author of *De Rege et Regis Institutione*.

525, 529; Burton, vi. 111, 112, 160, 161. In his sermon as Moderator of General Assembly, in 1582, Andrew Melville declaimed against "the bloody gully of absolute authority." "That the innovations, resting on the sole authority of the Crown, without any sanction from the Estates or General Assembly, were an invasion of the constitution and of the national liberties, was the main position held by the supplicants" (Burton).

31. Carlyle's *Inaugural Address to the Students of Edinburgh University*, p. 63; cf. Burns's *War of Independence*, pp. 485-89; Burton, vi. 298-300; Stanley's *Church of Scotland*, p. 72. Burns quotes from Goldwin Smith (*Irish History and Irish Character*, p. 196) the remark that "nothing contributed more than the distinct national character and distinct religion of the Scotch, to save Britain from being entirely subjugated by the absolutism of Strafford and the Anglicanism of Laud. It was not in London, but in Edinburgh, that those conspirators first encountered serious resistance."

32. Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, i. 526; ii. 40, 43, 45. On the eve of the outbreak of rebellion in England, the General Assembly sent a sympathetic communication to Parliament, and in 1643, after the outbreak, the Solemn League and Covenant was adopted which constituted the alliance between the Scottish Church and the English Parliament. Both in this Covenant and in the earlier National Covenant of 1638, distinct expressions of loyalty to the person and office of the King are united with a determination to resist royal oppression. One of the objects of the National Covenant is declared to be "maintaining the King's Majesty, his person and estate; and the signatories expressly repudiate "rebellion," and any attempt

at "diminution of the King's greatness and authority." The subscribers to the Solemn League and Covenant, while declaring their resolution to "preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms," and to accomplish the "preservation of the reformed religion in Scotland," as well as the "extirpation of prelacy," and the "reformation of religion in England and Ireland," are careful also to state their purpose to "preserve and defend the King's Majesty and authority." Regarding the attitude of the Church of England and her clergy (prior to the accession of James II.), see Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. pp. 8, 9; and Macaulay's *Hist. of Eng.* i. 60, 185; ii. 296; iii. 40, 41 (cab. ed.) "Her (the Church's) favourite theme was the doctrine of non-resistance. That doctrine she taught without any qualification, and followed out to all its extreme consequences."

33. Reid's *Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii. 409, 438-41, 449, 458; Hamilton's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, pp. 86, 103, 104; Macaulay, iv. 150, 159, 210, 229.

34. Hodge's *Presbyterian Church*, ii. 398, 399; Briggs's *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 347-51; Ellis Thompson's *Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, pp. 56, 57. In 1774, "a prominent advocate of the British Government" in America, "ascribed the revolt and revolution mainly to the action of the Presbyterian clergy and laity as early as 1764" (Hodge). Another contemporary on the same side writes, "I fix all the blame of these extraordinary American proceedings upon them" (the Presbyterians). "The Scoto-Irish on the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina were the first to advance to a declaration of independence" (Briggs). The Rector of Trinity Church, New York, wrote in 1776, "I do not

know one of them (the Presbyterian ministers), nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of Congress, however extravagant" (Briggs).

35. Buckle's *Civilisation in England*, i. 664-70, 847-50; Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, v. 301. Buckle gives ample evidence for his assertion that the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were stimulated by the example of England into a love of progress, and that it was English literature which taught the lessons of political liberty first to France, and through France to the rest of Europe. Lecky (as well as Buckle) shows how "English notions of liberty were made familiar to the French public" through the visits of eminent Frenchmen to Britain, and the translation of English works into French. Among French Revolutionists who travelled in Scotland was Marat, who received the degree of M.D. from St. Andrews University.

36. Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 25, 26.

37. Fordun's *Annals*, lix.; Cunningham's *Church of Scotland*, i. 114, 115; Stephen's *Scottish Church*, i. 353, 386.

38. Spoken in 1596, on the occasion of the royal proposal to recall the "popish lords" from exile (Cunningham, i. 432).

39. Cunningham, ii. 15, 187; Stephen, ii. 273, 434.

40. Cf. Lectures III. p. 81; V. p. 138.

41. See M'George in Story's *Church of Scotland*, iv. 124; cf. pp. 102, 103.

42. *Ibid.* pp. 104-107; and *Leading Ecclesiastical*

Cases decided in the Court of Session, 1849-74 (collected and edited by Mr. T. G. Murray), pp. 1-62.

44. See speech of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on 6th July 1874, in the debate on the Patronage Bill of that year. "He protested against the power given to the Courts of the Church of Scotland, as a power not given to other Presbyterian bodies, and one that was entrusted to no other ecclesiastical tribunal in any other country." Cf. Dr. Arch. Scott, in *St. Giles's Lectures on the Scottish Church*, p. 340.

45. Ogilvie's *Presbyterian Churches*, pp. 61, 62, 63, 78, 91.

46. See Prof. Lechler's article on the "German Movement towards Presbytery" in the *Catholic Presbyterian* for February 1879. "Those evangelical churches of Germany in which elders are elected, church-sessions held, and synods of ministers and elders periodically assembled, count a population of about twenty millions of souls."

Addition to Note 35 on Lecture III.

As regards John Macleod Campbell, see *Memoir* by his son, Rev. Donald Campbell, M.A., vol. i. 212, 338; ii. 339; and *Life of F. D. Maurice* by his son, i. 183; ii. 537.